

LATER MUGHALS

WILLIAM IRVINE, I.C.S. (ret.),

Author of *Storia do Mogor, Army of the Indian Moghuls, &c.*

74588

EDITED AND AUGMENTED WITH
The History of Nadir Shah's Invasion

By JADUNATH SARKAR, I.E.S.,

Author of *History of Aurangzib, Shivaji and His Times, Studies in
Mughal India, &c.*

Vols. 1 & 2
bound in one



954.0237

Irv/Sar

ORIENTAL REPRINT



Oriental Books Reprint Corporation

Book Publishers, 54 Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-55

*Published by Mrs. Nirmal D. Jain for Oriental Books Reprint Corporation,
Post Box 1165, 54 Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-55 and printed by
Mr. K. L. Sachadeva at Skylark Printers, Idgah Road, New Delhi-55*

Vol. 1
1707-1720



CONTENTS

William Irvine	...	...	...	...	xiii—xxxii
His life, xiii—works, xv—Manucci's <i>Travels</i> , xix—as a man, xxii—as a historian, xxiv—humour, xxvi—composition of <i>Later Mughals</i> , xxvi—editor's work, xxviii—list of Irvine's writings, xxx—author's foreword, xxxii.					
Chapter I. Bahadur Shah	...	...	...	...	1—157
Aurangzib's children, 1—his will, 5—Azam's measures on Aurangzib's death, 7—Azam marches to Hindustan, 14—Azim-ush-shan reaches Agra, 15—Bidar Bakht advances to the Chambal, 17—Bahadur Shah marches to Agra, 18—his letter to Azam and reply, 21—march to Jajau, 22—battle, 27—slaughter in Azam's army, 30—Azam killed, 33—his character, 34—Bahadur Shah I.'s chief appointments, 36—Asad Khan's powers, 37—Rajput States, 41—Mewar, 42—Amber, 43—Jodhpur; early life of Ajit Singh, 44—Bahadur Shah marches to Rajputana, 46—enters Amber, 46—Ajit is defeated, submits, 48—Emperor returns, 49—Kam Bakhsh's doings in the Dakhin, 50—factions in his Court, 52—mad acts of Kam Bakhsh, 55—Bahadur Shah reaches the Dakhin, 57—defeat and death of Kam Bakhsh, 61—his family, 66—Second Rajput rising, 67—Sayyid Husain Khan slain, 69—Bahadur Shah marches to Rajputana, 71—Rajahs submit, 73—Sikhs: their early gurus, 73—doctrines of Sikhism, 79—Guru Govind's innovations, 80—their effect on Sikh character, 81—castes composing the Sikh population: Khatri 82, Jats, 83—career of Guru Govind, 84—joins Bahadur Shah, 89—is murdered, 90—Banda's rising, 94—slays Wazir Khan, 95—sacks Sarhind, 96—Sikh atrocities, 97—extensive Sikh raids, 98—Bahadur Shah marches against Banda, 105—Banda's fort of Lohgarh 109, stormed 112—escape of Banda, 115—desultory fighting with Sikhs, 118—sources of Sikh history, 121—Munim Khan, Wazir, career and character, 125—new Wazir, 127—Emperor at Lahor, 129—his Shia views, 130—anti-Shia riot, 131—Bahadur Shah's last illness, 133, death 133—character, 136—coins, 140—family, 141—Dutch embassy, 147.					
Chapter II. Interregnum	...	...	...	...	158—185
Position and conduct of Bahadur Shah's four sons at his death, 158—Zulfiqar forms alliance of three Princes against Azim-ush-shan, 161—Azim-ush-shan stands on the defensive, delays, 165—his entrenchments assaulted, 168—captured by storm, 173—Azim-ush-shan's last struggle, 175—and death, 177—quarrel among the victors, 177—Jahan Shah killed, 181—defeat and death of Rafi-ush-shan, 183.					
Chapter III. Jahandar Shah	...	...	...	...	186—243
Jahandar enthroned, 186—new appointments, 186—executions, 187—Abdus-samad Khan, 187—Prince Md. Karim killed, 190—Lal Kunwar and					

her influence, 192—shameless revelries, 195—quarrels among Court nobles, 197—Farrukh-siyar's early career, 198—crowns himself at Patna, 199—gains adherents, 200—Barha Sayyids, 201—Sayyid Husain Ali supports Farrukh-siyar, 205—Sayyid Abdullah quarrels with Jahandar and joins Farrukh-siyar, 207—Farrukh-siyar advances to Allahabad, 210—is joined by Chabela Ram, 214—defeats Jahandar's son at Khajwa, 217—Jahandar Shah at Agra, 220—marches to Samugarh, 223, wastes time in inaction, 225—Farrukh-siyar crosses the Jamuna, 227—battle of Agra, 229—rout of Jahandar, 235—his flight to Dihli, 236—Asad and Zulfiqar desert to Farrukh-siyar, 238—arrest Jahandar, 239—his coins, 240—character, 241—family, 242.

Chapter IV. Farrukh-siyar 244—403

His doings at Agra, 244—Abdullah Khan's measures at Dihli, 247—Zulfiqar arrested and killed, 251—Jahandar Shah killed, 254—Farrukh-siyar enters Dihli in state, 255—Zulfiqar's character criticized, 257—new official appointments, 258—provincial governors, 261—lives of Md. Amin Khan, 263—Samsam-ud-daulah, 264—Ahmad Beg, 267—Mir Jumla, 267—Nizam-ul-mulk, 268—parties at Court: different races, 272—severities inflicted by Farrukh-siyar at accession, 275—first quarrel with Sayyid brothers, 281—Ajit Singh's rebellion, 285—Husain Ali invades Marwar, 287—Ajit makes peace, 289—courtiers incite Farrukh-siyar against Sayyids, 291—their conspiracy fails, 297—Emperor conciliates Sayyids, 299—is married to Ajit Singh's daughter, 304—Surgeon Hamilton's treatment, 305—disorderly nobles, 306—siege of Banda's fort Sadhaura, 307—Sikh ravages, 311—Banda besieged in Gurdaspur, 312—captured, 315—tortured to death, 317—the Sikh martyrs, 317—the guru-ship continued by Govind's family after his death, 319—Jats: their early relations with Mughal Government, 321—Churaman Jat's rising, 322—his fort of Thun invested by Jai Singh, 324—Churaman submits through Abdullah, 326—Farrukh-siyar's new intrigues against Sayyids, 327—Mir Jumla's first unauthorized return to Dihli, 329—plots continue, 332—causes of Farrukh-siyar's dislike of the Sayyids, 335—*jaziya*, 338—Md. Murad Kashmiri's early history, 339—Emperor forms new plots to crush Sayyid brothers, 343—attempt to seize Abdullah fails, 347—Ajit Singh called to Court 348, also Nizam, 351—Mir Jumla's second return to Dihli, 352—encouraged by Emperor, 356—Husain Ali starts from Dakhin in force, for Dihli, 357—events at Dihli, Farrukh-siyar restores Sayyid Abdullah to power, 362—Md. Amin Khan comes to Dihli, 365—Husain Ali's approach, Abdul-ghafur sent to pacify him, 369—all nobles are alienated by Farrukh-siyar and join Sayyid party, 370—Husain Ali near Dihli, 372—abject terror and helplessness of Farrukh-siyar, 373—he submits to all the Sayyids' demands, 375—Husain Ali's first audience, 377—Dihli palace handed over to Sayyids' men, 379—Abdullah's interview, 380—final rupture, 381—Farrukh-siyar's last efforts, 382—Maharatta allies of Husain Ali massacred by Mughals and populace in Dihli, 383—rising of Farrukh-siyar's partisans, 385—Farrukh-siyar deposed, 388—Rafi-ud-darjat crowned, 389—Farrukh-siyar

dragged out of harem, 390—blinded, imprisoned, 390—put to death, 392—buried, 393—conduct of Sayyids to Farrukh-siyar criticized, 394—character of Farrukh-siyar, 396—length of reign, titles etc., 398—coins, 399—family, 400—life of Jafar Zatali, 403.

Chapter V. Rafi-ud-darjat and Rafi-ud-daulah ... 404—432

Events at accession, 404—distribution of offices and jagirs, 405—treaty with Rajah Sahu, 406—quarrel between Sayyid brothers, 407—Nekusiyar crowned by Agra garrison, 408—Mitr Sen's conspiracy, 410—Sayyids besiege Agra fort, 413—failure of Nekusiyar's partisans, 414—he negotiates, 415—Sayyids' bad treatment of Rafi-ud darjat, 416—Emperor dies, 418—his coins, 418—Accession of Rafi-ud-daulah, 420—siege of Agra, 422—surrender of fort and of Nekusiyar, 426—Farrukh-siyar's widow restored to Ajit Singh, 428—division of Agra booty, 428—death of Rafi-ud-daulah, 430—his coins etc., 432.

Vol. 2

Chapter VI. Muhammad Shah: Tutelage under the Sayyids ... 1—101

Roshan Akhtar enthroned as Md. Shah, 1—peace made with Jai Singh, 4—campaign against Bundi, 5—Chabela Ram revolts, 6—dies, 8—Girdhar Bahadur rebels at Allahabad, 8—fights Haidar Quli, 11—submits, 15—Nizam sent to Malwa, 17—Sayyid brothers send Dilawar Ali against him, 19—Nizam occupies Asirgarh and Burhanpur, 23—battle with Dilawar Ali at Pandhar, 28—another account of the battle, 32—Emperor's letter to Nizam, 35—plots of Sayyids against Md. Amin Khan, 37—Alim Ali marches against Nizam, 40—his preparations, 43—Nizam's replies to Court, 45—Alim Ali defeated at Balapur, 47—Emperor taken towards Dakhin, 53—plot of Md. Amin against Sayyid Husain Ali, 55—Husain Ali murdered by Haidar Beg, 60—his camp plundered, 61—his men attack Emperor's tents, 63—Emperor's return towards Agra, 68—letters between Md. Shah and Sayyid Abdullah, 72—Abdullah crowns Prince Ibrahim at Dihli, 75—battle of Hasanpur, 82—Sayyid Abdullah surrenders, 91—his house at Dihli plundered, 93—Abdullah's captivity and death, 95—character of Sayyid brothers, 99.

Chapter VII. Muhammad Shah's Reign 1720-1725 ... 102—154

Poll-tax abolished, 103—death of Md. Amin Khan Wazir, 104—Nizam's difficulties as Wazir, 106—revolt of Ajit Singh, 108—army sent against him, 113—Ajit murdered by his son Abhai Singh, 115—its true cause, 116—Rohela settlement in the upper Duab, 117—Jat history: Churaman, 120—his sons besieged in Thun, 123—Md. Shah's daily life, 125—dispute over a Hindu convert's minor daughter, 126—Haidar Quli's misdeeds in Gujarat, 128—he feigns madness, 129—Nizam disgusted with Emperor and his courtiers, 131—story of the robber Khanna, 133—rival factions quarrel at Court, 135—Nizam returns to Dakhin, 137—Mubariz Khan set up against Nizam, 139—battle of Shakar-Khera, 145—Nizam's letter to Emperor, 153.

Chapter VIII. Mahrattas in Gujarat ... 155-215

Maharashtra country, 155—career of Shivaji, 158—Aurangzeb's wars with Mahrattas, 160—Mahratta affairs after 1707, 161—Mahratta invasion of Gujarat, 165—Hamid Khan governs Gujarat, 168—Shujaat Khan appointed subahdar, 169—is slain by Mahrattas, 172—Ibrahim Quli Khan's attack on governor's palace, 174—defeat of Rustam Ali at Aras, 177—his death, 182—Mahrattas exact ransom from Gujarat, 183—events in Ahmadabad (1725), 186—Sarbuland Khan enters Ahmadabad, 187—Hamid Khan abandons Gujarat, 189—Sarbuland's government of Gujarat, 192—grants *chauth* to Mahrattas, 193—fresh Mahratta encroachments on Gujarat, 195—Sarbuland's extortions, 199—Bahora rising, 201—Abhai Singh, new governor of Gujarat, 205—attacked by Sarbuland, 207—Sarbuland leaves Gujarat, 213.

Chapter IX. Bundelkhand and Malwa ... 216-256

Bundelkhand and the Bundela tribe, 216—Champat Rai, 219—his struggle with Aurangzeb and death, 225—Chhattarsal's early career, 228—Md. Khan Bangash sent against him, 230—his despatch of battles, 233—Baji Rao assists Chhattarsal, 238—Md. Khan withdraws from Bundelkhand, 241—Mahratta raids into Malwa, 242—they gain footing in Malwa, 243—Bhawani Ram's government of Malwa (1728), 245—Daya Bahadur administers Malwa (1729-31), 247—is killed at Tarla, 248—Md. Khan Bangash in Malwa, 249—causes of his failure, 255—Jai Singh governor, 255.

Chapter X. Muhammad Shah to 1738 ... 257-306

Shoe-sellers' riot at Dihli, 257—Court favourites: Koki, 263—Roshan-ud-daulah, 266—Shah Abdul-ghaffur, 267—his fall, 271—another account of it, 273—increasing Mahratta encroachments, 275—campaign against Mahrattas in 1733, 277—campaign of 1734, 279—campaign of 1735, 280—campaign of 1736, 281—campaign of 1737, 286—Saadat Kh. defeats Mahrattas, 287—Baji Rao sacks environs of Dihli, 289—defeats imperial army under Hasan Khan, 293—why he suddenly retreated, 295—Wazir defeats Mahrattas at Badshahpur, 296—Nizam invited by Emperor, 299—Nizam welcomed at Dihli, 301—is besieged by Baji Rao in Bhupal, 303—he cedes Malwa to Baji Rao by convention of Duraha Sarai, 305.

Chapter XI. India in 1738: Rise and Progress of Nadir Shah 307-329

Slaughter of the Mughal aristocracy in civil wars, 307—degeneration of noble families settled in India, 306—later Emperors alienate Hindus and Shias, 309—later Mughals foolish idle and vicious, 311—nobles divided into warring factions, 313—insecurity and poverty, 314—decline of Persian kings, 315—Nadir delivers Persia from Afghan rule, 318—crowns himself king, 318—captures Qandahar, 319—causes of his quarrel with Dihli Government, 320—Emperor neglects defence of Afghanistan, 322—and of Panjab, 325—Nadir conquers Afghanistan, 327.

Chapter XII. Nadir Shah's invasion of India ... 330-360

Nadir captures Peshawar and Lahor, 330—indolence of imperial Court, 335—Emperor entrenches at Karnal, 337—rival forces, 337—Nadir arrives near Karnal, 339—Saadat Khan issues for battle, 342—battle of Karnal,

CONTENTS

XI

345—heavy loss of Indians, 349—causes of Indian defeat, 350—negotiations for peace with Nadir, 353—death of Khan Dauran, 355—jealousy of Saadat Khan, 356—Nadir imprisons Emperor and nobles, 357.

Chapter XIII. Nadir in Dihli: His Return ... 361—379

State of Dihli city after battle of Karnal, 361—Nadir and Emperor enter Dihli, 363—popular rising against Persians in Dihli, 365—Nadir's massacre at Dihli, 367—the slaughter and loss estimated, 368—extortion from Dihli, 370—cruelties practised for money, 373—Nadir reinstates Md. Shah. 374—retires from India, 375—break-up of Mughal Empire, 379.

Errata ... 380

Index ... 381

ABBREVIATIONS

- Ahwal*—*Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* by Muhammad Qasim Aurangabadi.
Ain—*Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazl, Eng. tr. by Blochmann and Jarrett, 3 vols.
Ashob—*Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i-Farrukh-siyar* by Md. Bakhsh Ashob.
Bahadur—*Bahadur Shah-nama* by Danishmand Khan Ali.
 B. M.—British Museum.
Chamanistan—by Anand Ram Mukhlis, (litho.)
Dil—*Nushka-i-Dilkasha* by Bhimsen Burhanpuri, (B. M. Or. 28.)
Ghulam Ali—*Muqaddama-i-Shah Alam-nama*.
Ijad—Md. Ahsan Ijad's *Farrukh-siyar-nama*. [Same as "Anonymous Fragment."]
Iradat—*Iradat Khan's Tazkira*, tr. into Eng. by Jonathan Scott in his *History of Dekhan*, vol. ii, pt. 4.
Jagjivan-das—India Office Library MS.
J. A. S. B.—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.
Jang or *Jangnama*—*Jangnama* by Danishmand Khan Ali.
Kamraj—*Ibratnama*. (The same writer's *Azam-ul-harb* is not cited.)
Kamwar—Kamwar Khan's *Tazkirat-us-salatin-i-Chaghtaiya*.
Khush-hal—Khush-hal Chand's *Nadir-uz-Zamani*.
 K. K.—Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. II. (Bib. Ind. Series.)
 M. A.—*Masir-i-Alamgiri* (Bib. Ind. Series.)
 Mac.—Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, 6 vols.
Miftan—*Miftah-at-tawarikh* by T. W. Beale.
 M. M. or M. Mhd.—Mirza Muhammad's *Tazkira* or *Ibratnama*.
 M. U.—*Masir-ul-umara*, 3 vols. (Bib Ind. Series.)
Nur—*Jahandar-nama* by Nuruddin Faruqi Multani Dihlavi.
Qasim—Muhammad Qasim Lahori's *Ibratnama*.
Rustam Ali—Rustam Ali Shahabadi's *Tarikh-i-Hindi*.
 Scott—Jonathan Scott's *History of Dekhan*, vol. ii, pt. 4.
Shiu Das—*Munavvir-ul-qalam*.
Siwanih—*Siwanih-i-Khizri* by Md. Umar, son of Khizr Khan.
Siyar—*Siyar-ul-mutakherin*, Pers. text printed at Calcutta, 2 vols., Eng. tr. by Mustafa, 4 vols.
T-i-M or *T-i-Mdi*—*Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* by Mirza Md.
Warid—*Mirat-i-Waridat* by Md. Shafi Warid.
Yahya—*Tazkirat-ul-muluk*.

WILLIAM IRVINE : A BIOGRAPHY

HIS CAREER

William Irvine, the son of a Scotch advocate, was born in Aberdeen on 5th July, 1840. He came to London when quite a child, and after leaving school at the early age of fifteen he went into business, until he obtained an appointment in the Admiralty at nineteen. He stayed there for a year or two; but having acquired a very good knowledge of French and German, he eventually resigned, went to King's College, London, to complete his studies, and entering for the Indian Civil Service he passed very high in the examination of 1862.

Arriving in India on 12th December, 1863, he was attached to the North-Western Provinces Civil Service in the following June, as Assistant Magistrate of Saharanpur. After spending nearly a year there, he was sent to Muzaffarnagar, for four years (April 1865—July 1869). A long furlough to Europe consumed more than two years, 1872 and 1873. He next served in Farrukhabad (June 1875—April 1879), where he rose to be Joint Magistrate. He had already begun to study Indo-Muhammadan history with scholarly seriousness, and the first fruits of his work in this line were an accurate and luminous account of the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1878—79, and partly incorporated in the *Gazetteer of the Farrukhabad District*, edited by Mr. Atkinson (Government Press, 1880). In it he utilized not only the formal Persian histories but also the large collection of unedited family papers and letters of the local Nawabs.

But Ghazipur was the district with which he was connected longest, namely for seven years. Here he first served as Revenue Settlement Officer and then as Collector, and left a memorial of his work in a blue-book, *The Settlement Report of Ghazipur District*, printed in 1886. His keenness in revenue work and his application to detail are evidenced by his article on *Canal Rates versus Land Revenue* published in the *Calcutta Review*, 1869, and a volume entitled *The Rent Digest or the*

Law of Procedure relating to Landlord and Tenant, Bengal Presidency, 1869.

His literary attainments and painstaking exertions as a revenue officer, did not, however, bring him any of the prize posts in the Civil Service, for which an officer of his unusual parts might have reasonably hoped. So, he retired as soon as he qualified for pension, leaving the service on 27th March 1888, as Magistrate of Saharanpur,—curiously enough, the same district that he had joined at the beginning of his official career. Out of his twenty-five years of service, almost exactly one-fifth was spent on leave.

LITERARY WORK IN ENGLAND

At his retirement he was only 48, and looked forward to many years of health and leisure which could be devoted to literary work. Already while in India he had perfected his knowledge of Persian, and, what is much more difficult, he had become proficient in reading manuscripts written in that tongue. He had also begun to collect Persian historical MSS., in addition to printed and lithographed works in that language as well as Urdu and Hindi having even the remotest connection with the Mughal period. During his official career many Indian gentlemen, knowing his special taste, sought to please him by presenting Persian MSS., and he also purchased them in India and in England. Besides, he kept in his pay a Muhammadan scribe of Bhitari Sayyidpur (Ghazipur district), to search for and copy such Persian MSS. as could not be had for love or money. Transcripts were also made for him of those rare MSS. of the Royal Library, Berlin, which he required for his historical researches. Thus it happened that he made a collection of original MS. authorities on his special period which was unapproached by any of the public libraries of Europe.

To take only one example, he had two MSS. of the *Anecdotes of Aurangzib (Ahkam-i-Alamgiri)* ascribed to Hamid-ud-din Khan Nimchah, which is not to be found in any public library of India or Europe, and of whose existence historians were unaware, though it is a work extremely characteristic of the Emperor and gives information of first-rate importance

concerning his life and opinions. I was happy to have been able to discover another fragment of this work and to present a transcript of it to him. Again, I could find only one copy of the *Chahar Gulshan* in India, and had to base a portion of my *India of Aurangzib* on this single manuscript. But Mr. Irvine possessed three MSS. of it,—two of them having been presented to him by Indian friends. After I had made his acquaintance, whenever I came upon any find of rare Persian MSS. on Indian history, he was sure to secure a copy of them for himself. Thus I was the means of enriching his private library with transcripts of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh's letters (*Haft Anjuman*), the orders issued by Aurangzib in his old age and collected by his secretary Inayetullah Khan (*Ahkām-i-Alamgiri*), the letters of Shah Jahan and his sons as preserved in the *Faiyaz-ul-qawanin*, and the epistles of the Persian king Shah Abbas II. As Mr. Irvine wrote to me,—

"What you tell me about your various finds of MSS. makes my mouth water, and I shall be very grateful if you can engage any one to copy for me Inayetullah Khan's *Ahkām* and the various fragments you have of Hamid-ud-din's collection. The *Haft Anjuman* seems to be a valuable and most unexpected discovery. I have scolded Abdul Aziz [his retained scribe]—whose special hunting ground is Benares,—for not having discovered it!!" (Letter, 13 Nov., 1908).

His *Later Mughals*

With such a wealth of original Persian sources in his possession and his knowledge of continental tongues opening to him the East Indian records of the Dutch, French and Portuguese Governments, as well as those of the Christian missions to the East (especially the letters of the Society of Jesus), Mr. Irvine planned an original history of the decline of the Mughal Empire. It was entitled *The Later Mughals* and intended to cover the century from the death of Aurangzib in 1707 to the capture of Delhi by the English in 1803. As he wrote to me on 23rd February, 1902 :—

"I have first to finish the History from 1707 to 1803 which I began twelve years ago. At present I have not got beyond

1738, in my draft, though I have materials collected up to 1759 or even later."

But the work grew in his hands, and so conscientious a workman was he, so many sources of information did he consult, and so often did he verify his references, that his progress was slow and he lived to complete the narrative of only thirty-one years out of the century he intended to embrace in his work. Chapters of the *Later Mughals* appeared from time to time, once in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, but mainly in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Five years after writing the above to me, he thus speaks of the state of his undertaking in the *L'envoi* to its last published chapter (*J. A. S. B.*, November, 1908):

"With the disappearance of the Sayyid brothers the story attains a sort of dramatic completeness, and I decide to suspend at this point my contributions on the history of the Later Mughals. There is reason to believe that a completion of my original intention is beyond my remaining strength. I planned on too large a scale, and it is hardly likely now that I shall be able to do much more...The first draft for the years 1721 to [April] 1738 is written. I hope soon to undertake the narrative of 1739, including the invasion of Nadir Shah. It remains to be seen whether I shall be able to continue the story for the years which follow Nadir Shah's departure. But I have read and translated and made notes for another twenty years ending about 1759 or 1760."

These words were written in October 1907, and they show that the work had not grown at all during the preceding eight years. What lured Mr. Irvine away from the *Later Mughals* was his monumental edition of Niccolao Manucci's *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, the *Storia do Mogor*,—a work which entailed seven years of hard labour and about which I shall speak later. Another but lesser source of distraction was his monograph *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, (1903)—a thoroughly sound and scholarly work, which will long endure as an indispensable dictionary of Persian, Turki and Hindi military technical terms. He hurriedly brought together in it the fruits of long years of study, lest he should be anticipated by Dr. Paul Horn, an

eminent German orientalist, who had published a similar work on an earlier period of Muhammadan India. Chips from Mr. Irvine's workshop were also published in the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Indian Magazine* (1903), the *Journal of the Moslem Institute* (Calcutta), and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Thorough in everything that he undertook, his careful editing and annotation cost him an immense amount of time even in the case of these bye-products of his historical factory.

The Later Mughals LEFT A FRAGMENT

But students of Indian history must lament that Mr. Irvine ever set his hand to the *Storia* and the *Army of the Indian Moghuls* ; these books prevented the continuation of *The Later Mughals* to the date, 1765, after which the Persian records cease to be of first-rate value and we get full light from the documents in the European tongues. In these Persian records lay the special strength of Mr. Irvine. He had spent a life in collecting, mastering and arranging them ; and his death robbed the world of all his garnered knowledge. His successor in the same field will have to begin at the very beginning and to spend years in going over the same materials, and can hope to arrive at Mr. Irvine's position only after twenty years of preliminary study. If Mr. Irvine had rigorously shunned all such diversions of his attention and pushed on with his grand work, he could in his remaining years have placed on record his life's accumulation of information and reflection on the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire, and completed its history at least up to its practical extinction about the middle of the 18th century. But he has not done it ; and for years to come we have little chance of his unfinished task being carried to completion with anything approaching the high standard of fulness and accuracy he attained in the portion he lived to write. In this respect the world is distinctly the poorer for his having undertaken to edit Manucci.

Shortly after he had begun work on Manucci, Mr. Irvine was attacked by the disease to which he ultimately succumbed in 1911. For the last eight years of his life he was haunted by a sad foreboding that his days on earth were numbered and

that the chosen work of his life was destined to remain a fragment. In letter after letter he urged me to hurry on with my own historical work if I wished him to see it.

"At my age I cannot afford to lose any time, as I fear not surviving to finish the long and heavy tasks I have on hand." (18th March, 1904).

"I see every reason to believe that your edition of the Alamgir letters will be a thorough, good piece of work,—but I trust it will not be too long delayed,—for I am getting old and shall not last very much longer." (16th Jan. 1906).

"I hope that your first volume of *Aurangzib* may appear before I leave the scene." (29th Jan. 1909).

At last in October, 1907 he mournfully admitted that he had not enough strength left to complete his original plan, and that he was not likely to write much more of *The Later Mughals* than the portion already sent to the press. Things looked a little more hopefully for him in the warm weather of 1910. As he wrote on 8th July—

"Thanks for your enquiries about my health. Decay has not come on so rapidly as I thought it would. The complaint I suffer from is under control and apparently no worse than it was five years ago,—and considering I was 70 three days ago, I have a fair amount of activity, bodily and mental, left to me. In fact I am contemplating this next winter writing out my Bahadur Shah chapter (1707—1712) and sending it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal."

But unfortunately the hope was delusive. On the last day of the year he was taken very ill. For some time it was expected that he might recover a certain amount of health and strength. In the summer of 1911 he was a little better and appeared to be getting stronger. On 31st August he wrote to me,

"I am coming downstairs once a day for 4 or 5 hours..... I am working on quietly and happily. My upper part—heart, lungs and liver, are declared by the specialist to be quite clear and likely to go on [doing their] work so long well that I may reasonably [hope for] a continued life of five to ten years. So it is worth while going on, as I shall be able to finish one thing or [another.]"

The improvement, however, was temporary. Since the autumn set in, he began to fail rapidly and it was realized that he could not last the winter. He bore his long and trying illness with admirable patience and fortitude, and passed away quietly at last on Friday, 3rd November, 1911.

Since S. R. Gardiner died with the cry "My History! Oh, my History!" there has been no such sad case of a monumental work undertaken with the fulness of knowledge but cut short by the cruel hand of death. For Gardiner, however, there was the consolation that he had arrived almost within sight of his goal, the Restoration, and was leaving a not unworthy disciple and continuer in Prof. Firth. This consolation was denied to the closing years of William Irvine's life.

HIS EDITION OF MANUCCI'S TRAVELS

Of all Mr. Irvine's works the *Travels of Manucci (Storia do Mogor)* is most appreciated by the European public, and with them, strangely enough, it is his chief title to fame as a scholar. This attitude is well reflected by the *Pioneer* (18th November, 1911), which thus notices his death:—

"At Home Mr. Irvine's name outside a small circle of students must have been as nearly as possible unknown when the first two volumes of his *Manucci* appeared in 1907 and were at once recognized as the most valuable and important work of the kind that had seen the light since the publication of Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*.....His reputation as a scholar had been already established, and it stands on an enduring basis... It is not likely that any other English edition of *Manucci's* work will ever be forthcoming to supersede that of Mr. Irvine."

The editor's work is a marvel of industry and accurate scholarship. It seems incredible that one man could have done it all, and a reviewer has well remarked, "The notes appear to have been written by a *syndicate of scholars* instead of by one man only." Mr. Irvine's notes and appendices are often of more value than *Manucci's* text, as they contain the fullest and most accurate information available in any European tongue, about the details of the reigns of Shah Jahan, Aurangzib and Shah Alam, with exact dates and references to authorities.

Every person who crossed the orbit of Manucci or Manucci's acquaintances even for a moment, has his life unfolded here with a wealth of accurate detail. Indeed, it may be rightly said of William Irvine that he left no part of Indian history from 1650 to 1750 untouched, and touched nothing that he did not illumine. Writers on Indian history who are ignorant of Persian would do well to study the notes in the *Storia* and the *Later Mughals* and carefully correct their own statements in the light of the information there collected.

HISTORY OF MANUCCI'S MSS.

Before Mr. Irvine rediscovered Manucci's MSS. at Berlin and Venice, that Italian traveller had been known to the world only through the pirated and incorrect French version made by Catrou, and scholars had been sighing for the recovery of the original text as a thing hardly to be hoped for.

The history of Manucci's book reads like a romance. Niccolao Manucci had left Venice in November, 1653 at the age of fourteen as a stowaway. Reaching India in January 1656, he took service under Prince Dara Shukoh and latterly under Shah Alam. At intervals he set up practice as a doctor without any medical training, travelled all over India, went through various adventures and changes of fortune, and passed his old age at Madras and Pondicherry, dying in 1717. Thus his life in India covered more than sixty years.

At different times he wrote his history of the Mughals (*Storia do Mogor*) in Portuguese, French and Italian,—about one-third of the whole work having been drawn up originally in his mother tongue Italian, and nearly the whole being rewritten in Portuguese mixed with French. It consists of five parts, dealing with

- (i) the author's journey from Venice to Delhi and a short chronicle of the Mughal Emperors down to the accession of Aurangzib,
- (ii) the reign of Aurangzib, with the author's personal history,
- (iii) the Mughal Court, its system of government and revenue, much mixed up with digressions on European

companies, the Hindu religion, Indian animals, the Catholics in India, &c.

(iv) current events in the Mughal camp in the Deccan from 1701, with long accounts of the doings of the Jesuits and other Catholics,

(v) events in 1705 and in 1706, with many stories of earlier years interspersed.

The first three parts he sent to Paris in 1701 by the hand of M. Boureau Deslandes, an officer of the French East India Company, "evidently in the hope that the *Storia* would be published at the expense of Louis XIV." Deslandes lent the MS. to Father Francis Catrou, a Jesuit, who in 1705 published an incomplete, garbled and grossly incorrect French version of it, with interpolations from other sources. This work ends with 1658 and has been translated into English, two reprints of the English version having been issued in Calcutta since 1900. In 1715 Catrou published a continuation, which is almost entirely taken from Part II. of Manucci's MS. and wholly covers the reign of Aurangzib. It had not been translated into English before.

This Manucci MS.—i.e., the version of the *Storia* which was first sent to Europe,—lay in the library of the Jesuits in Paris till 1763 when it was sold with other works of that collection and passed through successive hands into the Royal Library of Berlin (1887). It is described as the *Berlin Codex Phillipps* 1945, consisting of three volumes written in Portuguese with three gaps subsequently filled up in French, and this is the text translated by Mr. Irvine.

When Manucci in India learnt of the audacious plagiarism of Catrou, he sent (1706) the original Italian draft of his *Storia*, Parts I. II. and III. (which he had always kept by himself), as well as the only extant MS. of Parts IV (French) and V (French and Portuguese), to the Senate of Venice, begging that august body "to order the publication of this little work which is likely to be of the greatest use to travellers, missionaries, and merchants, etc." This MS. is styled *Venice Codex XLIV* of Zanetti's catalogue. The original text of Part V is now in the San Marco Library, Venice. (Italian MS., class VI No. 135.)

An Italian version of Part V in manuscript was made by Count Cardeira out of Portuguese in 1712, (*Venice Codex XLV*).

For a long time it was believed that the MS. which Manucci had presented to the Venetian Senate was mislaid during Napoleon's invasion of the Republic. But what Napoleon I. took away in 1797 was only a volume of 56 contemporary portraits of the Princes and other celebrities of the Mughal Empire drawn at Manucci's instance by Mir Muhammad, an artist in the household of Shah Alam, before 1686, and presented by Manucci to the Senate. (It is now O. D. No. 45 of the National Library, Paris). These portraits are of surpassing value and have been reproduced in Mr. Irvine's edition. Another volume of 66 drawings of Hindu gods, religious ceremonies, etc., sent by Manucci to Venice at the same time, is still there.

While scholars were for nearly a century mourning the disappearance of Manucci's original MSS., they had been quietly reposing in the Library of Saint Mark, Venice, their original destination! In 1899 Mr. Irvine rediscovered them there, and three years afterwards had them copied for his use. The Government of India lent him generous aid, and his translation was published in four sumptuous volumes in the "Indian Texts Series" in 1907 and 1908. Manucci in his original and undistorted form has at last been placed within the reach of readers, and the confusion, error, and obscurity which hung over his work for more than two centuries have at last been dispelled. This is Irvine's achievement.

IRVINE AS A MAN

The most charming feature of Mr. Irvine's character was the spirit in which he gave unfailing and eager help and appreciation to younger men engaged in researches connected with his own subject. In this respect he presents a notable contrast to most other orientalists whose mutual jealousies and acrimonious criticisms of each other darken their fame. I am only one out of the many students of Indian history who were indebted to him for help, guidance and light on obscure points. But for his assistance in securing for me loans or transcripts of

rare Persian MSS. from England, France, and Germany, my *History of Aurangzib* could hardly have come into being. He also freely lent me MSS. from his own collection, and beat down the rates demanded by photographers in London and Paris for making rotary bromide prints of Persian MSS. for me. In every difficulty and doubt that I have appealed to him, he has given me prompt advice and assistance. A certain Indian Nawab has a rare collection of Persian historical letters. I secured his permission to take a copy of it at my expense and engaged a scribe. But for more than a year the Nawab's officers under various pretexts refused my man access to the MS. At last, in despair I wrote to Mr. Irvine about the case. He wrote to one of his friends high in the Civil Service of Allahabad, and this gentleman communicated with the Nawab. The owner of the MS. now had it copied *at his own expense*, bound the transcript in silk and morocco, and presented it to Mr. Irvine, who lent it to me as soon as he received it! Mr. Irvine also criticized and emended the first five chapters of my *History* as freely and carefully as if it were his own work.

Indeed, he rendered literary assistance in such profusion and at so much expense of his own time, that I was at times ashamed of having sought his aid and thus interrupted his own work. In connection with the statistical accounts of the Mughal Empire, I had complained that ancient India, like ancient Egypt, can be better studied in the great European capitals than in the country itself, and Mr. Irvine's reply was to send me unsolicited his three MSS. of the *Chahar Gulshan*, a valuable work on Indian statistics and topography in the early 18th century, of which I had found only one and incorrect copy in India. Similar instances might be easily multiplied.

And yet so scrupulously honest was he that the most trivial assistance rendered by others to *him* was fully acknowledged in his works, as can be seen from the notes and addenda of his *Storia do Mogor*. He overwhelmed me with assistance while he lived, and yet his last letter written only two months before his death closes with the words, "Thanks for all the help of many sorts I have received *from you!*"

AS A HISTORIAN

As a historian, Mr. Irvine's most striking characteristics were a thoroughness and an accuracy unsurpassed even by the Germans. His ideal was the highest imaginable : "A historian ought to know *everything*, and, though that is an impossibility, he should never despise any branch of learning to which he has access." (Letter to me, 2nd October, 1910).

He brought light to bear on his subject from every possible angle ; Persian, English, Dutch and Portuguese records, the correspondence of the Jesuit missionaries in India, books of travel, and parallel literatures, were all ransacked by him. The bibliography at the end of the *Storia* or the *Army of the Indian Moghuls* is itself a source of instruction. A conscientious workman, he gave exact reference for every statement, and only those who carry on research know how very laborious and time-absorbing this seemingly small matter is. For these reasons I wish that our Indian writers in particular should study and imitate *The Later Mughals* as a model of historical method and a means of intellectual discipline.

Some are inclined to deny Mr. Irvine the title of the Gibbon of India, on the ground that he wrote a mere narrative of events, without giving those reflections and generalizations that raise the *Decline and Fall* to the rank of a philosophical treatise and a classic in literature. But they forget that Indian historical studies are at present at a much more primitive stage than Roman history was when Gibbon began to write. We have yet to collect and edit our materials, and to construct the necessary foundation,—the bed-rock of ascertained and unassailable facts,—on which alone the superstructure of a philosophy of history can be raised by our happier successors. Premature philosophizing, based on unsifted facts and untrustworthy chronicles, will only yield a crop of wild theories and fanciful reconstructions of the past like those which J. T. Wheeler garnered in his now forgotten *History of India*, as the futile result of years of toil.

As Mr. Kennedy writes in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1912, (pp. 299-304):—"Irvine's conception of history was much like that which is at present in vogue at the *Ecole*

des Chartes. History was to be mainly occupied with the search for, and investigation of, original authorities,* and to be an exact chronicle of the doings of the time. Although Irvine did not neglect such picturesque touches as he might find in his authorities, he did not profess to be an artist, nor would he consider historical narrative a fine art. Still less was he a philosophical historian: he was doubtful of generalities, and he seldom attempted generalizations. His strength lay in detail, and to be faultlessly accurate was his pride. Two things especially attracted him: he had a Scottish love of genealogies and an equal love of precise dates.

"Copious extracts from the MSS. he studied formed the basis of Irvine's work; round these he built up his remarks and explanations. Besides the purely historical details, Irvine devoted much attention to collateral subjects, such as the constitution of the Moghul nobility, the administrative system, the system of land revenue, and the organization of the army. Ballads, diaries, letters, charters, rules of official practice and imperial rescripts, coins and seals,—he made himself conversant with them all.

"As a commentator Irvine excelled; he searched Europe, Asia, and America to explain an obscure allusion or to settle a date..... Both nature and training made Irvine an excellent judge of evidence, and his style was clear, logical, and to the point, an instrument well fitted for his purpose. What he had to say was always worth the hearing. In knowledge of his particular period of history he was unrivalled."

HIS HUMOUR

As a writer, Mr. Irvine was a vigorous controversialist. His article on *Canal Rates vs. Land Revenue* makes a trenchant attack on Mr. A. O. Hume's proposal to exclude the profits due to canal irrigation when fixing the assessment of land revenue and to fix the former on purely commercial principles.

* Mr. Irvine wrote to me on 23rd Feb. 1902: "I can see that you are working on what I believe to be the correct lines for making any profitable advance in the knowledge of Indian History—that is, a recourse to original documents and their exact critical elucidation." [J. Sarkar.]

He had also a happy vein of humour which appears now and then in his writings, but oftener in his letters. Thus to his remark in the above article that "such a haphazard application of his great doctrine (of the greatest happiness of the greatest number) might well make old Jeremy Bentham shudder in his grave," he adds the foot-note "That is, if he ever got there. We believe his body was embalmed and kept in a glass case!"

In his *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 110, after asserting that the strange word *janjal* is a corruption of the known word *jazail*, and tracing the supposed steps of this corruption, he adds 'Q. E. D.!'

Again, he urged me to settle our difference as to the date of Shah Alam's confinement on the ground "If doctors disagree, what will laymen think of it?" In some other letters he wrote :—

"I suppose man has still enough of the brute in him to have remained a fighting animal,—and the 'drum and trumpet school' [of historians] seem just as popular as ever. . . . The losing side [e.g., Dara Shukoh's] always get scant justice in histories." (13th Aug. 1905).

"So far the Berlin Librarian has taken no notice of my communication [asking to be put in relations with a photographer there.] But I suppose one must have patience and wait the pleasure of these Great Men!" (10th Oct. 1905.)

"I have seen no mention of Bhimsen, [the Hindu author of a most valuable Persian history of Aurangzib's reign], or his sons. Historians are rarely mentioned [in other histories]; — not much hope for us!"

THE HISTORY OF THE GROWTH OF *The Later Mughals*

The actual writing of Mr. Irvine's History commenced in 1891, and we find him on 19th May 1892 drawing up a "Rough Outline of Headings and Order of Narrative" for the reign of Bahadur Shah, which closely corresponds to Chapter I. as it finally left his hand. In September 1893 he drafted a scheme entitled "Order of work to be done", which includes such items as "Read up for [regnal years] 1-20 of Muhammad Shah—continue narrative down to death of A. K. [Sayyid Abdullah

Khan]—provincial history—grantees—geography : take out all names, arrange, identify—biography : do the same—read for completion—read for style—verify quotations—index.”

By the end of November 1893 the narrative had been carried down to the death of Sayyid Abdullah (ch. vi. 24), *i.e.*, all that he lived to see through the press. Then, he tells us, “in 1894 I began the preparatory studies for an account of the later Moghul system of government and administration in all its branches, being impelled by the belief that some information of the kind was a necessary introduction to a History of that period, which I had previously commenced. Before I had done more than sketch out my first part, which deals with the Sovereign, the Court Ceremonial, and the elaborate system of Entitlement, I noticed the issue of a book on a part of my subject by Dr. Paul Horn. The perusal of this excellent work diverted my attention to a later section of my proposed Introduction,—the subject of the Army.” (*J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 509). This sketch of the Army Organization of the Indian Mughals was published in 1896 covering 61 pages of the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, and reissued as a book in an amplified form in 1903.

The next two years were devoted to the revision annotation and preparation of some of these earlier chapters of the *Later Mughals* for printing in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and reading for the period ahead.

Composition was resumed on 12th October 1898, with section 25 of the reign of Muhammad Shah, and the narrative was carried down to the events of April 1738, when the first rumours of the threatened invasion of Nadir Shah began to reach Delhi. Here his manuscript ends.

THE EDITOR'S WORK

From time to time Mr. Irvine revised his first draft. Chapters II to VI sec. 24 were printed in his life-time, and to these he gave his finishing touches. Chapter I (Bahadur Shah) and Chapter VII from the fall of the Sayyid Brothers in 1720 to the death of Rustam Ali Khan in February 1725, bear marks of his revision and correction, though not in a complete or final

form, as even in them he left many gaps to be filled up and query-marks for verification or correction. It seems to me that he delayed publishing the Bahadur Shah chapter because he waited to consult Macauliffe's long-announced *Sikh Religion*, which came out in six volumes as late as 1909. We have a marginal note in the MS. of Chapter I "compare these chapters on the Sikh Gurus with the dates &c. in the biographies of Macauliffe's *Religion of the Sikhs*."

His own corrections stop with page 188 of his manuscript of the second part of Muhammad Shah's reign, i.e., February 1725, and from this point to the last page that he wrote (*viz.*, p. 363, dealing with April 1738), the draft is unrevised, incomplete, and with many things left doubtful for future verification, correction and completion and rearrangement of the narrative and sifting of evidence. This last portion requires considerable labour on the editor's part. The narrative, as sketched by Irvine has to be reconstructed, completed and checked by a close reference to the original Persian sources. Besides, an entirely new class of documents,—the Marathi letters and reports—which have seen the light since 1898 and which were unknown to Irvine, have to be woven into the text, because of the very important part played by the Marathas in the affairs of the Delhi Empire from 1723 onwards.

The editor has considered it advisable to subject Mr. Irvine's copious foot-notes to a severe compression. These notes were written by him more for his own satisfaction,—i.e., as a means of verifying his statements and giving an outlet to his overflowing miscellaneous but extremely accurate information, the garnered harvest of a long and studious life,—than as a means of instructing the reader. His notes as he left them would have buried his narrative under their ponderous load. To have printed them in full would have had the effect of exhibiting the *Later Mughals* hidden by its scaffoldings. Besides, the higher cost of paper and printing (respectively fourfold and double the pre-war rates), has enforced a rigid economy of space on the publishers. The notes, therefore, have been given here in an abbreviated form, as a guide

to sources for students, but many interesting sidelights and Persian verses and proverbs have been left out.

Mr. Irvine planned his History on an encyclopædic scale. In addition to the political and Court history of the central Government of Delhi, he wished to write the local history of each of the provinces (even when it was not the scene of any activity of the supreme Government or important campaign) and to construct lists of the chief officers (central and provincial), saints, scholars &c. year by year with accurate biographical notes and dates. A rough and incomplete sketch of provincial history for the reign of Bahadur Shah is all that he has left, together with many pages of bare uncorrected lists of officials from the highest ministers of the Crown down to the *faujdar*s and commandants of forts. All these have been excluded by the editor.

Since Irvine stopped working at his History, the study of Mughal coins has been greatly advanced by the labours of Messrs. Nelson Wright (Calcutta Museum), Whitehead (Lahore Museum), C. J. Brown (Lucknow Museum) and contributors to the Numismatic Supplement to the *J. A. S. B.*, (especially Mr. Hodivala for minor mints and obscure reigns). The editor has not incorporated the result of these later researches, as it would have meant a considerable modification of Mr. Irvine's paragraphs on the subject, which have a value of their own as marking an advance on the British Museum catalogue and therefore representing a definite stage in the study of Indian numismatics.

In spelling oriental words the editor has followed one uniform system and deleted the author's copious final *h*'s. No diacritical mark or special letter has been used.

The hearty thanks of the editor and the reader alike are due to Babu Brajendra Nath Banerji, a Bengali historian of remarkable industry and love of accuracy, for the patient and minute care with which he has read the proofs. Some of the mistakes are due to the editor having unsuspiciously accepted the text of pages 150-256 from the printed copy of the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JADUNATH SARKAR

LIST OF W. IRVINE'S PUBLISHED WRITINGS

BOOKS :

- The Rent Digest or the Law of Procedure relating to Landlord and Tenant, Bengal Presidency.* (Government Press, Calcutta, 1869).
Settlement Report of Ghazipur District, 1886.
The Army of the Indian Moghuls: its organization and administration. (Luzac, 1903).
Storia do Mogor or Mogul India by Niccolao Manucci, tr. with introduction and notes. (Indian Texts Series, John Murray, 4 vols. 1907 and 1908).

PAPERS :

Calcutta Review.

1869. *Canal rates vs. Land Revenue.*
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
 1878-79. *Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad.*
 1884. *Baiswari Folk songs.*
 1893. *Notes on the Official reckonings of the reigns of the Later Mughal Emperors.*
 1897. *Nadir Shah and Md. Shah* (p. 24).
 1900. *Jangnama of Farrukh-siyar and Jahandar Shah. Later Mughals.—*
 1894, corresponding to Ch. I. sec. 17-21.
 1896, " " Ch. II. and III.
 1898, " " Ch. IV sec. 1-11.
 1903, " " " 12-18.
 1904, " " " 19-42.
 1904, Extra No., corresponding to Ch. V. sec. 1-17 and Ch. VI. sec. 1-4.
 1908, corresponding to Ch. VI sec. 5-24.
 1907 & 1909. *Mughal Mint Towns.*
A Supplementary Index of the place-names on pp. 89 to 414 of the Ain-i-Akbari Vol. II. trans. by Jarrett (by Irvine and L. M. Anstey, in book form, 1907).
Notes for a second edition of Blochmann's Ain.
Indian Magazine:
 1903. Translation of Anand-ram Mukhlis's *Pilgrimage to Garh Mukteshwar.*

Indian Antiquary:

1894. *Beale's Or. Bio. Dic.* (p. 299).
 1900. *Etymology of the word Pindhari*, (p. 140).
Notes on some Anglo-Indian words (270, 361).
 1901. *Date of Zinat-un-nissa's death*.
 1904. *Jangnama of Sayyid Alim Ali Khan by Sudhist*.
 1907. *Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Indian Wazir Imad-ul-mulk*.
 1911. *Emperor Aurangzeb-Alamgir*.
 [An abridged form of this paper has been printed
 in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I].

Asiatic Quarterly Review:

1894. *Political History of the Sikhs by contemporary writers*,
 [being *Later Mughals*, Ch. IV. sec. 19].
 1897. Opinions on "Indian Civilian's" proposals.

Journal of the Moslem Institute:

- Memoirs of Abdul-qadir Sabit Jang*, (i. 258-266, 413-423 ;
 ii. 6-12, 108-133 ; iii. 11-27, 191-208 ; iv. 31-46, 131-153,
 237-257 ; v. 7-27).

Imperial Gazetteer of India, 3rd ed. (1908), vol. ii. ch. 10.

North Indian Notes and Queries:

- 1893? Topographical inquiries—Jalalabad—visit to
 Kumaon.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society:

1896. *Mughal Army* (pp. 509-570).
 1898. *Two corrections in Dr. Rieu's Catalogue* (p. 373).
 1899. *James Fraser* (p. 214).
 1903. *Note on Bibi Juliana and the Christians* (p. 355).
Jahangir's Autograph (p. 370). *Note on Niccolao*
Manucci and his 'Storia do Mogor' (p. 723).
Note on J. R. Rivett-Carnac's article on Cup
marks (p. 827).
 1905. *The Baillie collection of Arabic and Persian MSS.*
 1910. *Austin of Bordeaux* (p. 1343).
 1911. *The Khatur or Khattar Tribe* (p. 217).
 Book reviews : 1902 (p. 687), 1909 (p. 502), 1910 (pp. 183,

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

If this book cannot claim in the highest sense of the word the name of History, it is at least the result of some research and labour, things sadly required in Indian history as a preparatory clearing of the ground for more ambitious work. To me this heavy task has been its own exceeding great reward (the only one, I fear, ever likely to come to me) : it has served to bridge over the period between active life and the first advances of old age, and through it I have failed to "feel the weight of too much liberty". At some future day the genius may arise who shall make these dead bones live ; and when in a foot-note this "Gibbon of the future" flings me a word of acknowledgment, I shall be satisfied. Meanwhile, the scenic artists, who deal in picturesque narrative and like to lay on the colours thick, may not disdain to appropriate something from my sober pages as a background for their adjectives ; while the official gazetteer-maker and the compiler of little books will be able to fill up many a meagre outline and correct much erroneous chronology. Some writer, if I remember rightly, complains that Indian historians are chary of dates ; if he will open my work, he will find out how wide this is of the truth. In fact he will, I fear, receive a surfeit of dates, many more, at any rate, than he will care to digest.

WILLIAM IRVINE



THE LATER MUGHALS

CHAPTER I

BAHADUR SHAH

SEC. I.—DEATH OF ALAMGIR: HIS CHILDREN.

After an illness of a few days Alamgir died in his camp at Ahmadnagar on the 28th Zul Qada 1118 A.H., corresponding to the 3rd March, 1707, *New Style*, in the 91st (lunar) year of his age and the 51st of his reign. The actual place of his death is probably denoted by the "Barahdari Aurangzeb's tomb," marked on the map between pp. 688 and 689 in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. xvii. The place lies 2 miles n. e. of Ahmadnagar town.

Alamgir had five sons and five daughters.* The eldest son, Muhammad Sultan was born near Mathura on 4th Ramzan 1049 (30th Dec., 1639) and died on the 7th Shawwal 1087 (14th Dec., 1676), in the thirty-ninth year of his age and in the twentieth year of his father's reign. He left no issue. The fourth son it will only be necessary to mention. His name was Akbar, he was born on 11th Zul Hijja 1067 (21st Sept., 1657) and after rebelling and joining the Rajputs in 1681, he fled first to the Mahratta Court of Sambhaji and thence to Persia. He died at Mashhad on the 31st March, 1706.† At the Emperor's death there thus remained only three claimants for the throne, his second, third and fifth sons.

The second son Muhammad Muazzam was born at

* The dates concerning them are taken mostly from the *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, *Tarikh-i-Mdi* and Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnama*, with corrections by J. Sarkar.

† This date is given by the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*. But, according to the *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 483 and 537, Akbar died in 1704. The date of his birth is given as 11th Zul Hijja by Kambu and as 12th by *Masir*,—a later compilation. [J. S.]

Burhanpur in the Dakhin on 30th Rajab 1053 (14th Oct., 1643). His mother, and the mother of the eldest son, Muhammad Sultan, was Nawab Bai, daughter of Rajah Raju. Rajah of Rajauri in Kashmir. She died at Dihli in 1691.

Muhammad Azam the third son was born of Dilras Banu Begam, daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi on the 12th Shaban, 1063 (9 July, 1653). He is usually styled *Ali-jah* and often Azam Tara.

The fifth and last son, Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, was born 10th Ramzan, 1077 (7th March, 1677). His mother was Bai Udipuri who died at Gwaliyar in June 1707, a few days after the defeat of Azam Shah by Bahadur Shah.

Of Alamgir's daughters, the eldest was Zeb-un-nissa Begam, born on the 10th Shawwal 1047 (26th Feb., 1637).^{*} She died at Dihli, a State prisoner, in 1702, unmarried. She used to write poetry under the name of *Makhfi* or the Hidden.

The second daughter was Zinat-un-nissa Begam, born on the 1st Shaban 1053 (16 Oct. 1643), her mother being the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan.

She took an active interest in the cause of her full brother Azam Shah, and after his defeat refused to be reconciled to Bahadur Shah. He conferred on her the title of Padshah Begam and sent her to end her days in Dihli. She died there on the 18th May 1721 at the age of eighty years.

Badr-un-nissa Begam, the third in order, was born of Nawab Bai on 29th Shawwal 1057 (28 November, 1647). She died on 28th Zul Qada 1080 (20th April, 1670) in the 13th year of the reign.

The fourth daughter Zubdat-un-nissa Begam was born on the 26th Ramzan 1061 (13 Sept. 1651). She died on the 17th Feb. 1707, less than a month before her father. She had been married to her cousin Sipihr Shukoh, son of Prince Dara Shukoh, by whom she had a son Ali Tabar who died a six month old infant in the end of 1676. (*T-i-Mhdî*).

^{*} The *Masir-i-Alamgiri* (538) wrongly gives the year as 1048 A. H. Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnama* (ii. 22) gives the correct figure 1047 A. H. [J. S.]

Mihr-un-nissa Begam the fifth daughter was born of Aurangabadi Mahal on the 3rd Safar 1072 (29 Sep. 1661). She was married to Ezad Bakhsh, son of Prince Murad Bakhsh, and died on the 18th Zul Hijja 1117 (1st April, 1706), a year before her father.

MUHAMMAD MUAZZAM (SHAH ALAM)

After the imprisonment and death of his elder brother, Sultan Muhammad, the second son, Muhammad Muazzam, became heir-apparent. The latter, in the early part of his father's reign, from 1664, was actively employed in the Dakhin against the Mahrattas and the Muhammadan kingdom of Bijapur. In 1683-4 he commanded an army in the Konkan without much success and then served under his father at the siege of Golkonda. Aurangzeb's suspicious nature is sufficiently notorious : and his intrigues against his father had prepared him to expect a similar conduct on the part of his own children. More than twenty years before this period, Muhammad Muazzam had been suspected of intriguing for power at the time of his father's temporary illness. During the siege of Golkonda, some communications passed between Abul Hasan the ruler of that place and the Prince. These messages referred to a proposed intercession for peace to be made through Mhd. Muazzam. Aurangzeb assumed that they were of a disloyal nature and at once placed his son under arrest. (4th March, 1687.)*

Muhammad Muazzam was kept a prisoner for nearly seven years during the whole of which time he behaved with the utmost discretion, showing throughout the most complete outward humility and resignation. After applying various tests, Alamgir readmitted his son to partial favour. His two eldest sons Muizz-ud-din and Mhd. Azim were released and appointed to commands. In 1695 Muhammad Muazzam (styled in his father's lifetime *Shah Alam*) was himself released, and on the

* The story of his Konkan expedition and arrest is told, with references to authorities, in Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. iv. ch. 44 and 47. The story of the relaxation of his captivity, in Khafi Khan, ii. 397-398, 404, 407-418, 437, 443 and *M.A.* 335, 341-351, 370-373. [J.S.]

9th Shawwal 1106 (24th May 1695) sent as governor to Akbarabad. He passed one year (up to 24th July 1696) in Agra, proceeding thence to Lahor, Multan and Uch. On the death of Amir Khan, the *subahdar* of Kabul, he assumed the government of that province, reaching the city of Kabul on 4th June 1699 after a march by way of Jhang, Peshawar, the Khaibar Pass, Jalalabad and Jagdalak. For eight years the hot season was spent in Kabul and the cold weather at Jalalabad or Peshawar or in marches through the country. On the 25th Nov. 1706 he pitched his camp at Jamrud twelve miles west of Peshawar and he was still there when he heard first of the illness and then of the death of his father at Ahmadnagar in the Dakhin. The Prince's two youngest sons Rafi-ul-qadr and Khujista-Akhtar were then with him, the eldest Muizz-ud-din was at Multan, and the second Muhammad Azim on his way from his Government in Bihar to his grandfather's camp in the Dakhin.*

AZAM SHAH

Alamgir's second surviving son, Azam Shah, had for many years looked on himself as his father's destined successor. It may be surmised that he was not altogether without his share in the intrigues which led Alamgir to distrust and at length imprison the elder son Muhammad Muazzam. In any case Azam Shah used the opportunity offered by his brother's long removal from power to increase his own authority and influence. In 1701 he was appointed to the Government of Ahmadabad Gujarat and sent to administer that province in person. There he acquired considerable wealth and increased the numbers of his armed force. In 1706 his father reluctantly permitted him to return to the imperial head-quarters, the Prince's eldest son Bidar Bakht being transferred from Malwa to Ahmadabad as his father's deputy. It was not long before quarrels arose between Azam Shah and his youngest brother Muhammad Kam Bakhsh. His jealousy was also aroused by the independent position and the rumoured wealth of Prince Muhammad Azim, second son

* Jagjivandas, *J.* 37-51. The earlier dates have been corrected by a reference to the official history, *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 373, 382, 374. [J.S.]

of Muhammad Muazzam, who had been *subahdar* of Bengal and Bihar for some years. One of Alamgir's last acts was to recall this grandson from Azimabad Patna, at the instigation of Muhammad Azam. As we shall see presently, this very act turned out to have a most disastrous influence upon Azam Shah's own future.*

MUHAMMAD KAM BAKHSH

Alamgir had felt that his end was approaching, and he foresaw that if his two sons Azam Shah and Kam Bakhsh were left together his death would be the signal for instant hostilities. The Mahrattas were at the time giving great trouble in the vicinity of the imperial camp, and any dispute among the claimants to the crown would provide them with an opportunity of which they would not be slow to avail themselves. Further, as is usual with fathers, Alamgir was fonder of his youngest than of his other sons. Kam Bakhsh was therefore appointed to be *subahdar* of Bijapur and on the 16th February 1707 set out for the south with Hasam Khan (Mir Mallang) who had been recently named as his chief adviser, accompanied by a large body of Mughal troops under the command of one of their chief men, Muhammad Amin Khan. Kam Bakhsh was directed to march to his destination with all possible expedition.†

A few days afterwards Azam Shah was told by his father that as his deputy in Malwa was not capable of suppressing the disturbances in that province, he must proceed to it in person. Mace-bearers with strict orders were deputed to urge on his departure. He left the imperial quarters on the 22nd February 1707 and marched northwards, but without making very rapid progress. In four marches he had only reached the bank of the river Godavari about 40 miles from his father's camp. [Kamwar Kh.]

ALAMGIR'S WILL

The story goes that Alamgir left a will with directions for his own burial and for the partition of the Empire between his

* *Mas.-Alamgiri*, 442, 496, 512, 520; K. K. ii. 516, 518, 541, 546-7

† K. K. ii. 547, *M.A.* 520, *Dil.* 158a.

three sons. It is said that it was found by Hamid-ud-din Khan, head of the household, under the Emperor's pillow.* As the terms of the will accord with the measures taken by the Emperor giving his three sons the provinces that he had assigned to them in his lifetime, it may be assumed to be authentic. Its terms were also appealed to afterwards by Muhammad Muazzam (Bahadur Shah) when he wrote to his brother, Azam Shah, offering him a compromise. This will is a little vague but its substance may be thus stated. It entreats his successors to leave Kam Bakhsh unmolested, should he content himself with the two new provinces, that is, Bijapur and Haidarabad. Amir-ul-umara, that is Asad Khan, his *Wazir*, is recommended as *Wazir*. Of the two capitals, Agra and Dihli, one should be taken by each son. With the city of Agra should go the province belonging to it, the *Dakhin subahs*, Malwa and Ahmada-bad Gujarat; and with the city of Dihli, the country of Kabul and all the remaining provinces. There is an injunction to be true and faithful to Azam Shah, and this seems to conflict somewhat with the supposed impartiality of the testament; but as Azam Shah, in spite of this declaration in his favour, declined to be bound by the other provisions of the will, the suspicion that he might have drawn up the document for his own benefit must fall to the ground.

Taking the provinces and the revenue in *dam*, (forty to the Rupee) as stated by James Fraser† the proposed distribution would have given the following results:—

Bahadur Shah,	12 Subahs	...	5,175,956,440 dam
Azam Shah,	6 Subahs	...	4,704,255,400 dam
Kam Bakhsh,	2 Subahs	...	2,191,665,000 dam
	20 Subahs	...	12,071,876,840 dam

* Khafi Khan, ii. 549, Kamwar Kh. A copy of the will had reached Surat as early as 18 Oct. 1707, (Valentyn, iv. 274.) [The will making a partition of the Empire and alleged to have been found under his pillow after his death, is given in Br. Mus. Addl. 18,881. f. 76 b, and I.O.L. MS. 1344, f. 49 b. A different one, containing directions about his burial and instructions for his successor, is given in Hamid-ud-din's *Ahkam-i Alamgiri*, text edited by me, pp. 12-14, with an Eng. trans. J. S.]

† *Nadir Shah*, p. 34. A translation of the will is given on pp. 36-37

SEC. 2.—MEASURES TAKEN ON ALAMGIR'S DEATH.

As soon as the Emperor had breathed his last, the Wazir, Asad Khan, known as Amir-ul-umara, sent for all the nobles. He bound them by oaths to act in union while Sarbarah Khan the *kotwal* or officer in charge of the camp police was sent out to preserve order. Meanwhile the Qazi-ul-qazzat with other learned and holy men prepared the body for the tomb. Letters were sent in all haste to Prince Azam Shah by Asad Khan and by the Prince's sister, Zinat-un-nissa, requesting him to return without a moment's delay. [Kamwar, *Jangnama*].

On the second night after the Emperor's death Azam Shah arrived, accompanied by a few of his chief men. He was met and escorted in by all the nobles, except Asad Khan and Hamid-ud-din Khan, who were engaged within the imperial enclosure (*gular-bar*) in guarding the corpse and performing ceremonies of mourning. The nobles proffered the usual condolences and congratulations. Azam Shah wept when he first saw his father's corpse, and in the presence of such old and faithful servants as Hamid-ud-din Khan and Amir Khan, called aloud his father's name like the poor do when they mourn. On the 6th March 1707 the body was sent off in charge of Hamid-ud-din Khan to Daulatabad, about 10 miles north-west of Aurangabad, and there buried, as Alamgir had requested, in the courtyard surrounding the tomb of the saint Shaikh Zāin-ul-haq, Azam Shah assisting to carry the bier as far as the principal entrance of the camp. The tomb is about 4 miles west of Daulatabad. It has a platform of red stone 3 *gaz* long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ *gaz* wide. The place was named Khuldabad, and Bahadur Shah allotted several villages yielding a revenue of Rs. 50,000 a year from parganas in sarkar Daulatabad, for the feeding of the poor and other expenses. In 1121 these villages were formed into a new pargana called Khulda-bad. [Iradat ; K. K. ii. 566, 649 ; Kamwar ; M.M. 7.]

The funeral ceremonies being completed and the first days

of mourning having elapsed, Azam Shah on the 10th Zul Hijja 1118 (14th March 1707), the *Id-uz-zuha*, ascended the throne with the usual ceremonial. In the tent used as public audience hall a pulpit was erected, whence Shaikh Abdul Khaliq read the *khutba*, or public prayer for the sovereign's welfare, in the name of Azam Shah, by the style and title of Abul-fayaz, Qutb-ud-din, Muhammad Azam Shah, Ghazi. The chief officials and commanders, nearly all of whom were present with the late Emperor in camp, submitted to Azam Shah in a body. Some were really attached to him, such as Mutallib Khan, Tarbiyat Khan, Amanatullah Khan and some others. The rest were indifferent. The leaders of the Mughals, however, a very important and influential body, held aloof, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, then *subahdar* of Berar and his son Chin Qilich Khan (afterwards Nizam-ul-mulk) evaded taking part in the approaching campaign : while Muhammad Amin Khan, cousin of Firuz Jang, although he deserted Kam Bakhsh and started for Hindustan with Azam Shah, did not proceed further than a stage or two beyond Burhanpur and thence returned to the Dakhin. Azam Shah was in reality angry at Khan Firuz Jang's refusal to march with him, but thought it wisest to dissemble, and at that chief's request appointed him to the charge of the Aurangabad province and his son, Chin Qilich Khan, to that of Burhanpur. [Iradat II, K. K. ii. 566, M.M. 8, Dil. 162b, Kamwar, *Jangnama*.]

One story [*Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 877] is, that when Zulfiqar Khan joined near Aurangabad, Azam Shah asked him for advice. "Leave your wives and family at Daulatabad, as Alamgir did," replied Zulfiqar Khan, "and give them money for the expenditure of two months. Do not march by the pass of Fardapur but by that of Dewal Ghat, thus giving Khan Firuz Jang a chance of joining." The Prince, in his usual haughty way, said that if there were a real enemy in front, it would be right to leave his family behind. But Muazzam's character was well known ; he was not another Dara Shukoh. His (Azam Shah's) own special troops were sufficient : those of the late Emperor were of no use, except to shout *Mubarak* and *Salamat*. Why should he leave his direct road for the

sake of obtaining the aid of a blind man? [Khan Firuz Jang had been totally blind for twenty years.]

From the beginning great dissatisfaction was caused by the Prince's refusal to give promotion or grants of money. A great number of personal favourites, new and untried men, were brought into the service much to the disgust of the older officers. The late Emperor's Wazir, even, Asad Khan, was so pressed by his soldiers for their pay,* that it was only by a loan of a lakh of Rupees from Chin Qilich Khan that he was able to appease them.

As Asad Khan and his son Zulfiqar Khan (at Alamgir's death away on duty in the south beyond the Krishna†) play a principal part in Azam Shah's contest for sovereignty and continue to be important personages until the accession of Muhammad Farrukh-siyar, it will be well to give here some account of them. Asad Khan (Md. Ibrahim) was the son of Zulfiqar Khan Qaramanlu who took refuge in India from the enmity of the sovereign of Iran. Asad Khan was born about 1631 and entered the imperial service in the 27th year of Shah Jahan (1654). In Alamgir's reign he was long second *Bakhshi*, then deputy of the Wazir from the 13th year (1670), and in the 19th year (1676) was himself made Wazir. From the 27th year (1684) he served continuously in the Dakhin. His son Zulfiqar Khan (Md. Ismail) was born in 1657, his mother being Mihr-un-nissa Begam, daughter of Asaf Khan, Yamin-ud-daulah. He was thus highly connected on the mother's side. He received his first appointment in the 11th year of Alamgir (1668) and in 1677 married the daughter of Shaista Khan the Amir-ul-umara. At the same time he received the title of Itiqad Khan. In 1689 A.D., as a reward for taking the fort of Raheri and along with it the sons of Sambha Mahratta and his whole family, he was made Zulfiqar Khan. In 1698 he took the Mahratta stronghold of Jinji and was made Nusrat Jang; and in 1702 he succeeded Bahramand Khan as Mir Bakhshi. His

* During the last decade of Aurangzib's reign, his soldiers' pay used to be usually in arrears for three years. [J. S.]

† *Dil.* 158a. and b. [J. S.]

last service had been the bringing of reinforcements in 1705, when Alamgir was sore pressed during the siege of Wakin-khera fort which was held by Parya Naik. But envious tongues raised doubts in Alamgir's suspicious mind by repeating the gossip of the camp and by quoting, in allusion to Zulfiqar Khan's title, the saying "There is no young man like Ali and no sword like Zulfiqar" (Ali's sword). To counteract this supposed pre-eminence, Alamgir forthwith began to promote nobles of the Turani party. But at the Emperor's death these two men Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan were incontestably the first in the Empire both in rank and influence. They threw in their lot with Azam Shah. [*M.U.* i. 310, ii. 93 *et seq.*]

MUHAMMAD KAM BAKHSH AND HIS MOVEMENTS

As already stated, Kam Bakhsh had marched for Bijapur a short time before his father's death. His escort consisted of Mughal troops under the command of Muhammad Amin Khan and others. The Prince had not got beyond Parendā, about 75 miles south-east of Ahmadnagar, when he heard of his father's death. The Mughul leaders and their men left him without asking his permission, and returned to Ahmadnagar to join Azam Shah. This led to the plunder of much of the Prince's baggage. In great disorder he hastened on till he was within sight of Bijapur. [K. K. 569 ; Kamwar.]

For several days Sayyid Niyaz Khan, nephew and deputy of the late subahdar, Chin Qilich Khan, kept the fort gates closed, and made difficulties about delivering possession. After two weeks a settlement was come to and Niyaz Khan gave up the fort. The Prince took up his quarters within it. Some say that while the Prince was still encamped outside Bijapur, Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat Jang, who had been in pursuit of the Mahrattas, and was only a few miles away, on hearing of Alamgir's death, conceived the project of capturing Kam Bakhsh and delivering him to Azam Shah. [Kamwar ; Iradat 12.] There was an old quarrel between Prince Kam Bakhsh and Zulfiqar Khan dating from the time of the siege of Jinji in the year 1693. This idea was only abandoned in deference to the advice of Rao Dalpat Bundela, an old and experienced

man highly esteemed by Zulfiqar Khan. The Khan resumed his march and joined Azam Shah and that Prince, though so much stronger, did not interfere with his younger brother's independence. By some accounts Kam Bakhsh wished to join his brother but his offer was refused. Meanwhile Kam Bakhsh assumed all the attributes of independent sovereignty, granted rank (*mansab*) and titles (*khitab*) appointed a minister and other chief officers of state, assumed the regal style of *Dinpanah*, 'Defender of the Faith', and coined money in his own name. [K. K. 569-570.]

SEC. 3.—AZAM SHAH'S MARCH TO HINDUSTAN.

After his enthronement Azam Shah issued coin with the inscription

Sikḡah zad dar jahan ba daulat o jah
Padshah-i-mamalik Azam Shah.

"Coin was struck in the world with fortune and dignity by the Emperor of the kingdoms, Azam Shah."

Some advised that Kam Bakhsh's pretensions should be first dealt with. Azam Shah held the enterprise of Muazzam Shah to be threatening, though even this rival would hardly require more than a stick to beat him. A number of appointments and promotions were made before leaving Ahmadnagar. On the 17th March, 1707, the advance tents were sent on, and on the 2nd April, after eleven days' march and five days of halt, Aurangabad was reached. Much of the many stores and many of the artificers were left behind at Aurangabad. One day's rest was taken, the tombs of Alamgir, the Prince's father, of his mother and of the saint Burhan-ud-din were visited, and a short prayer (*fatiha*) recited at each. On the 3rd April 1707 the march was resumed, and on the 24th April the army arrived at Burhanpur, having covered fifty-six and a half *kos* in eighteen marches with four halts. [Kamraj. f. 78 a; K. K. 571.]

At Aurangabad the Prince was joined by Zulfiqar Khan and Tarbiyat Khan, former Mir Atash or Commander of the Artillery, who before the late Emperor's death had been sent to drive away the Mahrattas. Rao Dalpat Bundela, Rao Ram-

Singh Hada and other of the officers serving under these generals were presented. But from the manner in which things were conducted, Zulfiqar Khan refrained in great measure from any interference in public business ; in fact, he and his father Asad Khan had done their best to persuade Azam Shah to leave them behind in the Dakhin ; while Chin Qilich Khan on the pretext that his presence was required in his new Governments of Aurangabad and Khandesh quitted the army. [Kamwar, *Dil.* 161b.]

Azam Shah left Burhanpur on the 25th April, 1707 and, instead of the usual and open route by the Akbarpur ferry, [on the Narmada] he bore to the right and adopted as being shorter the more difficult road across Pandhar to the Tomri Pass.* long, narrow and entirely waterless. In the two marches through that pass numbers of the poorer men and women died from want of water. Grain was also very dear ; and it was with difficulty that a bullock's skin of muddy water could be procured even at the price of fifteen Rupees. [Kamraj, *f.* 92b ; Iradat 12 ; *Dil.* 162b-163b.] Further confusion arose from the withdrawal of Muhammad Amin Khan and all his troops, while the army was passing through the defile under the supervision of Rao Dalpat Bundela. It was reported to Azam Shah, as soon as he had reached Pandhar, a place six *kos* from Burhanpur, that the men of Muhammad Amin Khan, who was in command of the rear-guard, had commenced to plunder the stragglers. A great outcry was raised in the Prince's presence by the tradespeople and poorer camp-followers. Azam Shah became very angry, sent for Muhammad Amin Khan, and addressed him in strong language. Muhammad Amin Khan made excuses at the time, and he was left in charge of the rear-guard. It had been obvious from the first that he was not hearty in the cause, he had acted without vigour and had betrayed ill-will whenever he dared. The next day, when the army had reached the village of Daudnagar, Muhammad Amin Khan loitered six or

* *Tomri*, in Bhopal State, about 16 m. north of Nimawar, which is opposite Handia on the Narmada.

seven miles in the rear of the column and thence without leave or notice turned and made off for Burhanpur. He was followed by many of the soldiers raised in the Dakhin. On his way he plundered the convoys of supplies coming from Burhanpur. Many offers to pursue the fugitive were made, but all were rejected owing to Azam Shah's eagerness to press on.* Some said that the true reason for this desertion was that Azam Shah having given up the prayers of the *Jamaat*, he had fallen under the suspicion of being a Shiah†; but it is hardly necessary to search for any special explanation of Muhammad Amin Khan's conduct. It was, no doubt, governed entirely then as always by a regard for his own interest. [Kamraj ; *Dil.*, 162b ; Kamwar.]

During the whole of this time no word had reached Azam Shah as to the plans or movements of his elder brother Muhammad Muazzam. Azam Shah made up his mind, however, before he had left Burhanpur that he would make for Agra. At the time the reasons for so doing must have seemed very weighty. The subahdar of Agra, Mukhtar Khan, was father-in-law to Bidar Bakht, the Prince's eldest son, while Baqi Khan commander of the fortress and Ali Sher, the *kotwal* or Police officer of the city, were both known to be favourable to the Prince. In the fortress of Agra were stored the accumulations of several reigns, and whoever could first possess himself of these was likely to overcome his opponent. For neither side had means of their own for carrying on a long campaign.

* All that he said was "He who is coming, let him come, and he who is not coming let him stay away, our trust is in the Master and not in his slaves." [Khush-hal Chand. 366b.]

† The accusation of heterodoxy seems to have had some truth in it. Khush-hal Chand (366b) attributes the change to the influence of one Mhd. Amin Khan, the Prince's librarian. [Probably identical with the Mir Mhd. Amin (Sharf Khan) a learned man and confidant of Azam, killed at Jajau. *T-i-Mhdi.*] Half his army was made up of Shi'ahs. Mirza Muhammad (39a) says, "Azam Shah was suspected of being a Shiah. For this cause men of Mawar-al-nahr, nay all the Sunnis, objected to his succession, although he had *Jurat* and *Khalk-i-adalat* on which sovereignty is founded."

Bidar Bakht, the eldest son of Azam Shah, was at Ahmadabad when he heard of his grandfather's death. He wrote at once to his father proposing, with his approval, to raise troops and march by way of Ajmer straight to Agra and bar the road of the opposite side. At first Azam Shah assented and sent a *farman* to his son under the style of Bidar Shah. Abdullah Khan, deputy governor of Malwa, who had a large force, was ordered to join the Prince. On receipt of the *farman* Bidar Bakht raised 2,000 men, conferred robes of honour on his chief men, as his father had directed, while Wazarat Khan, his *diwan*, distributed money to the troops. The Prince then started from Ahmadabad. [Kamraj, 69a.]

Unfortunately Azam Shah was jealous of his eldest son and had long suspected him of plots for his (Azam Shah's) supersession. This feeling had been intensified by one of the last acts of Alamgir. Annoyed by the overbearing conduct of Azam Shah, Alamgir as soon as Azam Shah had departed for Malwa, wrote a letter in his own hand to his grandson, Bidar Bakht, then at Ahmadabad, complaining that Azam Shah had given as much trouble as he ought to have given assistance. Bidar Bakht must, he wrote, make the greatest possible haste to head-quarters. This letter was received when Bidar Bakht was in the Jama Masjid of Ahmadabad. In obedience thereto he marched 4 or 5 miles out of Ahmadabad and then wrote a reply to that effect to his grandfather. This reply fell into Azam Shah's hands when he took possession of his father's property. The estrangement between the father and son was now greater than ever. As the proverb says, "An enemy inside the house is worse than one outside." [M. U. iii. 659 ; Kamwar.]

Wala-jah, Azam Shah's second son, proposed to his father the capture of Agra, where all the treasures of the Empire were buried. It was hinted that Bidar Bakht, if he obtained the start, might on reaching Agra take possession of all the treasure and turn his arms against his father. Fresh orders were therefore issued to him. He was now ordered not to enlist men but to join his father at Gwaliyar. Bidar Bakht, although he lamented the evil advice his father had received, disbanded

his troops and started to join his father. He reached Shahjahanpur in Malwa on the 5th April, 1707. In this neighbourhood as that of Ujjain he waited one month and twenty days for the arrival of Azam Shah. On the way he had been joined by Rajah Jai Singh of Amber.*

On the 14th May, 1707 Azam Shah, after seventeen days of marching and one day's halt, reached Sironj, a distance of more than 114 *kos* from Burhanpur. The suffering from heat and want of water had been very great and the Grasiyahs or jungle tribes plundered every man that they could lay hold upon. From Sironj a force of some 4,500 men under Zulfiqar Khan, Rao Dalpat Bundela, Rao Ram Singh, Ahmad Said Khan Barha and others was sent on to reinforce Bidar Bakht, who now advanced by his father's orders towards Gwalior, in order to seize the fords on the Chambal river. At Sironj Azam Shah heard that Muazzam Shah had reached Lahor.†

From Sironj Azam Shah hastened on to Gwalior, the sufferings from heat and bad water continuing to be most terrible. When he had reached Sarai Imak, fifteen *kos* from Gwalior, two messengers arrived from Bidar Bakht's direction with the information that Prince Muhammad Azim, second son of Muhammad Muazzam, had already reached Agra and had sent on Muhtashim Khan with 7,000 horse and a strong force of artillery to occupy the fords over the Chambal, while Muhammad Muazzam in person with his three sons had entered Agra and taken possession of the fort. Much disturbed by this intelligence, the first that had been received of Muazzam Shah's progress beyond Lahor, Azam Shah deposited the greater part of his baggage in Sarai Imak and made a forced march into Gwalior, which he reached on the 11th June, 1707. [Kamwar; *Siyar*; *Dil*. 163a.]

SEC. 4.—PRINCE MUHAMMAD AZIM (SECOND SON OF MUHAMMAD MUAZZAM) REACHES AGRA.

As we have already stated Alamgir, a short time before his death, influenced by suspicion instilled into him by Azam

* Kamraj, *f.* 84; Iradat 16; Khush-hal Chand, 367a.

† Kamraj, Kamwar, *Dil*. 162b.

Shah, recalled his grandson, Muhammad Azim, from the Government of the province of Bihar. In compliance with this order that Prince took with him treasure remitted from Bengal and started from Azimabad Patna, intending apparently to make his way to the Dakhin through Agra. The more direct road was possibly unsafe, at any rate it was seldom used by the Muhammadan generals, who usually went from Hindustan to the Dakhin either from Agra through Gwaliyar or from Dihli through Ajmer. The Prince was at Shahzadpur [sarkar Korah] in the Ganges-Jamuna Duab when he heard of his grandfather's death. By the advice of Agha Muhammad Said Baz Khan (brother of Daler Khan) and others, he enlisted more troops and advanced as quickly as possible in the direction of Agra at the head of more than 20,000 horse. At Itawah Khair-Andesh Khan presented himself with treasure and artillery. [K. K. 576, Kamwar 9, *Jangnama*, Kamraj 17.]

Muhammad Azim called upon Mukhtar Khan, the subahdar of Agra, to come out of the city and present himself. Mukhtar Khan, being father-in-law to Bidar Bakht, Azam Shah's eldest son, was naturally a strong partisan of the opposite party. The only hostile step, however, that he took was to prevent a bridge being thrown across the Jamuna; but the river being fordable in many places, this did not avail him anything, and Muhammad Azim with his army and baggage crossed in safety. After this feeble defence Mukhtar Khan lost his presence of mind and became afraid to do anything. The Prince sent Baz Khan and other officers into the city to arrest him, at the same time confiscating all his treasures, elephants, horses and goods. In the end Mukhtar Khan came over to Bahadur Shah's side and was presented through Baz Khan [Kamraj 17, *Jangnama*.]

Baqi Khan Qul, commandant of the Agra fort, was also summoned to surrender, to open the gates of the fort and to make over its contents to the men deputed for that purpose. Baqi Khan, who like Mukhtar Khan was favourable to Azam Shah, invented the excuse that the rival claimant had not yet arrived in person, and until this happened he could not make over the fort to any one. Moreover, up to this time the

prospects of Azam Shah were commonly held to be far better than those of his brother, Muhammad Muazzam. Baqi Khan's refusal incensed Prince Muhammad Azim who erected batteries in the grove lying below the mansion known as Dara Shukoh's, on the top of the Jama Masjid and over the triple gate (*tripoliya*) of the city, intending to frighten the garrison by a cannonade and the discharge of rockets. On his side Baqi Khan pointed his guns and posted his musketmen ready for resistance. His first shot struck the three-domed building in the marketplace (*chauk*) and destroyed its domes, the second killed many men and fell on the gate of the mosque, the third reached the mansion of Dara Shukoh and knocked down a wall in one of its rooms. Several of Muhammad Azim's men were killed, and he then desisted from any further attack on the fort. A truce of twenty days was agreed on and Muhammad Azim awaited his father's arrival, his force having swollen now to 40,000 men. [Kamwar 9 ; Kamraj 18 ; K. K. 576 ; Qasim 6-7 ; *Jangnama* ; Khush-hal Chand 368 b.]

BIDAR BAKHT ADVANCES TO THE CHAMBAL

Prince Muhammad Azim, as already stated, immediately on entering Agra sent forward a body of troops under Muhtashim Khan to protect the fords on the Chambal river forty miles south of that place. After reaching Dholpur Muhtashim Khan established batteries on the river bank on the north side of the stream and prepared to fight. He also called upon Jan Nisar Khan (Khwaja Mukarram) Bahadur-Shahi, the *faujdar* of Gwaliyar, to march and join him. At this time, Bidar Bakht had advanced beyond Gwaliyar and was one march from the Chambal. His camp was fixed at Nurabad. [Dil. 163.]

Bidar Bakht* now resolved to cross the Chambal and attack Muhtashim Khan. Zulfiqar Khan, a more experienced soldier,

* When Bidar Bakht was encamped at Palaichah, six kos from Narwar, Zulfiqar Khan and his reinforcements had come up with him. [Dil. 163a] Nurabad, 16 m. north of Gwaliyar and 20 m. south of the Chambal. [Indian Atlas, sheet 51 N.E.]

was opposed to this course. The resulting quarrel between the Prince and his chief general is told in the most lively fashion in the pages of Iradat Khan. The trivial causes from which such disputes arise, the way in which mere suspicion is fanned into certainty by crafty advisers, the great man's petulance and childishness, the sudden changes of temper—all is painted to the very life. In the end Bidar Bakht obtained his own way and crossed the river by the ford through unguarded passages. Upon this Muhtashim Khan and his troops abandoned their artillery and fled during the night to Agra, glad to save their lives. The movement having succeeded Zulfiqar Khan made his peace and was received again into favour. Bidar Bakht would have liked to push on to Agra, but formal orders were now received to halt at Dholpur, until Azam should arrive there in person, when he would distribute the commands and arrange the various stations to be taken by the different bodies of troops. We must now leave Azam Shah and turn to the movements of his elder brother, Muhammad Muazzam. [Kamraj 17-19, Iradat 20-26, *Dil.* 163.]

SEC. 5.—THE ADVANCE OF MUHAMMAD MUAZZAM TO LAHOR,
DIHLI AND AGRA.

It was at Jamrud, twelve miles west of Peshawar, that Muhammad Muazzam heard of his father's death. The date was the 22nd March, 1707, only twenty days after the event, an instance of the speed with which intelligence could be carried, the distance from Ahmadnagar to Jamrud being about 1,400 miles, and the average distance travelled by the messengers being thus seventy miles a day. It was now a race between the competitors for the throne. Whoever could first reach Agra or Dihli and obtain the wealth stored at one or both cities, would be almost certain to overpower his rival. In such an emergency the usual dilatory movements of an Indian army would be useless. We have seen with what haste Azam advanced from the Dakhin. Muhammad Muazzam was now to display equal if not greater activity. The distances to be traversed were from Ahmadnagar to Agra about 700 miles, from Jamrud to Agra about 715 miles. The general opinion was that all the chances

were in favour of Azam Shah's arriving first and winning the prize. [K. K. 577, Kamwar 7.]

During the last years of his father's lifetime Muhammad Muazzam, in whom there must have been great power of dissimulation, had given out that if Azam Shah claimed the throne he would make no attempt to contend with him but would at once seek a refuge in Persian territory or elsewhere. But the truth was that he had made secret preparations in concert with Munim Khan, *diwan* of Kabul, to assert his claims without a moment's delay. Munim Khan had secured the Prince's confidence and had on his recommendation been made *naib subahdar* of Lahor. Here he worked busily to collect the means of war, and for a year had been in the field with an army beyond the Bias and even the Satlaj, on the pretext of a rebellion by Inayat Khan and other [robber zamindars] of the [Jalandhar] *Duaba* and *Qasba* of Talwan.* Camels, oxen to drag the cannon, and other means of transport with boats for making bridges across the rivers had been silently collected in readiness in the country between Lahor and Peshawar. Rao Budh Singh Hada of Bundi and Bijai Singh Kachhwaha, who had taken refuge with Bahadur Shah at Kabul were conciliated, and through them there were enlisted a large number of Rajputs, who joined the standard just about the time of Alamgir's death [Khush-hal Chand, 367a]. Everything was ready, the signal only was awaited. [Iradat : K. K. 573 ; Qasim 8.]

On the 31st March 1707, Muhammad Muazzam reached Peshawar with his two youngest sons Rafi-ul-qadr and Khujista-Akhtar. A congratulatory letter was received from Munim Khan, governor of Lahor. Orders were issued to the Prince's eldest son Muizz-ud-din, subahdar of Tattha and Multan, to join at Lahor, with his eldest son Azz-ud-din. Other leading men were also summoned. The march was resumed after one day and the Indus was crossed, by means of the boats collected by Munim Khan, a bridge which usually was made in two

* Mr. Irvine had read the word as *Malun* and left a query '*Malot of Ain ii. 317?*' On referring to the Persian text I adopt the reading *Talwan*. [J Sarkar.]

months being put together in two days. On reaching Pul-i-Shah Daulah, twelve *kos* north of Lahor, Muhammad Muazzam celebrated his accession and took the title of Bahadur Shah, by which name henceforth we will refer to him. Homage was paid by all the lords and great officials of the Panjab headed by Munim Khan. On the 1st Safar 1119 (3rd May, 1707) crossing the Ravi by a bridge Bahadur Shah entered Lahor, visiting there the tomb of the saint Shaikh Abul Hasan and the home of Shah Ramzi a holy man. Muizz-ud-din, the Prince's eldest son, had now arrived from Multan and Bahadur Shah with his three sons, Muizz-ud-din, Rafi-ul-qadr, and Khujista-Akhtar, rested in the garden of Shalimar, which is situated four miles from Lahor on the road to Amritsar. The interval was devoted to preparing a new coinage, the inspection of the treasure and stores in the fort at Lahor, and the conferring of increased rank on the Princes and chief leaders. Munim Khan here received the new title of Khan Zaman, a set of drums, and the promise of being appointed Wazir. [K. K. 573-'5 ; Qasim 8 ; *Dil.* 164a.]

Taking twenty-eight lakhs of Rupees with him, Bahadur Shah left Lahor on the 5th May 1707. At Sarhind the *faujdar*, Wazir Khan, contributed eight lakhs from the revenue that he had collected. On the way much munition of war was brought in to Khanazad Khan, the son of Munim, by Mirza Asadullah, *faujdar* of Sonipat. Dihli was reached on the 1st June 1707. Munim Khan, preceding the army and accompanied by Sayyid Amjad Khan (Bu Ali) then *Bakhshi* and *Waqia-nigar* of Dihli, had an interview with Muhammad Yar Khan, the subahdar of Dihli who sent back his son, Hasan Yar Khan, with the keys of the fort and the usual offerings in token of submission. On entering the city shrines were visited and alms distributed. A sum of thirty lakhs of Rupees was taken from the treasure-house in the fort, and after visits to the shrine of Khwaja Qutb-ud-din and of Nizam-ud-din Auliya (surnamed Sultan-ul-mashaikh), on the 3rd June the journey was resumed. On the 12th June, the day that Azam Shah reached Gwalियar, Bahadur Shah arrived near Agra. He was met by Mukhtar Khan, the late subahdar, Jan Nisar Khan, *faujdar* of Gwalियar, and other officials of the province. Baqi Khan Qul, commandant of the Agra fort, also

sent a letter of submission with the keys of the fortress, stating that if Munim Khan would come alone he would make over the place to him. Accordingly Munim Khan entered by a narrow plank placed over the deep ditch and leading to a wicket gate. After a short rest, he sealed up the treasury and posted his own men at the gates. The Emperor's camp was pitched close to Bagh Dahr-Ara.* [K. K. 576-577; Kamwar 9; Jagjivan; *Dil.* 164a; *Iradat*; Yahya 112b-113a.]

It is said that, in spite of Alamgir's costly campaigns in the Dakhin which lasted for the last twenty-five years of his reign, twenty-four krors, or as some say thirteen krors gold and silver, coined and uncoined, collected during the four previous reigns, were found stored in the fort at Agra. Four krors were brought out and of this sum two krors were distributed at once, three lakhs to each of the three Princes with the Emperor, three lakhs to Munim Khan and his sons, one lakh to the Barha Sayyids, one lakh to Aghar Khan and his Mughals. On the same scale all those who had joined received their shares. Munim Khan's titles were again increased and the divisions of the army were set in order. [K. K. 578.]

BAHADUR SHAH'S LETTER TO AZAM SHAH AND THE LATTER'S REPLY.

From Mathura, while on his way from Dihli to Agra, Bahadur Shah sent to Azam Shah a letter by the hand of a holy man Mir Abd-ul-Karim, "the patch-wearer." He reminded his brother that their father had made a division of the Empire, allotting to him as second son the four provinces of the Dakhin. If this did not content him he might take Gujarat and Ajmer in addition. In this way they would avoid the sin of spilling the

* It is at Poyah Chat, close to Sultanganj (*Tarikh-i-Agra*, p. 31, lithographed, Husaini Press, Fathgarh.) There seem to be two Baghs at Agra with somewhat similar names, *Bagh Dahr* and *Bagh Dahr-Ara*. The former is also called *Nur Manzil* (same work, p. 28) and possesses a large well which is the only thing now left. It is called the 'well of the 52 water bags' (*Bawan lao ki kua*). The site is 3 miles south of the fort, it is now within the cantonments, and is called Khawas-pura (Mirza Vikar Ali Beg's letter of 20 Feb. 1893). The name of Nur Manzil was given it with reference to the Emperor Jahangir's name Nur-ud-din Mhd. (*M. U.*, iii. 79.)

blood of God's creatures. Some say that Bahadur Shah added that if this offer was not accepted, he was willing to meet his brother in single combat and leave it for the sword to decide.

These proposals only served to further incense Azam Shah against the *Banya*, his favourite nickname for his elder brother. His answer was that a kingdom was not a thing which could be divided like an inheritance. His brother, although a learned and well-read man seemed to have forgotten the verses in Shaikh Sadi Shirazi's *Gulistan* which every schoolboy knows, "Ten poor men can sleep comfortably under one blanket, while two kings cannot be contained within one kingdom." How could two swords be kept in one scabbard? Further, if a division was to be made, it should be an equal one. Was it fair to offer him four provinces, while Bahadur Shah kept fourteen for himself? Some assert that the only division he would accept was, as he said, that given in the lines

Az farsh-i-khana ta balab-i-bam az an-i-man,

Az bam-i-khana ta ba sariya az an-i-tū.

"My share is from the floor to the roof of the house, yours from the roof up to the firmament." He ended by reciting in a loud voice with arms stretched forth and sleeves rolled up the line from the *Shah Nama*, "When to-morrow's sun has risen there we will be, I and my mace, the battlefield, and Afrasyab." [*Jangnama*, Iradat 29, K. K. 585-7, Kamwar 10, Kamraj 24a, *Bahadur-Shah-nama* 10, Khush-hal Chand 369a, *M. U.* ii. 670, *Storia do Mogor* iv. 400-406.]

SEC. 6.—THE BATTLE OF JAJAU.

Finding hostilities could not be avoided and that Azam Shah was already at Gwaliyar, Bahadur Shah determined to advance and give battle at Dholpur, 34 miles south of Agra. He left Bagh Dahr-Ara on the 14th June 1707, and an advanced guard of about 80,000 horsemen was sent forward under the command of Prince Muhammad Azim, Aghar Khan, Khanazad Khan (son of Munim Khan) and Saf Shikan Khan, general of artillery. Of these troops 30,000 were raised and paid for by Muhammad Azim, who had brought with him a large sum of money from Bengal, some say as much as nine to eleven krons

of Rupees. This advanced force was ordered to take possession of the fords and ferries on the Chambal, which is only one mile beyond and to the south of Dholpur. [K.K. 579, *Jang*. 11.]

On his side Azam Shah, as soon as he had learnt that Bahadur Shah was at Agra, left the rest of his heavy baggage in the fort at Gwaliyar in charge of Asad Khan, the Wazir, Inayatullah Khan, diwan of the Khalsa and others. His sister Zinat-un-nissa, the ladies belonging to the family of Alamgir, and the wives of many nobles were left at the same place. A few members of his harem with a few jewels and some gold coins, continued with the army. Azam Shah crossed the Chambal by the Kamthra* crossing and made for Dholpur. A little money was paid to the troops while Bidar Bakht, the eldest son, was appointed to command the vanguard. With him were Zulfiqar Khan, Khan Alam Dakhini and Munavvar Khan (sons of Khan Zaman Haidarabadi) Rao Dalpat Bundela, Ram Singh Hada and Raja Jai Singh Kachhwaha. [Kamraj 20.]

In support of the Van followed a body of troops under the second son, Prince Wala-jah. With him were Mirza Sadr-ud-din Muhammad Khan, Tarbiyat Khan, Amanullah Khan and Mutallib Khan, Salabat Khan (Sultan Nazar), Aqil Khan (Shaikh Sultan), Safawi Khan Bakhshi, Sayyid Shujat Khan, Ibrahim Beg Tabrizi and Usman Khan. There were with them about 25,000 horsemen.

When Azam Shah neared Dholpur, his son Bidar Bakht came out two *kos* from camp to meet and escort him. For a moment paternal love overcame his jealousy, and Azam Shah received his son cordially, conferring on him valuable gifts. Here the Bakhshis made their reports after the troops had been mustered. The numbers were 65,000 horsemen and 45,000 infantry armed with matchlocks. In this enumeration were included the troops serving directly under Azam Shah and his sons, as well as those brought by the nobles and other leaders. Upon starting all pay had been raised one-fourth and the Prince

* The ford is named *Kainthri*, in *Ind. Atlas*, Sheet 50 S. E., and stands 6 miles due south of Dholpur. [J. Sarkar.]

now promised that upon the day they entered Agra another increase of one-fourth on the total pay would be granted. The whole force was divided into a vanguard, right and left wings and a centre commanded respectively by Bidar Bakht, Azam Shah himself, Wala-jah and Ali Tabar. There were not many large cannon or mortars, these having been left behind at Ahmadnagar, Aurangabad and Burhanpur or wherever they fell. The rest were left at Gwalियar, as the enemy were supposed to be deficient in such artillery. There were, however, a number of smaller pieces known as *rahkḷa*, *shutarnal* (camel-guns) and *gajnals* (elephant-guns). The new head of the artillery, Padshah Quli Khan, with the help of Hazrat Quli Beg Sistani, distributed these equally to each division of the army. Azam Shah, in the boastful manner usual with him, had replied to a demand by the artillery commander for orders that he had no use for cannon against a cattle breeder: nor need to draw his sword, a staff would suffice to break his head. He was also of opinion that an artillery fight was a stripling's pastime and that the only real weapon was the sword. It was decided to march for Samugarh, ten miles s. e. of Agra, it being considered a happy omen to select the ground on which Alamgir had triumphed over his brother Dara Shukoh fifty-two years before. [Iradat 28, Kamraj 19, *Jang.*, Khush-hal Chand 369-370, *Dil.* 162 a.]

On the 17th June 1707 Azam Shah completed his march without seeing the enemy. From want of water the sufferings of the troops had been very great. On the way no wells or ponds were met with, and the only water to be got was that from a ravine, and it was very brackish. This is probably the [*nullah* near the Mania railway station]* marked on the map as flowing half way between Dholpur and Jajau. The nobles and great men suffered less for they had taken in their retinue bottles and ox-skins full of sweet water, with which they quenched their own thirst and that of their relations. With these exceptions, the men of the army toiled along with their tongues lolling out of their mouths from thirst, while any animal

* The words within the brackets have been supplied by the editor.

or man that drank a drop of the brackish water suffered greatly. Many died from thirst. When we think of the heat of the month of June in the neighbourhood of Agra, it is easy to believe that in this account there is no exaggeration. [Kamraj 22.]

Owing to the intelligence which reached him of Azam Shah's movements, Bahadur Shah ordered his advance-tents to be sent forward and pitched in a grove four miles north of Jajau.* Rustam Dil Khan, Mir Tuzak, was in charge, and Prince Muhammad Azim was not far off, protecting the new camp. On the 18th June 1707 Bahadur Shah, following the advice of his astrologers, fixed on the 20th as a fortunate day on which to give battle. He and his three sons set out in the morning from their old camp and entered a royal hunting preserve which was near their route intending to pass the day in hunting.† [K.K. 587, *Jang*.]

* The movements of the rivals before the battle are thus described by Bhimsen, who was present in Azam's army and was wounded in the company of his master Delpat Rao Bundela (*Dil*. 164):—"On the fifteenth [Rabi I., Bahadur Shah from the garden of Dhara near Agra] set out to punish Md. Azam Shah, and leaving Jajau on his *left* hand set up his royal tents and engaged in marshalling his forces. He filled with artillery the uneven pass, (*guzar*) of Jajau. Md. Azam Shah, having reached Nurabad on the 14th, halted for one day; under the guidance of the zamindars he left Jajau on his *left* hand and on the 17th arranging his troops marched out to battle.... At this time Shah Alam learnt that Azam had arrived at a distance of two *kos* from Jajau....and had plundered the imperial advance-tents which had been pitched close to the garden of Jajau...and that Prince Azim-ush-shan had hurriedly formed line of battle [to oppose him.] The following are the details of the incident: when the army of Azam Shah arrived two *kos* from Jajau, they sighted the tents and standards of the camp of Bahadur Shah; the Left Wing under Zulfiqar Kh. charged at the gallop. ...the defender Rustam Dil Khan fled, and the men of Azam engaged in plunder." There are two serious mistakes here: (i) Shah Alam's advance-tents could not have been pitched close to Jajau and four miles from that village at the same time, and (ii) that Emperor in marching south from Agra must have left Jajau on his *right* and not on his left. The battlefield was clearly 4 miles north-east of Jajau. [J. Sarkar.]

† Valentyn, 276, gives Shah Alam's numbers as 152,000 horse and 178,000 foot, and he adds a long list of the commanders, under eighty-nine

The same morning Bidar Bakht was marching northwards from Jajau on his way to Samugarh. The soldiers owing to the heat and the scarcity of water were, as a native writer says, "melting like wax in the jungle". They were unable to bear the weight of their chain mail and steel breast-plates. These they placed on the powder waggons (*purtal*) and marched with nothing on but their long cotton coats. The head of the skirmishers (*qarawal begi*) had that day selected a line of march through thick underwood, for the reason that on the way would be found a large well with steps. Luckily this well was found. A number of the bodyguard (*jalaū khas*) stayed behind to drink. But the effects of the salt water of the previous march were so great that their tongues still hung out of their mouths and they were still eager for more water. In this way they proceeded for fifteen or sixteen miles. [Kamraj 23.]

Bidar Bakht this day was mounted on a war elephant, his quiver at his back and his bow on his arm. His chief men surrounded him. Zulfiqar Khan followed on the left with Ram Singh Hada and Rao Dalpat Bundela, two men long in his employ, and his trusty friend Amanullah Khan who, though separate, appeared as if he were part of Zulfiqar Khan's corps. With the advance guard of the centre (*iltimsh*) marched Aziz Khan Afghan, while still further in advance were Khan Alam Dakhini and his brother Munavvar Khan. On the right was Prince Wala-jah with Amanullah Khan (Abdullah Khan), servant of Azam Shah. The centre followed, under the direct command of Azam Shah, around whom were gathered Tarbiyat Khan, Mutallib Khan, Khudabanda Khan, Hamid-ud-din Khan Bahadur [?], Amir Khan, and others. In this way they drew near to Jajau without learning the exact position of Bahadur Shah or the direction of his advance. [Iradat, 30.]

Bidar Bakht continued his march till he reached a village below which flowed a streamlet of water and around which

headings, but most of the names are so disguised as to be unrecognizable. This list shows a total of 170,000 cavalry, 195,000 infantry, 4414 cannon 62 elephants, 1,500 camels and 3,000 oxen.

there were several wells. At this time his troops were scattered, out of order, and following what route they chose. It was proposed to rest here, Azam Shah with the main body being three miles behind, the position and intentions of the enemy unknown, the country in front waterless and the day likely to be very hot. Besides this the troops were scattered and Zulfiqar Khan had gone off so far to the left as to be out of sight. Where Bidar Bakht was there was sufficient water, a halt would give the artillery time to join, and the scattered troops to assemble. Moreover, should the enemy advance against them, he would have the advantage of retaining possession of the water. The Prince approved of this advice and ordered Iradat Khan to inform Azam Shah accordingly. The report was made and Azam Shah sent word that he would follow. When Iradat Khan returned to the village, he was surprised to discover that Bidar Bakht had left it. On coming up with him, the drums were beating for a victory. Iradat Khan was unwilling to accept the good news. The Prince turned to a scout and said "Tell Iradat Khan what you have seen." The man said that he had seen Shah Alam's own elephant, riderless, making off for Agra. Still Iradat Khan was unconvinced, but Bidar Bakht, as his only answer, said, "You are for ever a foreboder of evil." [Iradat 31.]

It seems that word had been brought to Prince Bidar Bakht that the enemy was in sight. What had been seen were the flags upon Bahadur Shah's advanced tents, then being erected under the superintendence of Rustam Dil Khan, Mir Tuzak. Prince Azim-ush-shan was at a little distance, ready to protect them from any attack. Khan Alam Dakhini and Munavvar Khan detached themselves from Bidar Bakht's left wing and made a descent upon the imperial tents in the plundering fashion copied from the Mahrattas. They had only 2,000 to 3,000 men with them, but Muhammad Azim's men were taken by surprise and out of 20,000 to 30,000 horse only four hundred to five hundred stood fast round that Prince's elephant. In the confusion Bahadur Shah's tents were set fire to, whereupon the Jats attached to Bahadur Shah's army and the soldiers on both sides began to plunder them. In this first attack Rustam

Dil Khan, Mir Tuzak to Bahadur Shah, was cut off, and making the best of it went and presented himself to Azam Shah and was allowed to ride in his retinue. [Iradat, Kamwar, *Dil*. 164 a, *Jang.*, Kamraj 24 b, K.K. 589.]

Azim-ush-shan continued to face the enemy and held his ground so far as he was able, sending at the same time urgent messengers to his father calling for reinforcements. The messengers reached Bahadur Shah while he was still engaged in hunting, but he turned at once towards the field of battle, sending first Munim Khan, the Wazir, and then Prince Muizz-ud-din and his other sons to support Azim-ush-shan. Meanwhile Bidar Bakht's drums had begun beating in honour of his supposed victory. Zulfiqar Khan and others proposed to Azam Shah that they should encamp where they were and postpone the final battle till the next day, in the hope that the other side's defeat in the skirmish would exercise a depressing influence on them. Azam Shah would listen to no such proposal, styling it angrily mere women's talk. [*Jang.*, K.K. 589.]

As the dust raised first by one and then by the other of the bodies of troops despatched by Bahadur Shah was seen in the distance, Iradat Khan pointed out to Bidar Bakht that their appearance betokened forces of at least fifty thousand horse in each. By the Prince's order, Iradat Khan rode off to inform Azam Shah. He found that Prince some three miles in the rear. Pushing through the crowd, and in obedience to a signal alighting from his horse near the travelling throne (*takht-i-rawan*) on which Azam Shah was seated, Iradat Khan made his report of the enemy's near approach. With furious looks and rolling eyes, pulling up his sleeves, a gesture usual to him when angry, Azam Shah shouted: "What enemy comes against me!" He called for his war elephant, twirled frantically a crooked staff, and standing upright on his throne said tauntingly "Be not afraid! I am coming to my son." By the time that Iradat Khan reached Bidar Bakht again, the cannonade had begun. [Iradat 33.]

The two advancing bodies of Bahadur Shah's troops had now halted within a rocket's flight of Bidar Bakht's line, one

under the command of Prince Azim-ush-shan, the other under that of Munim Khan, the Wazir, supported by the Princes Muizz-ud-din and Jahan Shah. On Bidar Bakht's side it was found impossible to rally all his men, many of whom had scattered to plunder the camp. Furthermore, his troops were hampered by the crowd of baggage elephants, cattle, and followers on both flanks and in their rear. The opponent's artillery played freely on them and did great execution, the musketry balls fell like hail, and rockets placed in a line before the advancing troops were repeatedly discharged with effect. The sun was high in the heavens and the heat excessive. After a time Bidar Bakht's men became impatient and made ready to charge, headed by Khan Alam Dakhini and his bodyguard of five hundred men arrayed like bridegrooms in long red coats and turbans of green and gold. [Iradat 36, *Dil.* 164 b, Qasim 13 a, Khush-hal 371 a.]

As Khan Alam advanced, many men lagged behind, and not more than three hundred remained with him to the end of the charge. The chief drove his elephant sharply up alongside that ridden by Azim-ush-shan and three times aimed a blow at the Prince with his spear, but the weapon missing the Prince struck the thigh of Jalal Khan, an attendant seated behind him. The Prince was unhurt, and with an arrow hit his assailant full in the breast and killed him, as he was trying to jump into the Prince's *howda*. The Prince's bodyguard closed in, Jalal Khan inflicted a wound on Munavvar Khan, the brother of Khan Alam, and on the fall of the leader the rest of their men were dispersed. By their retreat the Prince Wala-jah was left exposed. Seeing his danger, Amanullah Khan hastened to that Prince's assistance, but a rocket which fell on his elephant's pad set it on fire, causing the elephant to turn round and take to flight. Amanullah Khan, partly burnt, fell to the ground, and his troops, believing he was dead, fled in disorder. Thereupon Prince Wala-jah retreated for protection to Bidar Bakht. [Iradat 37, Kamwar, K. K. 591, Kamraj 25]

Baz Khan Afghan, a leader who had taken service with Azim-ush-shan, aided by Rajah Budh Singh Hada, Rajah Bahadur, the Prince's maternal uncle, and Muhammad Rafi

Khurasani (afterwards Sarbuland Khan), now attacked Zulfiqar Khan, but was repulsed with great loss, Baz Khan himself being badly wounded. In this attack however, two of Zulfiqar Khan's most trusted commanders, Ram Singh Hada of Bundi and Dalpat Rao Bundela of Datiya-Orchha, were killed by cannon shot. Rao Dalpat being struck by a ball from a swivel-piece, which entered at the chin and came out at his back.* The Rajputs lost heart and fled, taking with them the dead bodies of their chieftains. For a while Zulfiqar Khan himself stood firm, but when assailed by the whole force of Azim-ush-shan's division, he made over the command to Sayyid Muzaffar and retired to the rear of Azam Shah's position. There he left his elephant and fled on horseback to rejoin his father, Asad Khan, at Gwaliyar. He had received a slight wound on the lip.† His flight determined the defeat of the army. The author of the *Masir-ul-umara* accused him, with some justice, of having on this occasion sought more to serve his own interests than to really exert himself for the Prince whose side he had adopted. Danishmand Khan's remarks on Zulfiqar Khan's early flight from the battlefield are exceedingly pungent, and must have stung him to the quick.‡ Another interval in the ranks was made by the departure of Rajah Jai Singh Kachhwaha from his place on

* The fatal ball then passed into Bhimsen's arm and there was arrested in its course. (*Dil.* 165a.)

† *M. U.*, ii. 93. As to this wound Yahya Khan (113b) says that Azam Shah when Zulfiqar Khan proposed to put off the final contest to the next day, fired at him an arrow without a head (*tikkah*) which hit him on the lip and broke a tooth. Between Dholpur and Nurabad his flight was hindered by the villagers who plundered his men, killing several officers of rank such as Muzaffar with his sons and nephews: while Kabir Afghan from the weight of his armour and the heat fell from his horse. Zulfiqar Khan neither paused nor gave any heed but pursued his way to Gwaliyar. (*Dil.* 166b.)

‡ Bhimsen, although serving under one of Zulfiqar Khan's own officers (Rao Dalpat Bundela), takes the same view. "If Nusrat Jang, as required by his apparent loyalty, had joined actively with the other leaders in the attack, and had even for a little while held his own in the battle, all the difficulties that fell upon Azam Shah would never have happened." (*Dil.* 166a.)

Bidar Bakht's left. At the exact moment of the severest fighting, he put his bow into his *howda*, wrapped his shawl over his head, and made his way to Prince Muhammad Azim, by whom and his father Bahadur Shah he was not very graciously received. Others influenced by the bad example of Zulfiqar Khan also withdrew or relaxed their efforts. [Iradat 37, *Dil.* 165-166, Kamraj 27, Yahya 113b.]

The heat was excessive, the soil sandy, and as the fight continued the thick dust was blown by the hot wind into the faces of Azam Shah's soldiers. Several writers attribute to this wind a disastrous effect on the battle, and even assert that it was strong enough to divert the arrows shot from Azam Shah's side.* The leaders on that side were dismounted and awaited the enemy's charge, resolved to sell their lives dearly. On the other side the Barha Sayyids, led by Hasan Ali Khan (afterwards Abdullah Khan) with his brothers, Husain Ali Khan and Nur-ud-din Ali Khan, advanced to the attack on foot,† as was their custom in the crisis of a battle. Hasan Ali Khan and Husain Ali Khan were both wounded and were left on the field; Nur-ud-din Ali Khan was killed. Other casualties on Bahadur Shah's side were Mirza Namdar (grandson of Padshah Quli Khan Lakhnavi). Sayyid Husain Khan and Sayyid Abu Said Khan. Inayat Khan, grandson of Sadullah Khan Shahjahani, received severe wounds, of which he subsequently died. Of Azam Shah's supporters Amanullah Khan was killed. Tarbiyat Khan soon after lost his life by a musket ball, while Matlab Khan and Khudabanda Khan fell down fainting from loss of blood. Muhammad Bakir, *Mir Atash* to Bidar Bakht, Muhammad Ishaq, Ibrahim Khan, Ahmad Khan, Darya Khan,

* Yahya Khan (113b) improves even on this. Not only did the wind send back arrows but also bullets, and with such force that they killed men on the side from which they were sent!

† *Utara* or dismounting. On quitting their horses the men tied the skirts of their tunics together. Persians in India ridiculed the practice, attributing its origin to the bad horsemanship of the Indians; the Hindustanis themselves boasted of it as a proof of exceptional courage. *Memoirs of Delhi and Faizabad* (i.e., *Tarikh-i-Farah Bakhsh* of Mhd. Faiz Bakhsh) by W. Hoey., Vol. 1., Appendix, p. 7, and J. Shakespear, *H. Dict.* 30.

Sayyid Abdullah, Safawi Khan, all lost their lives. Bidar Bakht had already been struck by several arrows, and a flesh wound had been received by his young son, Bidar Dil, who was seated on his father's elephant. The boy had just been made over to a trusty eunuch to be carried to the women's elephants, when a ball from a swivel-gun (*jazair*) struck his father Bidar Bakht, and killed him. [Iradat 38, *Dil*. 165b, Kamraj 28, Qasim 14-15, Khush-hal 371b.]

Prince Wala-jah had arrived a little time before to reinforce his brother, Bidar Bakht, and the vanguard. Many leaders on that side perished in the struggle. Among them were Zafar Ali Khan, Ismail Khan (son of Aqil Khan), Shaikh Habibullah (Dilawar Khan), Ibrahim Beg Babari, Hazrat Quli Sistani, Salabat Khan (Sultan Nazar), Aqil Khan (Shaikh Sultan), Sherani Khan (Bahadur Sherani) and Yusuf Muhammad Beg (Abdullah Beg). It was now only three hours to sunset, but Prince Wala-jah, in spite of his wounds, fought on. At length he fainted from loss of blood, his elephant was driven off to the rear, and he was taken to his father, Azam Shah. [Kamraj 30, *Dil*. 165-166.]

The main body under Azam Shah in person now took up the contest. Soon an arrow struck Prince Ali Tabar on the arm, he being with his father, Azam Shah, in one *howda*; and at this time Sher Afkan Khan, (Mir Muhammad Husain), head of the artillery, was slain. Tari Khan (M. Usman) Janbaz Khan (M. Amin Mandal), Shujat Khan (Sayyid Abdul Muhammad), Shah Nawaz Kh. (Safawi Khan), the third Bakhshi, Mast Ali Khan, Mir Niyaz, and others also perished. Many men of note were wounded. Azam Shah, in spite of the death of his eldest son and of so many leaders, urged on his elephant, amidst a rain of arrows and balls, into the thick of the fight. It is said (Qasim, 13) that one after another four drivers were shot down, as they directed his elephant onwards.* Azam Shah himself was struck

* Another story (Yahya Khan, 113b) is:—When the elephant driver was told to drive on he remarked "This elephant habitually travels 100 *kos* with ease." Azam Shah's wrath was aroused at this suggestion of flight. He hit the man with the weapon he happened to have in his hand, knocked him off the elephant, and drove it himself.

several times by arrows, but he paid no heed to the wounds. At length a musket ball struck him on the forehead and killed him. The shot is believed to have been from the hand of Isa Khan Main, a zamindar from the Lakhi Jangal of subah Lahor, then serving with the troops of Prince Muizz-ud-din. It was then about one and a half hours before nightfall. The flying troops made off towards Gwaliyar, and so many lost their lives on the way at the hands of Jat plunderers and the Rohelas of Dholpur, that the ravines leading to the Chambal were encumbered with decaying bodies. [Kamraj 30, Kamwar, Khush-hal 372b.]

Spies brought word at once to Bahadur Shah that his rival was dead. Men were despatched to bring in the corpses, but Azam Shah's bodyguard attempted to retain possession of them. A fight was carried on around the elephants. Wala-jah was thereby roused from his swoon and attempted to renew the fight; but he soon fainted again and then expired. Kokaltash Khan (Mir Hidayatullah Koka) continued to defend the bodies till he lost his own life. When night came on, the two to three hundred men then left round the three elephants dispersed, and Rustam Dil Khan, who as already related had been made a prisoner early in the day, mounting Azam Shah's elephant, cut off the dead Prince's head and made his way with it to Bahadur Shah, thinking it would be an acceptable offering.* [Kamraj 31, Imdat 39, Dil. 166b, Khush-hal 373a.]

Instead of the expected reward, Rustam Dil Khan, on laying Azam Shah's head before his master, received nothing but reproaches from the compassionate Bahadur Shah. Two elephants followed, bearing the dead bodies of Azam Shah and Bidar Bakht. In the *howda* of the first-named was found his young son, Ali Tabar, lying unconscious, in a state more dead than alive, partly from the wound he had received and partly from fright. Bahadur Shah received the boy very kindly, embraced him, and wept for the dead. Azam Shah's women

* Kamraj's *Azam-ul-harb*. The elephant bearing Wala-jah's body, having no driver, escaped and made for the bank of the Jamuna under the fort of Agra, and there it was captured the next morning.

and Bidar Bakht's sons, Bidar Dil and Said Bakht, and other children, were brought in by the exertions of Munim Khan, and these all received assurances of favour and protection. [Iradat 39, Kamraj 31-32.]

Throughout the day indescribable suffering had been caused to Azam Shah's troops by the want of water, many horses and elephants expired, and, as one of the officers present states, 12,000 horsemen were left dead upon the field. Bahadur Shah caused proclamation to be made that the soldiers of the losing side should not be harmed. Sadr-ud-din Muhammad Khan Safawi now went to the conqueror and made his submission. The bodies of the brothers, Khan Zaman and Khan Alam Dakhini, were sent to Gwaliyar for burial. Ram Singh Hada's corpse was removed for cremation to Nurabad, while that of Rao Dalpat Bundela was committed to the flames by his son Bharati Chand at the village of Dhambi, seven miles from Agra. Bharati Chand with Bhimsen then retired to his home at Orchha. [Dil. 167a.] [The bodies of the three dead Princes were placed in biers and after a few days despatched for burial in the mausoleum of Humayun at Dihli.]

The loss on both sides in this battle is said to have amounted to ten thousand men. At midnight the two Barha Sayyids, Hasan Ali Khan and Husain Ali Khan, were found lying wounded and insensible among the slain. They were removed to a place of safety and attended to. Orders were given to collect the dead bodies and they were buried under great mounds known as 'Martyrs' storehouses.' Bahadur Shah passed the night in a *shamiana* erected on the field of battle, and the next morning he returned in state to Bagh Dahr-Ara. [Khush-hal 373, Iradat 39.]

It may be fairly said, in summing up this part of our story, that Azam Shah brought on his own defeat by his overhaste and excessive rashness. Having failed to reach Agra in time to occupy that city before his rival, his chance of success was reduced enormously. He had little or no money, in comparison at least with the large resources thrown open to Bahadur Shah ; he had left much of his equipage behind him in the Dakhin ; and his army was largely composed of fresh and untrained

troops ; while many of his chief men, such as Zulfiqar Khan and Rajah Jai Singh Kachhwaha seem to have been only half-hearted in their support of his cause. Still, in eastern warfare a bold attack presumably succeeds, and many a field has been won in India more by boldness than by good generalship. But the fates were not propitious to Azam Shah, and as usual in Indian battles, the death of the leader decided the day. Nor can Azam Shah's failure to attain Empire be regretted by the impartial enquirer. He might have been a more vigorous ruler than his brother, Bahadur Shah, but his overweening conceit, violent temper, and easily excited jealousy of his son, would in the end have been far more disastrous to the Mughal dynasty in India than even the weak profuseness of his successful rival.

Azam Shah having been born on the 12th Shaban 1063 H., as already stated, had attained at his death the age of 55 (lunar) years 7 months and 6 days, his nominal reign, counting from the 28 Zul Qada 1118 up to the 18th Rabi, 1. 1119, having lasted three months and ten days. He had seven sons ; the names of these and of their children are shown in the subjoined table.

Azam Shah						
(1) Bidar Bakht	(5) Jawan Bakht	(6) Sikandar Shan	(7) Wals-jah	(8) Zi-jah	(9) Wals Shan	(10) Ali Tabar
(2) Siruz Bakht	(3) Bidar Dil Dindar Dil	(4) Said Bakht	Hayat-ullah	Bakht-Afsun Banu Begam	Bakht-un-nissa Begam	

A daughter Citi Ara Begam was married on the 27th Shaban 1121 H. to Azim-ush-shan, second son of Bahadur Shah. And on the 24th Ramzan of the same year a daughter of Bidar Bakht was married to Azz-ud-din, son of Bahadur Shah's eldest son Muizz-ud-din Jahandar Shah.

SEC. 7.—BAHADUR SHAH'S STAY AT AGRA AND APPOINTMENTS TO THE PRINCIPAL OFFICES.

As soon as he had returned to Bagh Dahr-Ara near Agra, Bahadur Shah held public audience and received congratula-

tions upon the previous day's victory. Numerous promotions and appointments were made. The four Princes received new titles, Muizz-ud-din was created Jahandar Shah Bahadur and given the governorship of Tattha and Multan; Muhammad Azim became Azim-ush-shan Bahadur and received the provinces of Bengal and Azimabad (Patna); Rafi-ul-qadr became Rafi-ush-shan Bahadur with charge of the province of Kabul, and the fourth son, Khujista-Akhtar, was now made Jahan Shah Bahadur with rule over the province of Malwa. Their rank (*mansab*) was raised to 30,000 *zat*, 20,000 horsemen; large sums were disbursed to them from the accumulations in Agra fort, and they were directed to name deputies to take charge of their respective Governments.

Munim Khan, in spite of a wound from a musket ball, had kept the battlefield, and throughout the day displayed the greatest activity. When the victory was won he was so exhausted that he was obliged to be carried on a cloth and laid before his master. Bahadur Shah took him into his arms and embraced him saying: "All I have won is due to your exertions". Naim Khan, the minister's son, had also been wounded. As the minister's wounds were so severe as to prevent his presenting himself at the audience, the Emperor in person visited his quarters to enquire as to his condition. His title of Khan Zaman was converted into that of Khan Khanan Bahadur Zafar Jang, and his rank raised from 1,500 to 7,000 (7,000 horse), with a grant of two khrs of *dams* in cash and goods. His eldest son Muhammad Naim (Khanazad Khan) became Mahabat Khan Bahadur; his younger son, Mukarram Khan, was made Khan Zaman. [Iradat, Qasim 14, K.K. 598, Kamraj 34 a, Dil. 167 a.]

The policy of Bahadur Shah was throughout his reign one of conciliation. It is difficult to decide how far he was influenced in this conduct by his chief minister Munim Khan. But from the first this spirit was shown. It was laid down that to have joined Azam Shah was not in itself to be treated as an offence. The Emperor met any remonstrances by saying that if his own sons had been present in the Dakhin, they would have been forced, in order to save themselves, into adopting

their uncle's cause. (K.K. 600.) All who chose to present themselves were readmitted into the imperial service. In pursuance of this policy, letters were sent to Gwaliyar addressed to Asad Khan, Alamgir's Wazir, and his son, Zulfiqar Khan, directing them to bring in to Agra the Emperor's sister, Zinat-un-nissa Begam and the other members of Alamgir and Azam Shah's family left behind at that place, together with all the baggage and establishments. Similarly, offers of immunity and invitations to Court were sent to Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang, his son, Chin Qilich Khan, the subahdar of Aurangabad, and his cousin, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur *Sadar-us-sadur* in the late reign. [Kamwar 14.]

Early in Rabi II. 1119 (July 1707), Asad Khan, the late Emperor's Wazir, and his son Zulfiqar Khan arrived in Agra, escorting the Emperor's sister, Zinat-un-nissa. Many of the leading men, who had marched from the Dakhin in the train of Azam Shah, came in with them. Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan presented themselves with their hands bound: the bonds of the first were untied by Bahadur Shah himself, those of the second by Jahandar Shah, his eldest son. Asad Khan was offered the position of *Wakil-i-mutlaq*, that is, Vice Emperor, an office superior to that of *Wazir*, which had been held in the reign of Shah Jahan by Asaf Khan that Emperor's father-in-law. The office of Wazir had been already promised at Lahor to Munim Khan. With this arrangement Asad Khan was, in his heart, far from pleased, he would have liked to exercise, as before, the full powers of minister. This reluctance was learnt by Bahadur Shah through the Princes, his sons, and he hesitated to give final orders. Perhaps, as some say, this tenderness for Asad Khan arose out of deference to the wish expressed in Alamgir's will that he should be retained as Wazir. In consultation with his youngest and then favourite son Jahan Shah, he sent the Prince's chamberlain, Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, to conciliate Asad Khan. The latter was induced to consent, but abated little of his pretensions. In his written petition he asked first to be made Wazir. If not, then let whatever the Emperor liked be done. "What can a slave claim? His master's orders are right." But he sent a separate list of the

powers exercised by and the dignities conferred on the late Yamin-ud-daulah Asaf Khan, and these he asked for himself. They were as follows: Asaf Khan used to attend the evening audience for the purpose of laying all business before His Majesty, then next day he went to his own office. There the two chief officials attended; one, Afzal Khan, sat behind him, the other, Sadiq Khan, owing to his relationship, was allowed to sit on the right at a distance of two yards from his cushion. On the left at a distance of four yards sat the Tan Bakhshi. Sadiq Khan brought before Yamin-ud-daulah i.e., Asaf Khan, all appointments and removals of *subahdars*, *jaujdars* and *diwans*. Afzal Khan brought forward the office reports about resumption or exchange of land assignments (*jagir*). Yamin-ud-daulah signed the orders and went home. Then Sadiq Khan used to proceed to the Emperor's audience-hall and report what had been done. It was not till this report was made that His Majesty sanctioned the promotions, appointments and grants. In addition the Wakil-i-mutlaq kept the seal, received a copy of the reports from the provinces and of every paper filed by the chief diwan, his seal and signature were attached to all warrants of appointment, the Court reporter appeared before him daily with all new intelligence. Asad Khan also claimed the rank of 9,000 (9,000 horsemen), the *togh* (yak's tail) and *tuman*, the governorship of Lahor, the right to sit in the audience-hall, permission to beat his drums next after those of the royal Princes, and when the Court was moving about to come in his litter as far as the enclosure (*jali*), and when it was stationary to come into the courtyard of the public and private audience-halls, or if the audience had begun, then as far as the doorway. [Kamwar 14, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, Qasim 17.]

In reply Bahadur Shah explained that the special services performed by Munim Khan justified his appointment as Wazir. That office could not be justly given to any one else. Asad Khan would be named as Wakil-i-mutlaq with the rank of 8,000 (8,000 horsemen, *Duaspah*), the duties in case of absence to be performed by Zulfiqar Khan as his father's deputy. All the other demands were agreed to, and it was pointed out

that Yamin-ud-daulah's higher rank was due to his relationship to the then sovereign and the special services rendered in the contest for the throne. Asad Khan's titles were increased to Nizam-ul-mulk, Asaf-ud-daulah, while his son was raised to 7,000 (7,000 horse), with the titles of Samsam-ud-daulah Amir-ul-umara Bahadur Nusrat Jang, his old office of First Bakhshi being confirmed to him. [Kamwar 15.]

The division of authority in this way between a former Wazir and a new minister was not likely to endure. Munim Khan soon objected to the formalities which made him nominally, if not really, the subordinate of Asad Khan. The rules required that, when Asad Khan held his audience as *Wakil*, the chief minister, Munim Khan, should appear before him and after making obeisance stand while the official documents were signed. This was considered by Munim Khan to be an indignity. The pretext was therefore found that Asad Khan, having arrived at a great age, should now retire to Dihli and rest from the fatigues undergone in the constant campaigns and marchings of the preceding reign. His son, Zulfiqar Khan, remained at Court as his deputy with charge of the Wakil's seal to the end of the reign; this seal was impressed after that of the Wazir upon all written orders and warrants of appointment in the military and civil departments, but in no way had Asad Khan any longer the least influence in the affairs of the realm. [K.K. 601.]

When Asad Khan, having been also made in addition to his other offices subahdar of Dihli, took his departure for that city (1st Sept. 1707), he received charge of the Emperor's sister, Zinat-un-nissa Begam, and the women and children of the late Azam Shah's household. Zinat-un-nissa had arrived from Gwalियar towards the end of Rabi II. 1119 (July 1707), and on the excuse of her mourning for Azam Shah, had declined to send any congratulations to the victor. In spite of his vexation at this slight, Bahadur Shah doubled his sister's allowances and created her Padshah Begam. Suitable allowances were fixed for all those who had been dependent on Azam Shah. [K.K. 600, Kamwar 17.]

In the end the principal offices in the State came to be

thus distributed: As already stated the high office of *Wakil-i-mutlaq* was held by Asad Khan, Alamgir's Wazir; Munim Khan Khan Khanan was *Wazir* or Prime Minister; Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat Jang, son of Asad Khan, first *Bakhshi*; Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, second *Bakhshi* as before; Mahabat Khan, son of Munim Khan, third *Bakhshi*; Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri *diwan* of the Khalsa and Tan; Mukhtar Khan Khan Alam Bahadur-Shahi was *Khan-saman* or Grand Chamberlain. Hamid-ud-din Khan Alamgir-Shahi, and Rustam Dil Khan, were the first and second Masters of the Ceremonies (*Mir Tuzak*). [Kamraj 35 a & b, *Dil*. 167, T. Mdi.]

On the 10 Shaban 1119 (5th Nov.), the Mughal leaders Chin Qilich Khan Bahadur, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur and the latter's son, Qamr-ud-din Khan, with many others arrived at the Court in Agra from Aurangabad, in response to the letters sent to them after the victory over Azam Shah. They were presented through Munim Khan. This minister had no reason to love Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, for it was on that chief's report complaining of neglect to reinforce him at the siege of Khelna (1702) in the Dakhin, that five years before this time Munim Khan had fallen into disgrace and received the great affront of a reduction in his rank. This reason accounts in part, no doubt, for the fact that in Bahadur Shah's reign Muhammad Amin Khan and the other Turani soldiers of fortune were kept comparatively in the background. Their presence, too, in the Dakhin, where they had so long served and had so many friends, would have been in itself dangerous, while Zulfiqar Khan's own projects in that direction required that the field should be cleared of any powerful rivals.* For one or other of these reasons, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, the blind subahdar, was transferred from the Dakhin to Ahmadabad; his son, Chin Qilich Khan, (newly created Khan Dauran Bahadur, 7,000 *zat*, 7,000 horse) was posted as *subahdar*

* Ghazi-ud-din Khan also seems to have been the man who poisoned Alamgir's mind against his son Mhd. Muazzam (Shah Alam) and caused the latter's disgrace and imprisonment, a fact which can never have been overlooked or forgotten. (Yahya Khan.)

of Oudh and *faujdar* of Gorakhpur ; and his nephew, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur, was made *faujdar* of Muradabad in the subah of Dihli. [Kamwar 21, M.A. 464.]

The rainy season was passed by the Emperor in his camp at Bagh Dahr-Ara near Agra, where he was occupied in making the numerous appointments usual when a new sovereign ascends the throne. In this interval it was found that the affairs of Rajputana called most urgently for the Emperor's presence in person, and it was resolved to march by way of Amber and Ajmer to Jodhpur.* A start was made on the 12th November 1707. [Kamwar 19.]

SEC. 8.—THE RAJPUT COUNTRY AND ITS CHIEF STATES.

Rajputana is the extensive country lying between Sind on the west and the Chambal river on the east, and stretching from the Bharatpur and Dholpur States on the north to the Narmada on the south. It is about 130,000 square miles in area and divided by the Aravalli range into two parts, the western, a dry sandy plain, the eastern, a higher and more fertile country, much of it open and cultivated. Into this region the great Hindu military and ruling caste of the Rajputs had retired, in the twelfth century driven out by the Muhammadan invasion from Northern India and from the open valley of the Ganges and Jamuna. There are now fifteen Rajput States within the above boundaries, but some of them are modern and others are mere offshoots from the greater families. Long before the period with which we are dealing the Rajahs ruling the smaller principalities, such as Bundi, Kotah, Partabgarh, had accepted service in the Mughal army. As we have just seen most of them had representatives on one, if not on both sides, in the battle at Jajau, and after that battle they trans-

* Bhimsen asserts that on Munim Khan's advice Bahadur Shah had formed the deliberate plan of conquering the Rajput States in order to find more lands to grant as *jagirs* to his nobles, his undue liberality having already exhausted all that were available. As a pretext for the Emperor's advance, he gave out that he meant to visit the shrine at Ajmer of Muinud-din Chishti. (*Dil.* 1696.)

ferred themselves and their troops without hesitation to the side of the victor. With the three leading houses, the Sisodias of Mewar (or Udaipur), the Rathors of Marwar (or Jodhpur), and the Kachhwahas of Amber, the case was somewhat different.

The early Muhammadan kings had made little or no impression on the country held by the Rajputs, and for the most part they were left to themselves. But Babar in 1527 inflicted a crushing defeat at Fathpur Sikri on Rana Sanga Sisodia of Mewar. Akbar carried still farther the process of conquest, obtained wives from some of the houses, and took many of the chiefs into his military service. Still the country was only indirectly governed by the Muhammadans; and although in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, that great record of Akbar's administration, the whole of it is included in some province or other of the Empire, and its Rajahs are always spoken of under the colourless name of 'zamindars', the Mughals held it by little more than a military occupation. No doubt, the Mughal Emperors claimed the right of confirming succession to a Raj, exacted homage and offerings on such occasions, formally conferring at the same time the title of Rajah and a rank or *mansab* in their army, with insignia of various sorts. Such investiture was according to eastern habit preceded by gifts (*peshkash*) to the suzerain. But the only tribute exacted seems to have been service in the Mughal armies, and the only hold on the country the garrisons in certain towns or fortified places. The centre of the Muhammadan authority was Ajmer, around which they possessed some of the lands. Here the *subahdar* or governor of the province of Ajmer lived; while *faujdar*s (military magistrates) and *qiladar*s or fort commandants were posted at important places, such as Bairath, Sambhar, and Biana and in forts such as Ranthambhor and elsewhere. In the subah of Ajmer were included all the Rajput States (those of the Bundela clan excepted).

The principal State, from the antiquity and pre-eminence of the Sisodia house which ruled over it, was Mewar in the south-east of the region, with its capital at Udaipur. The old capital Chitor had been stormed and taken by Akbar; but the

Sisodias had ever held themselves as far aloof as possible from contact with the Muhammadans, and had succeeded in preserving themselves from the disgrace (as they considered it) of giving any daughter of their house in marriage to the Mughal Emperors. The Rajahs of Mewar never served in person* in the Muhammadan armies as was done by the other Rajput rulers, even the greatest, those of Jodhpur and Amber. In 1707 at the death of Alamgir, Rana Amar Singh, second of that name, was sitting on the *gaddi* (pillow of state) at Udai-pur, and had then occupied it for eight years. (Tod, i. 394.) The smaller States need not be mentioned at this point, as their Rajahs exercised no important influence on the destinies of the Empire. It remains to say a few words about the then position of Amber and Jodhpur.

The Kachhwaha State of Amber was comparatively obscure and unimportant when the Mughal period began. It was the first to succumb to the Mughal advance, its Rajahs gave their daughters to the Emperors, and entering their service rose to high employ in the Muhammadan State. Rajah Jai Singh, first of that name, known best by his title of Mirza Rajah, played a conspicuous part in the reign of Shah Jahan between the years 1644 and 1658. In this way the State of Amber, although not larger or wealthier than some of the other secondary States, grew to be considered on an equality with the two largest and most important States of Mewar and Marwar. At the beginning of the 18th century these three States were politically speaking of equal importance. The immediate successors of the Mirza Rajah had not been men of the same note, and since 1699 the chieftainship had been held by his grandson Jai Singh, now in 1707 a young man of

* This was a concession granted only to the ruler of Mewar, who was exempted from attendance at the imperial Court and service in the imperial army in person like the other vassal Princes, and permitted to do these services by deputy, usually a younger brother or son, or oftener a paid agent. The Sisodia contingent in the Mughal army was very small, unlike the followers of the Jodhpur and Amber chiefs. [J. S.]

about twenty-one years of age.* As we have seen, Jai Singh had espoused the wrong side, that of the defeated Azam Shah ; and he suffered from a rival claimant in the person of his younger brother Bijai Singh, who with greater prudence or better luck had joined the army of Bahadur Shah before the decisive battle, having previously lived for some time in the Kabul province under the protection of Prince Shah Alam.

The headship of the Rathors of Jodhpur was held at this time by Ajit Singh,† posthumous son of Maharajah Jaswant Singh, and now about twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age. His early history is surrounded by romance. Jaswant Singh, in the war between the sons of Shah Jahan, had sided with Dara Shukoh. Although he was pardoned by Alamgir he was never fully restored to favour. He was sent to serve in the Dakhin, then in Kabul, then again in the Dakhin. Finally he was sent to be commander (*thanadar*) at Jamrud in the province of Kabul, where he died on the 6th Zul Qada 1089 H. (18th Dec. 1678). Kumar Pirthi Singh his son had pre-deceased him (and also two other sons who had accompanied him to Kabul), but he left two widows. At Lahor on their journey home the widows were delivered each of a posthumous son. Alamgir ordered that the ladies with the infants and the deceased Maharajah's dependents should be brought to him at Dihli. When they arrived they encamped near Barahpullah. One of the children had died, but Alamgir tried to obtain possession of the other by force. The faithful Rathor clansmen in the late Maharajah's service, the celebrated Durgadas Rathor at their head, defended their infant chieftain. When at length, overcome by numbers, they were forced to succumb, they left behind an infant and some women dressed in the Ranis' clothes that they had substituted, and escaped with the real heir, Ajit Singh, to their own deserts, where they assembled their fighting men for retaliation. Alamgir affected to believe

* He died in 1743, aged 57. [T-i-M.]

† The history of the birth and infancy of Ajit Singh is given in full detail and with references to all the authorities, in Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*. iii. ch. 36. [J.S.]

that the boy of whom he had obtained possession was the veritable Ajit Singh. The child was made a Muhammadan, and receiving the name of Muhammadi Raj was made over to the imperial harem. On the other hand, the boy who had been rescued and carried off by the Rathors was declared a mere pretender set up by the clansmen as a pretext for opposing the imperial arms, nor would Alamgir believe the contrary till the Rana of Chitor agreed to give a Sisodia princess in marriage to Ajit Singh. Alamgir was forced to march early in Zul Hijja in person to suppress the Rathor rising, and reaching Ajmer sent on his fourth son Muhammad Akbar to conduct the campaign. The Rajputs fled with the child into the hills. Finally Durgadas induced Muhammad Akbar to come forward as a claimant to the imperial throne on a promise of support from all the Rathors and other Rajputs. The combination was dissolved by a stratagem. Muhammad Akbar fled to the Dakhin and found refuge with the Mahrattas while Jodhpur was occupied and an imperial *faujdar* placed in charge. For the remaining years of Alamgir's reign Ajit Singh lived in hiding, principally at Jalor, a place to the south of his own territory. The rest of Alamgir's reign passed in continual forays and incursions by the Rathors which the Muhammadans could never thoroughly suppress. From the time of Jaswant Singh's death and Alamgir's treacherous attempt to seize his son, dates the alienation of the Rajput clans, whose loyalty had been so wisely and prudently fostered for many years by the tolerant measures of Akbar and his two successors Jahangir and Shah Jahan. As soon as Alamgir, their oppressor, had expired, Ajit Singh collected his men, issued from his retreat and ejected the Muhammadans from Jodhpur and neglected to send an embassy to the new sovereign. (*Dil.* 170.) It was with this state of things that Bahadur Shah had now to deal.

SEC. 9.—BAHADUR SHAH INVADES RAJPUTANA.

Rana Amar Singh of Udaipur averted the threatened blow by sending Bakht Singh his brother to Agra with a letter of congratulation, one hundred gold coins, one thousand Rupees, two horses with gold mounted trappings, an elephant, nine

swords, and other productions of his country. Bakht Singh was presented to the Emperor by Prince Jahandar Shah a few days before the commencement of the march from Bagh Dahr-Ara. On the 15th Shaban 1119 (10th Nov. 1707) the advance-tents were sent on and the camp was pitched on the banks of a large tank or artificial lake. On the 17th Shaban the first march was made, gifts being distributed according to the advice of the astrologers attached to the Court. On the 26th Shaban a visit was paid in passing to the shrine of Shaiikh Salim Chishti at Fathpur Sikri. For the greater part of the month of Ramzan (25 Nov.—24 Dec.) a halt was made at Bhasawar* both on account of the annual fast and by reason of Prince Jahan Shah's illness. In this interval Mihrab Khan, *faujdar* of Jodhpur, was sent off to take possession of that city. (*Bahadur-Shah-nama*, 44; *Dil.* 169 b, 170 a; *Kamraj*, 37 a.)

The advance was resumed on the 28th December 1707. As they drew near to Amber, the capital of the Kachhwahas, Bahadur Shah directed that as there was a dispute for the throne between the two brothers, Jai Singh and Bijai Singh, the State should be annexed to the Empire, that the name of the town should be altered to Islamabad, and that a new *faujdar* should be sent there in the person of Sayyid Ahmad Said Khan Barha. By the route taken Hindaun Biana lay on their left, and passing Todah belonging to Jagannath Kachhwaha, they went through Deosa, in the Dhudhar country, Kherwali and Bairath. It was a desolate land, the few inhabitants had fled before the army, and sweet water was hardly attainable, what there was being brought from great distances. The army reached Amber about the 20th January 1708, and on a Friday the Emperor went in state to pray at a mosque situated in that town. Rajah Jai Singh had deserted Azam Shah before the close of the battle at Jajau, and apparently had been now some time in the imperial camp at Agra and on the march. The officials now proceeded to confiscate his goods, but they

* *Bhoosawar* (*Ind. At.* 50), 58 m. west of Agra, 74 m. east of Jaipur, and 12 m. south of the railway. [J. S.]

were given back to him. The country of Amber, however, was made over to Bijai Singh, Jai Singh's younger brother, who on the 10th Safar 1120 (30th April, 1708) received the title of Mirza Rajah. Jewels worth 1,00,000 Rupees were given to him with the order to make them over to his mother. (*Bahadur-Shah-nama*, 62—64.)

After a stay of three days in Amber, the palaces and houses of which had been deserted by their inhabitants, Bahadur Shah continued his march towards Jodhpur, passing Sanganer and Kishangarh.* He was still on his way to Ajmer when two important reports were received. First, it was notified that on hearing of the Emperor's drawing near to Ajmer, Rana Amar Singh had fled in fright from Udaipur sending his family and property to a hiding place in the hills. The second report came from the Dakhin, and it had reference to Muhammad Kam Bakhsh. He had issued coinage and caused the *khutba* to be read in his own name. This was, of course, a declaration of independence, and in spite of Bahadur Shah's love of peace, this was apparently a claim that he felt bound to resist. From this time he resolved as soon as he had dealt with Jodhpur to march into the Dakhin to suppress Kam Bakhsh.

When he had reached the neighbourhood of Ajmer, Bahadur Shah announced that he intended to march to Jodhpur. On hearing this, Mukand Singh and Bakht Singh, the representatives of Ajit Singh then in attendance on the Emperor, offered to bring in the Rajah to make his submission. At this time it was learnt that when Mihrab Khan, *faujdar* of Jodhpur, reached within seven *kos* of Mairtha, he had been attacked by Rajah Ajit Singh. The Rajah was defeated and fled, and Mairtha was then occupied. On the 12th February

* *Deosa*, 30 m. east of Jaipur. *Kherwal*, 24 m. east of Jaipur. *Dhudhar*, the old name of the Kachhwaha State, now known as Jaipur. (Tod, ii. 333. Calcutta reprint of 1874). *Bairath* in sarkar Alwar is quite off the route from Biana. *Sanganer*, about 12 m. south of Amber, *Kishangarh*, the chief town of Rajah Raj Singh Rathor, about 80 m. s. w. of Amber, and 20 m.n.e. of Ajmer.

1708 a *farman* was sent by messenger to Durgadas Rathor, but the advance continued. Three days afterwards when several marches had been completed, an answer arrived from Ajit Singh. It was not altogether unfavourable, but he professed to entertain grave doubts as to the Emperor's intentions. A written answer was sent off at once to Durgadas Rathor, by the hand of Rashid Beg, a mace-bearer. The next day the Wazir's son, Khan Zaman, accompanied by Rajah Budh Singh Hada and Nejabat Khan, was despatched to interview Rajah Ajit Singh at Jodhpur. (*Bahadur-Shah-nama*, 68.)

On the 21st February 1708 Bahadur Shah reached the town of Mairtha. On the 24th Rajah Ajit Singh came with Khan Zaman and was allotted quarters in the camp of Munim Khan, the Wazir. Next day the Rajah was presented, and with his hands tied together by a handkerchief, he made his obeisance, and offered one hundred gold coins and one thousand Rupees. Bahadur Shah receiving him graciously, directed Islam Khan, superintendent of the Privy Council chamber and general of artillery, to conduct him to the artillery park, and there invest him with the special robes of honour and the jewelled scarf which had been conferred on him. On the 26th February the Rajah was present in the Privy audience-hall being placed on the left of the throne. Two days afterwards more gifts were made to him, and again others on the 3rd March. Some time elapsed, and on the 10th March and 23rd April 1708 he received the title of Maharajah and the rank of 3500 *zat* and 3000 horse (of which 1000 was *Duaspah*), a standard, and kettledrums; while his eldest son, Abhai Singh, was appointed 1500, (300 horse), his second son, Rakhi Singh, 700, (200 horse), and the third and fourth sons each 500, (100 horse). [*Bahadur-Shah-nama*, 82 and 95; Kamraj, 37.]

The difficulty with Jodhpur being thus, to all appearance, satisfactorily disposed of, the Emperor retraced his steps from Mairtha and returned to Ajmer. On the way, on the 28th February 1708, the chief Qazi of the Empire, Qazi Khan, and Muhammad Ghaus *mufti* were ordered off to Jodhpur for the purpose of re-establishing there the public worship of the Muhammadan faith. An additional reason for believing that

the Rajputs would now remain quiet was the receipt of a deputation from Rana Amar Singh consisting of eleven persons headed by the Rana's brother, Bakht Singh. As we have said already, the Rana had fled from his capital on learning that Bahadur Shah was marching on Ajmer. A present of a jewelled dagger worth five thousand Rupees had been sent to him through his brother Bakht Singh, while a reassuring letter was addressed to him bidding him not to be afraid but remain in peace at his own abode. Bakht Singh on this second occasion received an elephant worth twelve thousand Rupees for his brother Rana Amar Singh. At the same time he and his eleven companions received robes of honour and were sent to their homes. [*Bahadur-Shah-nama*, 66-74.]

On the 24th March 1708, after sixteen marches* Bahadur Shah arrived at Ajmer on his return from Mairtha. He visited the city mosque and said his prayers there; and he also recited a short prayer (*jatiha*) at the shrine of Muin-ud-din Chishti. On the 2nd April the march was resumed in the direction of Chitor and Ujjain. On the 12th April the camp was not far from Husainipur. On the 14th Sultan Begi and others, six men in all, brought in a communication from Rana Amar Singh, with an offering of twenty-seven gold coins. The next day the Wazir reported that the Rana had again made off into the hills, in terror at His Majesty's near approach, nor would he agree to come in and do homage. The Emperor ruled that the matter of Kam Bakhsh was now more urgent. When, by God's aid, that business had been settled, he would undertake the punishment of that unbeliever, i.e., the Rana. [*Bahadur-Shah-nama*, 89-94; *Dil.* 172a; *Kamwar*.]

Early in Safar the camp was in pargana Mandeshwar of subah Malwa, and on the 10th (30th April) when it was at the town of Mandeshwar itself it was learnt that Maharajah Ajit Singh, Rajah Jai Singh Kachhwaha, and Durgadas

* *Kamraj*, 37a, says that when the camp was at the village of Jitaran the feast of *jalus* (coronation anniversary) was held and then after *jushan* (rejoicings) for seven days and nights (18th to 25th Zul Hijja), the Emperor marched on to Aimer.

Rathor, had taken to flight. [*Bahadur* 96-97 ; *Dil.* 172b ; *Khush-hal* 376b.]

Here we will leave the further development of events in Rajputana to be resumed at a future stage, and now turn to see what Kam Bakhsh had been doing meanwhile in the Dakhin. Here, too, we will break off our account of the Emperor's advance, merely noting that Bahadur Shah went through the Naunahra Pass on the 11th May 1708 and crossed the Narmada river into the Dakhin on the 17th of that month. [*Bahadur*, 100-101 ; *Dil.* 172b.]

SEC. 10.—MUHAMMAD KAM BAKHSH'S DOINGS IN THE DAKHIN.

We left Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, the youngest son of Alamgir, on his way from Ahmadnagar to his new Government at Bijapur. He had reached the fort of Parendā, a distance of seventy or eighty miles, when he heard of his father's death. The Turani Mughals under Muhammad Amin Khan without staying to ask leave, marched off to join Prince Muhammad Azam at Ahmadnagar. Kam Bakhsh's chief adviser Ahsan Khan (Mir Sultan Hasan called Mir Mallang) did what he could to rally the troops left and they resumed their march for Bijapur. As they approached that place, messages were sent to the commandant of the fort, Sayyid Niyaz Khan, promising him a rich reward if he would deliver up the town. At first he declined and commenced to put his walls in a state of defence and erect batteries in front of the gates. [K. K. 569.]

When the death of Alamgir became known Sayyid Niyaz Khan through the strenuous exertions of Ahsan Khan was induced to send the keys of the fortress and make his submission in person. Two months were then spent in settling affairs in the town and adjacent country. Ahsan Khan was then raised to the rank of *Panj Hazari* (5000) and permanently appointed to the post of Bakhshi or generalissimo, while Hakim Muhsin received the pen-case of Chief Minister with the title of Taqarrub Khan. Other leaders from the imperial army and the Prince's followers were rewarded with titles and gifts. A formal enthronement took place, the *khutba* or public prayer for the sovereign was read in Muhammad Kam

Bakhsh's name with the style of *Dinpanah*, 'Protector of the Faith', and coin was issued with the superscription :

Dar Dakin zad sikkah bar k̤hurshid o mah

Padshah Kam Bakhsh-i-Dinpanah

In the South struck coin on sun (= gold) and moon (= silver) the Emperor Kam Bakhsh, Protector of the Faith.**

When a force of 7000 to 8000 horsemen had been collected, Kam Bakhsh started to take Wakinkhera, which on the report of Alamgir's death had been re-occupied by Parya Naik. On the way Sayyid Niyaz Khan, leaving his tents standing, fled at night to join Azam Shah. The fort of Kulbarga was taken, and on the recommendation of Ahsan Khan, Sayyid Jafar Barha was placed in charge. On reaching Wakinkhera, the place was invested and after a siege of fifteen to twenty days was taken. Kam Bakhsh marched on to further conquests.

Meanwhile his ministers Taqarrub Khan and Ahsan Khan had quarrelled. The former now sent another commandant to replace Sayyid Jafar at Kulbarga. Sayyid Jafar refused to give possession and even when Kam Bakhsh in person reached the place, he still delayed delivery for several days. The discredit of this disobedience fell upon Ahsan Khan. The general had established a *ganj* or market-place calling it by his own name, and in order to attract traders he gave public notice that no dues would be levied. Taqarrub Khan represented that these measures affected the prosperity of the imperial market-place. Shahganj Kam Bakhsh ordered Ahsan Khan to abolish his market. The general, although he complied, was exceedingly vexed at such a rebuff after all that he had done, and breaking the flagstaff of his market-place, sent the pieces to Taqarrub Khan.

Ahsan Khan's anger was appeased and he was sent against Karnul,† then held by Yusuf Khan. The *faujdar* made many

* K. K. 570, J. G. Delmerick in *Pro. A. S. B.* 1884, p. 92 and C. J. Rodgers in *J. A. S. B.* 1888, p. 28. The reading in the British Museum Catalogue (1892), pp. 164, 165 and 371, is erroneous, being founded on imperfect coins.

† About 90 m. south of Haidarabad.

difficulties, but after some time, as the result of much negotiation, he agreed to make a payment of three lakhs of Rupees. Ahsan Khan then raised the siege. His next expedition was towards Arkat, of which the then *faujdar* was Daud Khan, of the Panni tribe of Afghans. In this country, in spite of his troops suffering from want of food, Ahsan Khan did much for his master's cause. [Dil. 171b.]

As the effect of his traducer's exertions, Ahsan Khan found Kam Bakhsh was turned against him, and his prestige suffered accordingly. Still he in no way diminished his exertions. The next campaign was directed against Golkonda and Haidarabad, of which latter the subahdar in Alamgir's reign, Rustam Dil Khan,* was still in possession. This officer, a man of a good family and well-known, was persuaded by Ahsan Khan's conciliatory letters to submit himself. Similar overtures were made to the commandant of Golkonda, but that officer, pleading a *farman* from Bahadur Shah, refused to surrender. Rustam Dil Khan, to whom had been sent a *farman* signed by Kam Bakhsh and backed by oaths on the *Quran*, came out at the head of 4,000 or 5,000 horsemen to pay his respects. It was then decided, following on the advice of Ahsan Khan, to leave for the present the fort of Golkonda untouched and provide for the reduction to order of the adjacent country and the collection of the revenue. During this time supplies could be prevented from reaching Golkonda. [K. K. 608.]

The Wazir, Taqarrub Khan (Hakim Muhammad Muhsin), now joined forces with the Prince's eunuchs and one Sayyid Ahmad for the purpose of ruining Ahsan Khan. Sayyid Ahmad was originally a protege of Ahsan Khan's, but now for some reason or other had turned against him. Ahsan Khan, puffed up with a belief in his fortunate star, and relying with the rashness of youth upon the great services that he had done

* Rustam Dil Khan (*M. U.* ii. 324) was the son of Mir Bahadur Dil, entitled Jan Sipar Khan (*M. U.* i. 535), son of Sayyid Mukhtar Khan Mukhtari Sabzawari (*ibid* iii. 409). His mother was a daughter of Khan Zaman (*ibid* i. 785), son of Azam Khan. [*T.-Mdi*, year 1120.]

for his master, took no steps to counteract the machinations of his enemies. Often, with a view to consultation on public business, Ahsan Khan, Saif Khan (who had taught archery to Kam Bakhsh), Arshad Khan, Nasir Khan and Ahmad Khan, met and talked with Rustam Dil Khan in private. These meetings were used by Taqarrub Khan, Ihtida Khan and the other men envious of Ahsan Khan, as a means of accusation and they easily succeeded in arousing the suspicions of Kam Bakhsh. [Kamwar, 25.]

For years past Kam Bakhsh had been noted for a violence of disposition approaching to insanity. The suspicions now instilled into him raised this latent ferocity to the highest point, and as Khafi Khan expresses it "he hacked his own foot with the hatchet of ill-success" Taqarrub Khan and the other conspirators persuaded the Prince into a belief that the constant meetings and hospitable entertainments between Ahsan Khan and Rustam Dil Khan covered a plot of seizing him. (Kam Bakhsh), while on his way to the Friday prayer at the great mosque. If he did not anticipate them, their plans would soon be carried to a successful issue.

The Prince fell at once into the snare and resolved to strike first. He wrote a note to Rustam Dil Khan, inviting him to take part in drafting a reply to the letter received from Bahadur Shah, of which we shall speak presently. Early in the morning, before the sun had risen, Rustam Dil Khan, took his pen-case and repaired to the Prince's quarters. Kam Bakhsh told him to send away the crowd and sit down with his writing materials in the praying tent where, as soon as he (Kam Bakhsh) had eaten his breakfast, he would join him. Then they would confer and draft the reply to Bahadur Shah. Rustam Dil Khan, free of all suspicion, took off his weapons, as he did daily, and went into the tent. In a moment Kam Bakhsh's men, seizing the unsuspecting subahdar and his sons, placed them in confinement.

As Kam Bakhsh had been informed that notes and messages had passed between Ahsan Khan, Saif Khan and Rustam Dil Khan, he caused the pen-case of the prisoner to be searched. There a letter was found from Saif Khan addressed to Rustam Dil Khan. It was a reply to an enquiry

as to how the advisers of Kam Bakhsh were to be approached and its purport was that it was best to work first for the consent of Ahsan Khan, next for that of Ahmad Khan and then that of the others. The perusal of this letter had the erroneous effect of convincing the Prince of these men's disaffection. After an imprisonment of three days he ordered that Rustam Dil Khan, bound hand and foot, should be thrown under the feet of his own elephant. But, in spite of all their efforts to carry out this order, the elephant would not injure Rustam Dil Khan. Another elephant was brought, the prisoner was trodden to death under its feet, and his body paraded through the city. It was then buried under the trees in the garden of the Imli Mahal, near a palace of the former kings.

Some say that before Rustam Dil Khan's arrest the Prince sent a company of men to surround and occupy his house. His wife, who was of the family of Mukhtar Khan, Bani Mukhtar, prepared to resist. She had already killed and wounded several of the men, when Ahsan Khan persuaded her to abandon these fruitless efforts. The lady, Mir Hasam, brother of the subahdar, and a son were taken as prisoners to Kam Bakhsh. Then Rustam Dil Khan's execution was ordered and his house was confiscated.

Saif Khan was next taken, the note from him being held sufficient proof of his disloyalty, and the order was given to cut off his right hand. Saif Khan, who had been Kam Bakhsh's instructor in the use of the bow, tried with prayers and entreaties to persuade his master that the letter was quite harmless, nay a proof of loyalty. It was all of no use; his hand was cut off. Saif Khan then began to curse the Prince. What better proof of low origin on his mother's side* could there be than this, that for no fault he should order the hand to be cut off that had taught him how to shoot! Saif Khan's concubine had been dragged to the spot, and seeing what had

* Udaipuri Mahal, the mother of Kam Bakhsh, had been a dancing girl before entering the harem of Dara Shukoh, from whom she was taken by Alamgir. (Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, i. 64n.) [J. S.]

been done to him, she fell down and died. Ahmad Khan Afghan was directed to bind the culprit, lay him flat on the ground, and drive vicious horses backwards and forwards over him till he died. From these injuries coupled with the severing of his hand and the pulling out of his tongue, Saif Khan soon expired.

The tongue of Arshad Khan, grandson of the Arshad Khan who had been diwan of the Dakhin, was also cut out ; but, strange to say, his speech was not much affected. The dead bodies of the others were tied upon donkeys and paraded in derision through the town ; after this ceremony, they were buried in the Imli garden by the side of Rustam Dil Khan.

Many officers of position who were friendly to Ahsan Khan, and some of his other advisers had heard that his imprisonment and execution were under discussion. They advised him to mount his women on swift horses and make off for the camp of Bahadur Shah, which could be reached in two or three days. They offered to bring 3000 or 4000 horsemen to escort him. If he did not escape, they said, his life would be taken with indignity. Ahsan Khan was so popular in the army that if he had made known publicly his intention to desert Kam Bakhsh, the whole force, leaders and all, would have accompanied him.

In spite of what had happened, Ahsan Khan still relied upon the greatness of the services he had rendered, and could not be aroused to a sense of his danger. He paid no heed to any warning. "It is not possible," he said, "that a loyal hereditary servant of the crown, such as I am, could ever be thus suspected by the Prince he serves, whatever his enemies may say." At length Ahsan Khan, too, was enticed from his house, and it was only when he was placed in custody that he awoke from his dreams, and when it was too late began to think of his own preservation. He sent word to his house to remove everything they could in the shape of valuables and money to a place of safety. His dependents, before the confiscation of his goods was effected, collected as much as they could of jewels and gold coins (*ashrafs* and *huns*), placed

them in a box, and sent them to the house of an Afghan who was under great obligations to Ahsan Khan.

Every day Ahsan Khan's imprisonment increased in severity. His goods were confiscated, and in a few days, by the exertions of his enemies and the cowardice of the Afghan in whose house it was deposited, the box of jewels was traced and brought to Kam Bakhsh. In his presence it was opened. Seeing the purses* full of gold coins, he exclaimed "These held the letters sent to him by Rustam Dil Khan advising him to seize me." His rage was intensified, and day by day he devised new tortures. Half a pound of cooked rice and spices with an excessive amount of salt was fixed as the prisoner's daily ration; he was kept in chains, and exposed to the pouring rain and the burning sun. Twice poison was tried, but without effect. Two or three months elapsed, during which these tortures were continued, and at length the poor victim breathed his last.

Other crazy acts were done by Kam Bakhsh, in his fits of madness and suspicion, without making any investigation. For instance when Matabar Khan, Bahadur Shah's envoy, arrived, some of Kam Bakhsh's ill-intentioned and foolish advisers persuaded him that the envoy had come at the head of a specially selected escort of reckless men with the intention, should he find an opportunity, of making away with Kam Bakhsh. As soon as he heard these silly words Kam Bakhsh demanded a list of the envoy's retinue, on the pretext of fixing their daily allowances. Now, some of the Haidarabad citizens, on the strength of their knowledge of the Quran, had struck up an acquaintance with Matabar Khan. At their request their names were included in this list. Kam Bakhsh invited the whole of the men to a feast, to which some seventy-five persons came. On their assembling, the Prince ordered them to be bound, and taken by the light of torches in parties of ten to different quarters of the city and there executed.† The

* *Kharita* in the original Persian, meaning a bag in which a letter, when sent to a great person, is enclosed.

† Yahya Khan, 114a, says that news came to Bahadur Shah's camp

mother of two newly married boys made lamentation, but in spite of her cries and her assertions that they did not belong to the envoy's suite, they were executed with the rest. Mulla Said-ud-din, *mufti* of Haidarabad, who had refused to give a legal opinion in favour of the execution of the prisoners, and many of the strict Muhammadan men of learning, taking their families with them, abandoned the city in disgust. Bahadur Shah's envoy himself was imprisoned and subjected to indignities.

SEC. II.—BAHADUR SHAH ADVANCES INTO THE DAKHIN AGAINST
KAM BAKHSH.

When we left him (17th May, 1708), Bahadur Shah had just crossed the Narmada. At this time a conciliatory letter* was prepared and sent to Kam Bakhsh. His elder brother tells him that after he had reached Lahor he had received reliable news of their father's death. Although he desired to write then a consolatory letter, the stoppage of the roads had prevented him. He had hurried on to Dihli in the hope of restoring order, when he learnt that Prince Azam Shah had reached Gwaliyar from the Dakhin bent on hostilities. Remonstrances were addressed to him, but, relying on his numerous army and artillery and elephants, he had declined to listen and had crossed the Chambal. Further efforts for peace were made, but on the day that his (Bahadur Shah's) tents were sent to Jajau, Azam Shah took the initiative and began an attack, the result being that he and two sons were killed, while Ali Tabar, another son, and some grandsons were made prisoners. Bahadur Shah trusts that these events will be a warning to Kam Bakhsh not to trust in the idle advice of short-sighted persons and that, contenting himself with what their honoured father had allotted to him, he would refrain from crossing the river Bhimra. Bahadur Shah proposed to visit his father's tomb near Aurangabad, and his brother's (Kam Bakhsh's)

that Kam Bakhsh in his madness had tortured men by placing them in boiling oil.

* K. K. 608, Kamwar 22, Bahadur 106—107.

mother (Udaipuri Mahal) having lately expired at Gwalior, he had carried out her dying wishes with regard to her household and had forwarded her remains for burial in a grove close to the shrine of Qutb-ul-Aqtab at Dihli. He trusted that Kam Bakhsh would not give way to sorrow but gain patience by resignation to God's will. Their sister Zinat-un-nissa Begam, had taken his (Kam Bakhsh's) daughter with her to Dihli.

In reply, after reciting the chief points of Bahadur Shah's letter, and returning the usual formalities of thanks, Kam Bakhsh wrote evasively, recounting the course of action he had adopted, without either explaining or justifying it. After reaching Bijapur he had learnt that Dildar Khan had given up the fort of Rahman-Bakhsh [i.e., Wakinkhera], for which act his chastisement was required. After recovering the fort, he had made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Sayyid Muhammad Chishti Gisudaraz [at Kulbarga]. There word was brought to him of the oppression to which the poor people of Haidarabad were subject and he felt it incumbent on him to rescue them from the oppressor. As Bahadur Shah already knew, from the reports received on the 27th January 1708, that Kam Bakhsh had coined money and stood forward as an independent sovereign, it was hardly likely that such an answer would be considered satisfactory. Nor was Munim Khan, the chief minister, more successful in a respectful remonstrance addressed by him to Kam Bakhsh with Bahadur Shah's permission. He was not even favoured with a reply. [*Bahadur 108.*]

As Kam Bakhsh thus turned a deaf ear to all overtures as shown by his very vague answer received on the 4th June 1708, Bahadur Shah continued his march. From the 22nd to the 25th June was taken up in crossing the Tapti river then in high flood. The route taken from Burhanpur was by Malkapur and Nader, on the Godavari, in the direction of Haidarabad. On the way (28th June 1708) a report was brought that Kam Bakhsh, hearing that the diwan of Machhlibandar held thirty-two lakhs of imperial treasure, had sent a force against him. The subahdar Jan Sipar Khan (Rustam Dil Khan) forbade the diwan to deliver the cash. Kam Bakhsh enraged by this interference and his own suspicions, as already related,

took Rustam Dil Khan's life and confiscated his goods. The same report intimated that four thousand new men had been enlisted and sent to reinforce the attack on Machhlibandar, that four lakhs of Rupees had been levied from the money-lenders of Haidarabad, and that Ashan Khan (as we have already seen) had been thrown into prison. Bahadur Shah at once conferred the usual mourning robes on Khan Alam Bahadur-Shahi and Mukhtar Khan, cousins of Rustam Dil Khan. [*Bahadur* 106, 116—117 : K.K. 619 : Kamwar 25.]

The next intelligence received was from the Kulbarga fort. After Kam Bakhsh had taken it the garrison rose, ejected the new commandant, and now held it on behalf of Bahadur Shah, from whom they demanded recognition and support. Darab Khan and his troops were ordered to make a rapid advance to Kulbarga. Not many days after this (13th August 1708), Daler Khan Bijapuri reported his desertion from Kam Bakhsh and asked for audience. On the 24th August 1708 the army crossed the Banganga, and the next day letters came announcing that Kam Bakhsh had put Ahsan Khan to death. This was followed (11th Sept. 1708) by the news that, after Kam Bakhsh had killed Rustam Dil Khan Ahsan Khan and some fifty men who had accompanied Matabar Khan, most of his troops had deserted. On the 7th October another river was crossed and twenty days later (5th November 1708) the Emperor's camp was pitched at Zafarabad Bidar, 67 miles north of Haidarabad. As Bahadur Shah's camp drew near, desertions from Kam Bakhsh became more and more frequent. They learnt that on the 1st November Shamsher Khan, Pam Naik, brother of the zamindar of Wakinkhera, and other local chiefs, at the head of 30,000 horse and 6,000 foot, had departed during the night from Kam Bakhsh's camp at Haidarabad and marched towards Bijapur. The next morning Kam Bakhsh annexed all their belongings. As they now petitioned for employment, Bahadur Shah ordered his advisers to make proposals about the rank to be accorded to each. A number of them were presented to the Emperor on the 15th November. [*Bahadur* 128—137 : Kamraj 37b.]

Nazar Beg Khan, commandant of the fortress at Haidarabad

(Golkonda), reported that he had succeeded in not yielding up his charge to Kam Bakhsh. His loyalty was suitably acknowledged by a considerable increase to his rank. The desertions from Kam Bakhsh increased in volume as time went on. At length his Bakhshi informed him that owing to the non-receipt of pay his troops were deserting daily in large numbers. The Prince gave the insensate answer "What need have I of enlisting men? My trust is in God, and whatever is best will happen." The Bakhshi assumed this as a sufficient order of dismissal and left the camp. Such soldiers as remained were in a very disheartened condition. There were not more than five hundred horsemen left. It was thought that Kam Bakhsh might attempt to escape by sea to Persia and orders to intercept him were sent to all sea-ports. Zulfiqar Khan promised to Mr. Pitt, governor of Madras, the sum of two lakhs of Rupees and extension of the Company's privileges, if he would apprehend the Prince. Mr. Pitt agreed to stop him, but refused the present.* [Bahadur 156; Grant Duff, i. 187.]

Daud Khan Panni, Zulfiqar Khan's deputy in the Karnatak, had been summoned to the presence. He arrived on the 7th December 1708 and was presented. Next day he paraded his troops together with a hundred elephants, for which he had received an order in Alamgir's lifetime. He also brought eleven lakhs of Rupees and nineteen elephants for Zulfiqar Khan. [Bahadur 164.]

From the best available information, the statement of Sayyid Ghazanfar, who had lately left Kam Bakhsh, it seemed that the Prince still had 2,500 cavalry and 5,000 infantry armed with matchlocks. Word now came (20th December 1708) that Kam Bakhsh had sent out to Talab-i-Mir Jumla, a reservoir in the neighbourhood of Haidarabad, twenty-five large and fifty small pieces, three hundred camel-swivels and twenty

* Kam Bakhsh's misplaced reliance on God gives Danishmand Khan an occasion which he improves, at length coming to the satisfactory conclusion, reinforced with poetical quotations, that until you have done all that reason and experience require you have no right to use the ejaculation. *Raza ba qaza* "The Lord's will be done."

thousand rockets. Nusrat Khan, his diwan, was placed in charge. [*Bahadur* 167.]

SEC. 12.—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF KAM BAKHSH.

Preparations were now made for the final struggle, to avoid which appeared impossible. At first Prince Jahandar Shah was placed in command of the vanguard with directions to prepare entrenchments round the encampment. But two days afterwards Jahandar Shah was replaced by Khan Zaman, the eldest son of the Prime Minister. Precautions were adopted against a surprise, the Wazir with his troops being drawn up on the road till all the rest of the army and its baggage had gone by. Scouts brought word that Kam Bakhsh in person had moved out two *kos* from Haidarabad and had made ready earthworks at the place where he had encamped. Islam Khan, general of artillery, was sent to take charge of Bahadur Shah's batteries. On the 9th January 1708 Khan Zaman Bahadur was called in to receive his last private instructions in the *tasbih-khana*, or chaplet-room, a jewelled sword was presented to him, and he returned to take command of the advance-tents. The plan of battle made out by Zulfiqar Khan, after it had been shown to Prince Jahandar Shah and Hamid-ud-din Khan was approved. On the 10th January 1709 it was ascertained that Kam Bakhsh had advanced one *kos* from his previous position. [*Bahadur*, 170-173.]

On the 12th January 1709 Bahadur Shah pitched his tents near the city of Haidarabad and mustered his troops. From the reports submitted to him, it was found that there were 140,000 horsemen and 180,000 foot matchlockmen present. One of the last men of name to come in—was Jalal-ud-din Khan, general of artillery to Kam Bakhsh, who saw at length that his master was doomed to destruction. Many others of less note marched in from Haidarabad on the following day. Kam Bakhsh had neither army nor money left. His sole dependence was on the soothsayers and astrologers who prophesied that he would be miraculously protected and win the battle. Emboldened by such idle words, the Prince came out to give battle two or three *kos* from Haidarabad. His generals were

Taqarrub Khan (Muhammad Muhsin), Abdur-Razaq Khan Lari (M. Masum), and M. Karim, his brother, with some slaves and foster-brethren, and some 300 to 400 horsemen. [*Bahadur*, 174; K.K. 621; Kamraj 38 b.]

On the morning of the 13th January 1709 the order was given for the troops to advance in two bodies, that on the right under command of Munim Khan assisted by the Princes Rafi-ush-shan and Jahan Shah; that on the left, under Zulfiqar Khan, Amir-ul-umara. The first numbering 10,000 to 12,000 men was made up of Daud Khan Panni, Nimaji Sindhia and Rustam Khan's troops, having at their head fifteen or sixteen leaders of a rank high enough to ride on elephants. The second force, that under Zulfiqar Khan, consisted of 14,000 to 15,000 men. Their orders were not to precipitate an attack but to take up positions so as to surround the grove in which Kam Bakhsh had sheltered himself, and to avoid useless slaughter. [*Bahadur* 174, Kamraj 29, K.K. 621, Kamraj 38a, *Dil*. 171 b.]

At about two hours after sunrise Munim Khan, Zulfiqar Khan and Prince Rafi-ush-shan marched and drew up at the distance of a musket-shot from Kam Bakhsh's position. Prince Jahan Shah had not yet arrived. The order in which they stood was as follows: on the right was Prince Rafi-ush-shan half a kos from Munim Khan, and on the latter's left hand Zulfiqar Khan at the distance of a rocket's flight. They halted and waited orders, and as they were prohibited from attacking, they stood until near midday. Repeated messages were sent to the Emperor, but whether it was intentionally or because he was taking his customary sleep, no answer was received.

Zulfiqar Khan, who had an old quarrel with Kam Bakhsh,* became very impatient. After many private messages to Munim Khan he attacked Kam Bakhsh whose small force, leaving the cooking with which they had been busy, had drawn up in order of battle outside the grove where they were encamped. Munim Khan was thus forced to order an advance

* This dated from the time of the siege of Jinji, 1693. (*M.A.* 355-359; K.K. ii. 418-421; *Anecdotes of Aurangzib* §25; *Storia do Mogor*, ii. 316n.) [J. S.]

of the right wing. As Kam Bakhsh had very few men but a large number of rockets, he directed that the latter should be discharged against the advancing imperialists. As they drew near several of Kam Bakhsh's devoted adherents were shot down. Kam Bakhsh grasped his bow and let fly his arrows, and regardless of several wounds that he had received charged the overwhelming force opposed to him. So boldly did he bear himself that Daud Khan's troops were partially thrown into confusion and some even took to flight. Kam Bakhsh emptied two quiverfuls of arrows killing and wounding many of his opponents. At length he was weakened by loss of blood and Daud Khan's Afghans surrounding his elephant on all sides succeeded in capturing him. With him was taken his son, Bariqullah,* who also was wounded in several places.

His eldest son Muhi-us-sunnat also fought bravely till his elephant-driver and the friend seated behind the Prince were both slain. The Prince proceeded to drive the elephant himself and continued to fight until he became insensible from wounds from shot and arrows and fell down in his *howda*, leaving the elephant to rush hither and thither on the field. As all the leaders were directing their attention to Kam Bakhsh, no one noticed the young Prince's elephant. Plunderers got upon it, cut off the silken ropes and the broad-cloth trappings and took away everything they could carry off. The elephant escaped into the open country and was brought back under Zulfiqar Khan's orders by the Mahrattas who were hanging round the army with a view to plunder.

Over the capture of Prince Kam Bakhsh a dispute had already arisen between Munim Khan, the Wazir, and Zulfiqar Khan, the Amir-ul-umara. The question was submitted to Prince Rafi-ush-shan, who decided that Zulfiqar Khan was the captor. The only notable person killed on the imperial side was Jalal-ud-din Khan, an officer serving under Munim Khan. After the battle Khafi Khan, the historian, counted sixty-two

* Kamraj (38b) says that Firuzmand was in the same *howda* with his father and was taken. K. K. (623 and 625) says the same thing. Was he the same person as Bariqullah? [J. S.]

dead bodies round the place where Kam Bakhsh was taken. Plunderers by their recklessness caused the reserve of powder and rockets to blow up, occasioning the death of twenty-four persons.

It was afternoon when Kam Bakhsh was brought in a *palki* to Bahadur Shah. Shortly afterwards his three sons, Muhi-us-sunnat, Firuzmand, and Bariqullah were brought in as prisoners. Bariqullah expired almost at once from an arrow-wound in the temple.* By the Emperor's orders the Prince and his sons were placed near his own quarters in the tent used as a tribunal (*adalat*). Rafi-ush-shan was charged with looking after their comfort and the most skilful surgeons were called to attend to their wounds. Then the Emperor went in person to his brother's bedside. After a salutation he said, "I had no desire to see you reduced to this state." Kam Bakhsh returned the greeting and said, "In all things praise be to the Lord."† Then he added that he had left on his elephant a copy of the *Quran* written and corrected with his own hand. he begged that it might be sent for as he wished to read it. Bahadur Shah washed the dry blood from his brother's wounds and with his own hands removed his blood-stained clothes. Then removing from his own shoulders the shawl he was wearing he laid it over his brother, and by urgent entreaty forced him to take a few spoonfuls of food, which till then he had persistently refused. On his asking for water Bahadur Shah mixed some rose-water in the drink and put it to Kam Bakhsh's lips. Bahadur Shah quitted the bedside full of sorrow and ordered the surgeons to exercise their utmost skill. In spite of all their efforts, Kam Bakhsh expired during the night. Next morning no audience was held, and Qazi Khan, the chief Qazi, and Muhammad Ghaus, the chief *mufti*,

* The text follows Danishmand Khan and Kamwar Khan. Khafi Khan says it was Firuzmand who died. Both Khafi Khan and Kamwar Khan were in the camp; but the latter is the preferable witness, as he seems to have written his account on the spot from day to day.

† One account tells us that he went on to say that he had tried so to die that the reproach of want of courage and of a nice sense of honour should not attach to one of the house of Taimur. (K. K. 625.)

with other religious men, were entrusted with the preparations for the grave. As the bier was brought out of the *adalat* tent, the Emperor, his sons and the chief nobles recited the appropriate prayers. The bodies were placed temporarily in the tent, where were kept the relics received from Mecca. Finally they were despatched to Dihli on the 23rd January in charge of Arab Khan for burial in the imperial mausoleum of the Emperor Humayun. (Kamraj, 39a). Darbar Khan, *nazir* of the female apartments, took charge of the deceased Prince's women and children, who were brought from Haidarabad. For the two surviving sons of Kam Bakhsh, Muhi-us-sunnat and Firuzmand, who were only slightly wounded, allowances were fixed and a proper equipment granted.

Kam Bakhsh was forty-three years of age and his descendants are named in the subjoined table. The following chronograms for his death were composed by Danishmand Khan (poetically called Ali).

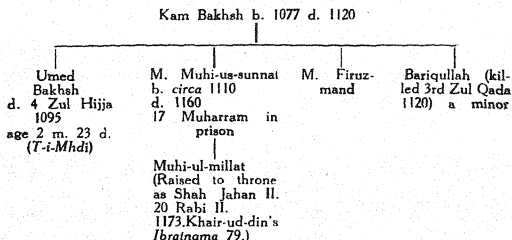
*Alam-i-digar az fath o zafar bastain,
Ham zeb-i-jahan farod, o ham kuvvat-i-din ;
Az chahar taraf, Mubarak badi !
Tarikh shavvad, barae in fath-i-mabin.*

"Through victory and conquest a new universe arose, the world was adorned and the faith too reinforced ; from four sides came *Congratulation!* to form the date of this manifest triumph." Another specimen of the same writer's ingenuity is :

*Kushta shud an zalim, o tarikh shud
"Kam hama bud ajal Kam Bakhsh" ;
Murd, o ba in taur mibakhshid Kam,
Rast bar amad sakhun i nam-bakhsh.*

"That tyrant was slain, and the date was 'Kam Bakhsh's only pursuit (Kam) was death'. He died, and in that way fulfilled desire (Kam). Thus was the name-giving word verified." The play upon *Kam Bakhsh* (fulfiller of desire) is almost untranslatable.

TABLE OF KAM BAKHSH'S DESCENDANTS*



His wives, so far as traced, were (1) Fakhr Jahan Khanam, daughter of Barkhurdar Beg, married on 13th Muharram 1092, (2) Jamilat-un-nissa (Kaliyan Kuar) daughter of Amar Chand and sister of Jagat Singh of Manoharpur, married on 24th Rajab 1092 and (3) Azarm Banu Begam, daughter of Mir Muazzam Sayadat Khan, afterwards Muazzam Khan, second son of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, married on 15th Rabi I. 1094.

The last named died at Dihli on the 13th February, 1745. The eldest son Umed Bakhsh was born in 1095 and died the same year. Muhi-us-sunnat died in prison at Dihli on the 28th January 1747, his age being given as about fifty years, but he must have been somewhat older, for he was born before 1107 H. Kam Bakhsh had some daughters, one of whom was married on the 20th Nov. 1709 to Muhammad Karim, son of Azim-ush-shan.

BAHADUR SHAH RETURNS TOWARDS HINDUSTAN.

On the 17th January 1709 the Emperor moved nearer to Haidarabad visiting the battlefield on his way, escorted by Zulfiqar Khan who pointed out to him the various places of interest. A visit was paid to the palaces of Haidarabad on

* K. K. 510 says that a son of Kam Bakhsh named Muhi-ul-millat died at Puna at the age of ten in 1114, and the city was renamed *Muhiabad* in honour of him. No other authority mentions any son of Kam Bakhsh bearing this name, though Puna was certainly renamed *Muhiabad* at the end of Aurangzib's reign. [J. Sarkar.]

the 26th January, and two days afterwards the advance-tents were sent out on the road to Aurangabad. The first march was made to Talab-i-Mir Jumla on the 1st February 1709; on the 5th March they camped three kos from Zafarabad Bidar; on the 19th March they were near Ahsanabad Kulbarga; on the 4th May the camp was in Farrah Bagh near Ahmadnagar. The other principal stages until the Narmada was crossed were: Daluganu [? Dahigaon] after crossing the Banganga, 4th June; Bagh Nawab Bai, 9th June; near Aurangabad, 19th June; march through the Fardapur Pass, camp at Nawab Bai's sarai, 25th August; crossed the Tapti, 6th October; camp on the bank of the Narmada, 2nd November, and here the month of Ramzan was passed; crossed the Narmada, 25th December, 1709. [*Bahadur* 177, 183.]

SECTION 13.—THE SECOND RAJPUT RISING.

When Bahadur Shah left Ajmer on his march for the Dakhin, he took with him Rajah Jai Singh Kachhwaha and Maharajah Ajit Singh Rathor. Their acquiescence in this semi-captivity was apparently nothing but a mask for further plans. As already stated they escaped from the Emperor's camp on the 30th April 1708, when it was near *Mandeshwar* in Malwa. A month afterwards (30th May) it was ascertained that they had gone to Rana Amar Singh at Udaipur. In a few days information was received that a daughter of Jai Singh had been promised to the Rana, and that the three chiefs had entered into an agreement for joint resistance. This was in spite of the fact that the Rana had sent in letters professing submission. [*Bahadur*, 110.]

In July 1708* Jodhpur was surrounded by thirty thousand Rathor horse; and after five days Mihrab Khan the *faujdar*, through the intervention of Durgadas Rathor, capitulated and was allowed to retreat with honour. The Jodhpur bard, who is Tod's authority, places Jai Singh Kachhwaha in the

* All Tod's dates are out by one year, as he deducts 56 instead of 57 years from the Sambat year to find the Christian era,—following the Southern instead of the Northern mode of calculating the commencement of the Sambat year.

background and leaves him encamped through the rainy season of 1708 at Sur Sagar, apparently an artificial lake close to Jodhpur town. But the Muhammadan writers tell us that on the 19th June it was announced to the Emperor that the combined Rajahs had made an attack on Amber. Seven days afterwards a further report was received that they had defeated the *faujdar* of Hindaun and Biana, places 70 and 50 miles south-west of Agra. As they were then parganas of the Agra subah, the governor of that province, Amir Khan, was directed by the Emperor to assemble troops and march to suppress the outbreak. [*Bahadur* 116, Kamwar 25.]

In a few days a letter came from Shujat Khan Barha, subahdar of Ajmer, informing His Majesty that the Rajahs, having collected 2000 horsemen and 15,000 infantry, had sent this force against Amber, under the leadership of Ram Chand and Sanwaldas. Sayyid Husain Khan, Ahmad Said Khan, and Mahmud Khan, reinforced by 2000 horse and 1000 foot sent by the subahdar, had come out to meet the enemy, of whom seven hundred were slain. Shujat Khan said he had rewarded Husain Khan, and hoped that his own good service would be appreciated. This lying report being accepted as true, there was much rejoicing in the imperial camp, with a distribution of gifts and liberal promotions. (*Bahadur* 122.)

Meanwhile Asad Khan, the Wakil-i-mutlaq, was ordered to move from Dihli to Agra and to take the necessary steps to reduce that part of the country to order. Khan Dauran (formerly Chin Qilich Khan) subahdar of Oudh, Khan Jahan (son of Khan Jahan Kokaltash) subahdar of Allahabad, and Muhammad Amin Khan, *faujdar* of Muradabad, were directed to move with half of their troops to reinforce Asad Khan. Sayyid Husain Khan, *faujdar* of Mewat, wrote to the subahdar of Dihli for reinforcements. He had only one hundred petty officers and their troops with him, and he required two or three lakhs of Rupees to enlist more men. Mhd. Yar Khan passed the letter on to Asad Khan on the ground that Amber and the other places threatened were not in the province of Dihli. Asad Khan granted one lakh of Rupees in cash and said his own troops should be sent as a reinforcement. [*Khush-hal*, 377a.] It was

only on the 21st August 1708 that the full truth was known at the Emperor's camp. Rajah Jai Singh at the head of nearly 20,000 men, horse and foot, had made a night attack on the fort at Amber and had ejected Sayyid Husain Khan the imperial faujdar.

After the rainy season was over the Rajputs marched by way of Mairtha to Ajmer, then northwards towards Sambhar, which was a garrison town of the Muhammadans. To meet this inroad Sayyid Husain Khan Barha*, *faujdar* of Mewat, accompanied by his younger brothers, Ahmad Said Khan *faujdar* of Mairtha Sangalhana and Ghairat Khan, *faujdar* of Narnol, marched in all haste at the head of such troops as he could collect. As the result of his first onset, the Rajputs beat a retreat, leaving their tents standing, with all their baggage. Everything fell into the hands of the Sayyid. But the Rajahs had not gone more than four or five miles when word was brought to them that the Muhammadan leader, with his two brothers and other relations and many of his clansmen had been slain. [Warid, ii. 156—9; Tod ii. 79; K. K. 651; Dil. 173a.]

It seems that as their enemy disappeared from the field, the Sayyids' drums began to beat in honour of the victory. But Husain Khan espied one corner where a Rajput commander, with two thousand matchlockmen, was still busy in hastily loading his baggage camels. Enraged at this sight, Husain Khan hurried his elephant in that direction and was followed by a small group of horsemen. The Rajputs stood on an elevation; the Sayyid drew up on the low land beneath it. As they approached, their enemy delivered a musket volley and turned to flee. But this first discharge had been unexpectedly deadly in its effects. The faujdar, his two brothers, and some fifty followers, before they had even time to draw their swords, were laid low. The death of the leaders was fatal to the Muhammadans' cause. Their men, already scattered and looking for

* Called by Khafi Khan "the subahdar of Ajmer"; but Warid more correctly says he was faujdar of Mewat. Shujat Khan Barha was the subahdar of Ajmer.

plunder in the Rajput encampment or in the town of Sambhar, dispersed in every direction and sought for shelter wherever they could find it.

For some time the Rajahs refused to believe the reports of Husain Khan's death, but at length they retraced their footsteps. Husain Khan's body was found still seated in the *howda* on his elephant, which had taken up its position beside a tank. He and the men around him were buried where they were found. The other slain were placed in common graves or "martyr-heaps" [*ganj-i-shahid*].* Round Husain Khan's tomb a mango orchard was planted and a handsome tomb erected. When Warid wrote, twenty-five years afterwards, the Rajputs round about invoked the name of Husain Khan every morning as they buckled on their swords.

The attack by Sanwaldas, an officer in the Rana's service, upon Firuz Khan, the *faujdar* of Poorh Mandal, which is placed by Tod in the same year, took place in the following year. Firuz Khan was obliged to retreat with great loss to Ajmer, but Sanwaldas himself was killed. In the same year (4th August 1709) the Malwa news-letter brought a false report of Rana Amar Singh's death.† [Tod i. 400 ; Kamwar 48.]

* According to the *M. U.* ii. 500 (under Sayyid Husain Khan) S. Husain K. was *faujdar* of Amber. On hearing of the flight of the Rajahs and their intention to attack he made ready at Amber with his three sons, Abu Said Khan, Ghairat Kh., Hasan Kh., his brother-in-law Mahabat Kh. and two sisters' sons Mhd. Zaman Khan and Sayyid Masaud Khan. His newly raised troops on the arrival of the Rajputs lost their heads and fled. The Khan came out of Amber with a small force and opposed Durgadas Rathor in the plain of Kalah Dahra. The Rajputs were defeated but the Khan's camp was plundered and the son left in charge of it was killed. Next day the Khan retreated in great disorder and reached Narnol and there collected fresh troops. Again there was a fight near Sambhar against R. Jai Singh. At the beginning the Khan got the upper hand; but suddenly 2000 to 3000 matchlockmen left in hiding behind a sand hill discharged their guns. The Khan with his small force was surrounded. He and his leaders were killed. Mhd. Zaman Kh. and S. Masaud Kh. were taken prisoners. The first was executed and the second, then about 16, was brought to the Rajah. His tomb is situated in a *bagh* at Sambhar Built by the Rajah.

† Tod's date of 1716 A.D. for Amar Singh's death (i. 404) also seems incorrect. The true date appears to be the 29th Shawwal 1122 (20th Dec.

Conciliatory measures were for the time being adopted by Bahadur Shah, and Jai Singh seems to have opened negotiations. At any rate on the 6th October 1708, on the intercession of Prince Azim-ush-shan, Jai Singh and Ajit Singh were restored to their rank in the Mughal service. Jai Singh's rank was 2000 *zat*, (2000 horse, 1000 *Duaspah*) with 15 lakhs of *dam* in gift (*inam*). Another measure was the appointment of a new subahdar in the person of Sayyid Abdullah Khan Barha. On the 17th October 1708 he received the usual presents, the rank of 4000, (2000 horse) and a grant-in-aid of 80 lakhs of *dam* (two lakhs of Rupees). A few days afterwards he made a number of requests. His assignment (*jagir*) in the Dakhin must be confirmed, the forts of Jodhpur and Mairtha and the *faujdar*i of Rantambhor must be made over to him with the province of Ajmer, while for two years he must be exempt from repayment of the advances for expenses and from having the horses of his army branded. His personal followers must be admitted to *mansabs*. All these requests were granted and two of his relations were admitted to the service. There is no further mention of this appointment, and it was never taken up by Abdullah Khan, who, as we know, was shortly after this time sent to govern the province of Allahabad. The former subahdar of Agra was re-admitted to favour and continued in his office. [*Bahadur* 144, 147.]

SEC. 14.—BAHADUR SHAH'S SECOND VISIT TO RAJPUTANA.

After he had crossed the Narmada on the 25th December 1709, Bahadur Shah marched by way of Mandu and Nalcha. He was at Dipalpur on the 19th January and camped on the banks of the Kaliyadah on the 7th February 1710. His route was continued by the Mukand *Darrah* or defile, which he passed through on the 5th April 1710. He was on the banks of the Kali Sindh on the 7th, and went through the Lokori Pass on the 28th of that month. On the 15th May 1710, the army passed Tonk and camped at Dandwa Sarai on the banks of the Banas, 30 *kos* from Ajmer. [*Kamwar*.]

1710.) The death was reported to the Emperor on the 22nd Zul Qada (11 Jan. 1711.) [*Kamwar*, 84.]

Here Yar Muhammad *Qul* and Nahar Khan of Hansi, who had been sent to the rebel Rajahs, brought in their *pradhans* or chief men, Bhikhari Das and others. On the 22nd May 1710 the Rajahs' letters were presented through Prince Azim-ush-shan and on the Prince's prayer their offences were pardoned and *khelats* were conferred by the Prince on the *pradhans*. On the 26th May 1710, when the army reached Lodah,* eighteen *khelats* from the Emperor were given to the servants of Rana Amar Singh and Ajit Singh and Jai Singh, and also one to the bringer of a letter from Durgadas Rathor [Kamwar 67-68.]

While these negotiations were proceeding with the Rajputs, there came the unwelcome news of a rising of the Sikhs in the north of Sarhind, under one Fath Shah,† who had been joined by many scavengers, leather dressers and nomadic traders (i.e., Banjaras). Wazir Khan, the *faujdar* of Sarhind, had been killed in a fight with these men on the 22nd May 1710. This news forced on a speedy solution of the difficulty with the Rajputs. It was seen that a popular rising, such as that of the Sikhs, in a portion of the Empire so near the capital, might have much more serious and far reaching consequences than the then pending quarrel with the Rajputs, who, even if left in quiet possession of their hereditary country, were not likely to be thereby encouraged to further aggressions. It was therefore determined to come to as speedy a settlement with them as possible.

At the request of Munim Khan, the Wazir, his eldest son, Mahabat Khan, was sent off to persuade the Rajahs that they had nothing to fear if they came in and presented themselves. After three days, when the Emperor was encamped at the village of Deorai, the minister informed His Majesty that his son Mahabat Khan writing from the village of Gangwana where he had met the Rajahs, reported that they had entered into an agreement to come in on the 20th June. Munim Khan was

* Seems to be Toda, 60 m. s. e. of Ajmer.

† Kamwar Kh. is the only writer who gives this name. Others call him 'the false Guru' or 'the second Govind.' The Sikhs call him *Banda* (slave).

ordered to proceed to the Rajahs and bring them in after repeating in person the assurance conveyed through his son.

On the 21st June 1710, as the Emperor was on the march, the two Rajahs were brought to him by Mahabat Khan. They made their obeisance and each gave an offering of 200 gold coins and 2000 Rupees. In return they were invested with dresses of honour, and received gifts of jewelled swords and daggers, valuable scarves, an elephant and Persian horses. The Emperor then granted them permission to return to their homes. The Rajahs then went together to Pushkar lake for the *Parb* bathing. There they separated, and Ajit Singh reached Jodhpur in July 1710. Bahadur Shah went on to Ajmer, which he reached on the 22nd June 1710. [Kamwar, Tod ii. 80].

To show how little the Rajputs trusted the solemn promises made to them that they would be treated well, I may quote the fact mentioned by Kamwar Khan, the historian, who was present in the retinue of Prince Rafi-ush-shan. Beyond the four Princes and the great nobles there was no one else with the Emperor at the time. Kamwar Khan, while the interview was proceeding, saw that all the hills and plains round them were full of Rajputs. There were several thousand men on camels hidden in the hollows of the hills. On each camel rode two or even three men, fully armed with matchlock or bow and arrows. Evidently they were prepared to sell their lives dearly in defence of their chieftains, if there was any attempt at treachery.

SEC. 15.—THE SIKHS, THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

Baba or Guru Nanak, sometimes called Nanak Shah,* was born in Baisakh 1526 (April-May 1469 A.D.) at Talwandi, now called Nanakana, a village situated on the river Ravi, 35 miles south-west of Lahor, in the Sarakpur sub-division of the Lahor district. His father's name was Kalu, a Khatri, of the Bedi sub-division, and by occupation the *patwari* or account-keeper of the village. Nanak was a boy of a contemplative nature

* *Baba*, 'grandfather', a name of respect given to *faqirs*.

Guru, 'spiritual guide or teacher'.

Shah, 'king', the appellation of Muhammadan *faqirs*.

but little fitted to cope with the ordinary duties of village life. He allowed his father's buffaloes to break into a field ; he sowed his seed and left the crop to be destroyed by cattle ; he was sent out to trade and spent the capital on *faqirs*. In short, no work could be got out of him. His parents came to the conclusion that he was deficient in sense. He was next tried as an assistant to his brother-in-law Jai Ram of Sultanpur,* a grain agent in the service of Nawab Daulat Khan Lodi. Here his accounts fell into disorder and he left the Nawab's service. This occurred at Sultanpur. From this time began his career as a religious teacher, his first saying to attract attention being "There is no Hindu and no Musalman". The rest of his life was passed in wandering about the country, but from this point facts are so mingled with fables that it is impossible to disentangle them. As Dr. Trumpp says, there is nothing in what is told about him that might not be applied to every Hindu religious mendicant. He seems to have consorted freely with Muhammadans, particularly with the successors of Shaikh Farid, known as *Ganj-i-shakkar*, whose tomb is at Pak Patan (or Ajodhan), south of Lahor. Some writers† have even gone to the length of classing him as a Muhammadan and not a Hindu innovator. Nanak died in 1538 at Kartarpur in the Jalandhar Duab. [on the Ravi, 5 miles from Kalanur.]

Nanak had been married to the daughter of another patwari, and had by her two sons. But he did not live long with her, and instead of nominating one of his sons he named as his successor his disciple Lahina, a Tihun Khatri, to whom he had given the name of Angad.‡ This Guru, a totally unlettered man, took up his residence at Khadur, on the banks of the Bias. There he died on the 6th March 1552, having named as his successor Amardas, a Bhalla Khatri, born in 1479§ at

* No doubt this is the Sultanpur in the Jalandhar Duab, the then residence of the *faujdar* of Baith Jalandhar. [Macauliffe, i. lxx.]

† F. Pincott in Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*, 583-596.

‡ *Angad* literally means 'giving one's limbs or body,' or, (Mac. i. 185) produced from the 'body.' Kadur is about 40 miles east of Lahor; Angad was born at Harike [ii. 1.] [J. S.]

§ Irvine gives 1509 as the year of his birth. I have followed Macauliffe.

Vasarka in the district of Amritsar. When he became Guru he removed to Govindwal, where he made a great well, with eighty-four steps down to the water, round which every year a great *mela* or gathering is still held. He died on the 14th May 1574, leaving as his successor his son-in-law Ramdas, a Khatri of the Sodhi clan, born at the village of Guru Chak. Ramdas derived a large income from the voluntary offerings of his disciples, which he devoted to the restoration of an old tank that he called *Amritsar* (Nectar-tank), building in the middle of it a temple called *Har-mandar* (the temple of Hari). The town which sprang up round the tank was known at first as Ramdas-pur, but gradually the name Amritsar superseded all others. This well-known city, the spiritual centre of the Sikh religion, lies 32 miles east of Lahor. Tradition asserts that the land was granted to the Guru by the Emperor Akbar, nor is this improbable. The word *chak* in the revenue language of Upper India means a slice or portion of the village area. A piece of land detached and given to a *faqir* would naturally be known as *Chak* Guru or Guru Chak. In Browne's map, prepared about 1787, it still bears that name, as well as the modern one of Amritsar. Ramdas died on the 3rd March 1581.

The next Guru was Arjun, the son of Ramdas. With him the hereditary succession began which continued to the end and added greatly to the wealth and influence of the later Gurus, whom the Sikhs grew gradually to look upon as their actual sovereigns. Another momentous change arose in Arjun's time; he was an active and enterprising man and the first Guru who meddled with politics. Moreover, his father Ramdas having provided in Amritsar a holy rallying place Arjun undertook to give them sacred scriptures. He busily collected the verses of his predecessors, added many of his own, and completed the work with extracts from the popular writings of previous saints, Kabir the weaver of Magahar in the Basti district, and others, calling the whole by the name of *Granth* or 'The Book.*' Being

ii. 30. Ramdas was born in the portion of the city of Lahor called Chuni Mandi. (*Ibid*, 87.) [J. S.]

* Arjun's *Granth* is usually called the first or *Adi Granth*, to distinguish it from Guru Govind's or the *Daswan Padshah di Granth*, (Book of the Tenth Sovereign).

composed in their mother tongue, it was intelligible to the vulgar, who knew nothing of the Sanskrit in which the Brahmans veiled their holy writings. The sixth, seventh and eighth Gurus added nothing to the Sikh scriptures.

Another of Arjun's acts was of very great importance to the body of which he was the head. His predecessors had no income beyond the fluctuating voluntary offerings of their disciples. Arjun substituted for these a sort of tithe or tax to be received by collectors deputed by him, who forwarded the money to him once a year. These men, whose oppressions figure largely in the later traditionary history, were known as *masand*, which Dr. Trumpp states to be a corruption of the Arabic word *masnad* in its meaning of a prop or support, and metaphorically, a deputy.* Guru Arjun laid aside the garb of a holy man and adopted the state of a grandee. He also traded on a great scale. Altogether, he is proved to have been a man of great originality as an organizer, and in his time the Sikh community increased quickly and spread far and wide over the Panjab. We have very vague unsatisfactory accounts of Guru Arjun's death, but we know that it took place at Lahor in 1606. Apparently he died from ill-treatment while a prisoner in the hands of the Emperor Jahangir, his offence being a participation in the rebellion of Prince Khusrau. [See Macauliffe, iii. 92-100.]

From this time the accounts we have become more and more conflicting and obscure.† On Arjun's death his brother Pirthi Mal disputed the succession with his son, the youthful Har Govind. The former was soon deserted and the latter recognized as the true successor. Har Govind was a man of warlike spirit and addicted to hunting, was surrounded by armed

* Cf. the title of *Masnad-i-ala* given to the highest ministers and nobles in the Pathan States of Northern India in the 16th century. [J. Sarkar.] Mac. ii. 271, citing the *Dabistan*.

† Dr. Trumpp says (lxxxiii, note 1) "The Sikh accounts are frequently contradictory and dictated by prejudice, or hatred against the Muhammadans. The part of their history requires as yet a careful critical sifting, as the Sikhs themselves have no idea of historical truth." [W. Irvine.] Macauliffe gives the Sikh accounts of the last four Gurus in his volumes iv and v. [J. S.]

followers, and kept eight hundred horses in his stable. He took service under the Emperor Jahangir, but appropriating the pay of his soldiers and refusing to liquidate the fine imposed on his father Arjun, he was made a prisoner and kept in the fortress of Gwaliyar for twelve years. After Jahangir's death, which happened in October 1627, he was employed by Shah Jahan, but soon resigned and raised a petty revolt.* The imperialists having taken Ramdas-pur, Har Govind fled to Kartarpur. Here he was attacked by Painda Khan Afghan, an imperial commander. The Guru gained the day and Painda Khan was slain. The Guru and his Sikhs then advanced to Bhagwara near Lahor, but meeting with resistance fled again to the hills. Finally Har Govind made his home at Kiratpur near Anandpur, a place on the upper Satlaj in the hill State of Kahlur, and there died on the 10th March 1645. This Guru, with no taste for meditation, was a man of war, his disciples (Sikhs) were now soldiers, the hope of booty attracting the sturdy Jat peasantry to his standards in ever-increasing numbers. Their expeditions were as yet on a limited scale and seem to have been treated by the short-sighted local governors with more or less of contempt.

Passing over his four surviving sons Har Govind transmitted his leadership to his grandson Har Rai, son of his eldest son Gurditta. The new Guru, a wise and sensible man, was of a more peaceable disposition than his grandfather. The only public act of importance recorded as done by him was his joining the standard of Dara Shukoh, son of Shah Jahan, when that Prince fled to Lahor in order to continue his contest for the throne with his younger brother, Aurangzeb Alamgir. As soon as the issue of the contest was clear, and Dara Shukoh had been overthrown, Har Rai prudently returned to his home at Kiratpur, sending his eldest son, Ram Rai, to make his excuses to the conqueror. Alamgir received Ram Rai in a kindly manner, but thought fit to retain him as a hostage. The Guru lived in peace at Kiratpur and died there in 1661.

* The details of these struggles, solely from the Sikh sources, are given in Mac. iv. 81—214.

Har Rai had two sons, Ram Rai and Har Kishan. In selecting his successor, he passed over the elder son and transmitted his office to Har Kishan. Ram Rai, then a hostage in the custody of the Emperor Alamgir, resented this exclusion from the headship of the sect. He referred the question to the Emperor's decision. Har Kishan was summoned to Court, and had not been long at Dihli when he died from an attack of small-pox. This was in the year 1664. When his followers called on him to name his successor, he placed five pice and a cocoanut on the ground (the usual tokens of installation) and uttered the enigmatical declaration "Go, your Guru is in the village of Bakala." This village is near Kiratpur. [Mac. iv. 329.]

A schism now arose. Ram Rai, the elder brother of Har Kishan, claimed the succession. Another party preferred Tegh Bahadur, second son of Har Govind the sixth Guru, then resident at Bakala village. In the end Ram Rai was disavowed, and abandoning the struggle he retired to the valley (*dun*) between the Sewaliks and the Himalaya mountains, bounded on the west by the Jamuna and the east by the Ganges. Here he founded a sect of his own, called after him the *Ram Raiyas*. The town which sprang up took its name of *Dehra* from the temple founded by him, and the whole valley became known as the *Dehra Dun*. There is still a Sikh community at Dehra.

On his appointment as Guru, Tegh Bahadur left his home at Bakala and made his abode six miles from Kiratpur on some ground bought from the Rajah of Kahlur, calling the place Anandpur. (1665). Tegh Bahadur, for some unexplained reason,* now left the Panjab and took refuge at Patna on the Ganges, in Bihar, where he is supposed to have lived for a few months and then accompanied Kumar Ram Singh Kachhwaha to Assam. At Patna, during his absence, his son Govind was born (1666).

Tegh Bahadur returned at length to Anandpur. Sikh tradition asserts that he lived the harmless life of a wandering devotee. Apparently he was seized at Agra and by Alamgir's

* The enmity of Dhir Mal and the Sodhis (acc. to Mac. iv. 338).

orders transferred to the capital. After many efforts to convert him to the Muhammadan faith, he was tortured and executed at Dihli in the year 1675 A.D.* One of this Guru's crimes, in the Emperor's eyes, may have been the style of address adopted by his disciples, who had begun to call their leader *Sacha Padshah* or the 'True King'. This title was readily capable of a twofold interpretation ; it might be applied as the occasion served in a spiritual or a literal sense. Its use was extremely likely to provoke the mistrust of a ruler even less suspicious by nature than Alamgir.

SEC. 16.—THE DOCTRINES OF SIKHISM AND THEIR EFFECT ON
THE SECT.

Before we enter on the life of Tegn Bahadur's son Govind Singh, the tenth and last Guru, it will be well to state briefly the tenets of the sect both as originally established by Nanak the founder and as modified by his last successor in spiritual office. But in a work not dealing specially with moral or ethical questions, the chief point of interest is the outward manifestations of their religion and its effect upon them as members of society rather than as individuals. Looked at superficially, Nanak, by putting in the background the Hindu mythology and proclaiming the oneness of the Supreme Being, may be considered as having taken steps to a reconciliation between the Hindu and the Musalman faiths. On this ground some have even classed Nanak as the founder of a Muhammadan sect.

* For the Sikh account, see Mac. iv. 363—387. On the other hand Ijad (Fragment, f. 13a) says that Alamgir had issued the *farman* for Tegn Bahadur's arrest but the order was kept secret. He was made prisoner by Dilawar Khan *faujdar* of Sarhind when encamped near Rupa, intending to proceed to the Ganges to bathe. When brought to Court he refused to become a Muhammadan and was executed. I have not traced any good Muhammadan account of Tegn Bahadur's capture and execution. By that I mean an account of a contemporary or nearly contemporary writer. Trumpp relies on J. D. Cunningham's *History*, pp. 61, 62. He, I find, depends in turn on the *Siyar-ul-mutakhirin* (Briggs 112), a far from contemporary work, for it was written in 1783 (Dowson and Elliot, viii. 196). I do not know the source of Ghulam Husain's information.

According to Dr. Trumpp, it is quite a mistake to think he tried to bring into accord the Hindu and the Muhammadan ideas about God. His communion with Muhammadans, so far as it went, was due rather to the presence within Islam of the Sufi heresy, a veiled Pantheism. In Dr. Trumpp's opinion Nanak's conception of the Supreme Being was entirely Pantheistic, akin with whom he identified the whole universe and all things therein. The chief practical result was that Nanak advocated tolerance for each other between Hindus and Muhammadans. [Trumpp, ci.]

Another leading doctrine was the necessity of absorption into the Absolute Substance. When the soul reaches this goal, it ceases its individual existence. Austerities, renunciation of pleasure, bathing at holy places, almsgiving are meritorious and are efficacious in helping to this consummation. But the name of Hari is the only giver of final bliss. To repeat the name of Hari with effect, initiation from the Gurus is required. Unconditional submission to the Guru is essential, in mind and body. Whatever the Guru does is approved by Hari. Blind obedience to him is the first duty, the second is the service of the saints. Nanak himself enjoined abstinence from animal food, but except as regards cow-killing this has been silently dropped. The grand difference, however, between Nanak and other founders of sects, one which caused the most profound consequences on his sect's subsequent development, was that the state of a householder was held to be equally acceptable with that of a recluse; secular business was no obstacle to final emancipation. The rogueries of mendicants and Brahmans were severely denounced. The caste system was not directly assailed and, though men of all castes were received as disciples, the Brahman family priest was tolerated and retained.

Govind Singh transformed the outward forms and ceremonies to a very great extent. But such philosophical basis as the religion had, remained in theory unchanged; though, in practice, the common people soon reconstructed for themselves a personal god. Govind Singh's first innovation was to institute an inner order within the sect. These were called *Singhs* or lions, and this word, one usually applied to Rajputs only, was

added to the disciples' name. The rite of initiation to the order was called the *Pahul*. The essentials are that five Sikhs at least should be present. Sugar and water are then stirred in a bowl by a two-edged dagger; the novice joins his hands and repeats the main articles of faith; some of the water is sprinkled on him, he drinks the remainder, and exclaims 'Hail, Guru', (*Wah, Guru*.) The new Singh must allow all the hair on his body to grow, and must wear blue clothes (a custom now disregarded except by Akalis). He then binds himself to renounce intercourse with the descendants of Pirthi Mal, who tried to poison his brother Guru Arjun, the *masands* (or Sikh tithe-gatherers), the followers of Ram Rai, and the people who destroy their female children. Temples, shrines and burning-places must not be worshipped. Neither the Hindu nor the Muhammadan scriptures are to be revered; neither pandit nor mulla to be obeyed. All Hindu and Muhammadan rites at birth, marriage, or death must be discontinued. The Sikh must wear trousers and not the Hindu loin-cloth (*dhoti*); and there must always be some steel about his person, and, if possible, a sword. Tobacco was entirely prohibited. A Sikh may only eat the meat of those animals of which the head has been cut off by one stroke of a sword. In many places Govind Singh denounces Muhammadans, hill rajahs, and Brahmans. There are many other trivial rules for the regulation of daily life.*

Sikhism, as thus modified by Govind Singh, lost all trace of an elevated ideal that Nanak may have imparted to it. The Jat race, the numerical majority in the Sikh community, has many virtues, and the Jat in his capacity of an agriculturist is perhaps unrivalled. But as a Panjabi proverb says "The Jat, like a wound, is better when bound". (Ibbetson, 221.) In fact, under the Sikh regime, when he came to the top as soldier and ruler, he took as vigorously to plunder as he did in quieter days to the plough. Although tobacco is prohibited the use of alcohol is not, and the Sikhs have always had the reputation

* Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, 359; Malcolm's *Sketch* 182, Trumpp's *Adi Granth*, cxvi.

of being very hard drinkers. They are also addicted to the intoxicating preparation of hemp called *bhāng*. By the rules of the sect all members should eat together and intermarry whatever their original caste may have been. But Hindu prejudice still survives in practice so strongly, that Sikhs coming from the higher castes will not eat with others of inferior origin, and it is only on the rare occasion of a *sangat*, or religious gathering, at the holy place Amritsar, that the rule is observed in its integrity.

A few words may appropriately find a place here on the races or castes from which the Sikhs were principally recruited. We have seen that their religion was, as it is still, almost entirely localized in the Panjab, its home lying in the country north of Dihli between the Ravi on the west and the Jamuna on the east. The Sikhs are not a very numerous body, furnishing under 8 per cent. of the total population in the Panjab. All of the Gurus belonged to one or other sub-division of the Khatri tribe, now chiefly found in the Panjab. It was thus from its origin distinctly a non-Brahman religion; Brahmins always stood aloof from it, and under Guru Govind's rules they were to be dealt with as enemies. Etymologically the name Khatri came, no doubt, from the second or warrior tribe of Manu's four divisions, the Kshatriya; but for many generations the Khatri has been, not a soldier, but a banker, petty trader, or official scribe. The offices of the Mughal Empire were full of them. Numerically they are very few among the Sikhs of the present day, but their superior intelligence and education, in addition to their being of the founder's race, must have always given them a power out of proportion to their numbers.*

Most of the followers of the Guru belong now, as they have done ever since Govind's day, to the Jat peasantry. These Jats form the great agricultural population of North-western India. The region that they occupy would be enclosed by a line drawn eastwards from the river Indus so as to include part of Sind with all Marwar and Mewar in Rajputana, thence

* They are 22 per ten thousand of the population, i.e., only .22 per cent. (Ibbetson, 139.)

round by the Chambal and the Jamuna, taking in part of the Upper Duab of the Ganges and Jamuna as far as Muzaffarnagar, thence crossing to the Karnal border and following the Jamuna northwards so as to end at the foot of the Himalayas. Whether Sikhs or not, these Jats have a very distinct character of their own. Sturdy, industrious, quarrelsome, penurious, they form the backbone of the agricultural community throughout the above extensive region. They are marked off from the Rajput and the Brahman by their practice of widow-marriage. Nay, they are commonly accused of having practised polyandry up to quite recent times, and the number of grown-up and apparently bachelor brothers found in Jat families is certainly a curious fact. The widow of an elder brother passes almost as a matter of course into the possession of the brother next in age [as was the custom with the Vedic Aryans]. In the government of their villages they appear much more democratic than the Rajputs; they have less reverence for hereditary right, and a preference for elected headmen, [herein also resembling the Vedic Aryans]. Nor are any Brahman villages found scattered about in Jat tracts as they are in those of the Rajputs. Judging from experience in the Upper Duab, the Jats, even when orthodox Hindus, seem to be less under Brahman influence than the Rajputs. In appearance they are not perhaps so high bred as the Rajput, nor have they the sharp clear-cut features of the Brahman, but they are, at any rate in the Upper Duab, a fair, well-grown race. Except in the case of very rich men, their women work openly in the fields, and the men have never had the Brahman and Rajput repugnance to the daily drudgery of agriculture. At the time of the census of 1881 they formed two-thirds of the whole Sikh community within the Panjab, and have from the first been the most prominent part of it.

After the Khatri and the Jat peasants, the most noticeable components of the Sikh body are the lower caste artisans and men of the outcaste or menial tribes. This fact attracted the notice of the Muhammadan writers, as we see in our account, taken from them, of the disturbances following on the death of Guru Govind. Recent enquiries bear this out. In the census

of 1881, nine out of every hundred Sikhs were of the outcaste scavenger and leather-dresser races, and the other thirteen were of the artisan class, one half of these being carpenters. On the other hand, there were only four Brahmans in every thousand. Roughly speaking the Sikhs are made up as to two-thirds of Jat agriculturists and as to one-third of the artisan and menial castes. They form about one-seventh of the total population in the principal seats of their religion and about one-thirteenth of the whole population of the Panjab. It will be seen that in numbers they are not in any preponderance, even in the part of the country which may be looked on as especially their home.

SEC. 17.—GURU GOVIND SINGH (1675-1708).

We come now to our more particular subject, the life and doings of Guru Govind, and the events which followed on his death. Govind, the son of the ninth Guru, Tegh Bahadur, was born at Patna in Bihar, during his father's temporary exile from the Panjab, and at his father's death was nine years of age.* [According to Macauliffe's Sikh authorities (vol. v), Govind was born on the 7th bright lunar day of Paush, Sambat 1723-January 1666 A.D.] We are told that he remained in obscurity for twenty years. About 1695, then, when he was some thirty years of age, he took the field against constituted authority.† His first campaign was made as the ally of one hill rajah, Bhim Chand, Rajah of Nadon, against another, the Rajah of Jammu, who had been incited

* J. D. Cunningham, 81, says he was born in Poh, 1718 S. (November 1661); Muin-ud-din, Buta Shah, on the authority of one Shankar Jyotishi, has Sunday, Magh 13th, 1718 S. (January or February 1662). Again, in the *Sakhi Book*, 37, it is given as a prophecy that Govind would die at the age of forty-three years. Assuming, as we may safely do, that such a prophecy was made after the event, a belief is raised that Govind may have been born in 1666 A.D., his death having taken place in 1708. This would in a great measure dispose of the discrepancy in Dr. Trumpp's chronology (*Adi Granth*, introduction, lxxxviii and lxxxix).

† Browne's dates (p. 4) are quite different. He makes Govind a post-humous child, and places his first outbreak in 1114 H. (1704), when he was twenty years of age. In that case, he must have been born in 1684.

by Miyan Khan Mughal, to make an attack on his neighbour.* Where the interval of twenty years, between 1675 and 1695, was passed, we cannot say with any certainty. In one place,† we hear of his leaving a village called Paotah, just before he fought the Muhammadans. This village, where there is now a Sikh temple, lies close to the west or right bank of the Jamuna, in the Kiyarda *dun*, or valley, which is now part of the hill State of Sirmur or Nahan.‡ From after events, such as the building of a Sikh fort on the outer hills in Nahan territory, and the vengeance taken by Bahadur Shah on the Nahan Rajah, we may infer some close connection between Govind and the ruler of that State. His period of obscurity, in which he is said to have occupied himself with hunting, shooting, and the chase, may have been spent in the Kiyarda *dun*, or the adjoining hills.§

An early adventure was his pursuit by the Muhammadans.¶ He fled to a jungle called Narayanpur, thence he took refuge in a grove at Mani Majra.** His next assailants were the hill rajahs, the original ground of quarrel being obscure.†† Probably its chief cause was the natural hostility of the Rajput ruler and his Brahman counsellor to the head of a heterodox sect. Govind's baggage appears to have been plundered.‡‡ In at least one battle Govind won the day and triumphed over the Hindur, Kahlur, and Nahan leaders.§§

* Malcolm, 58.

† *Sakhi Book*, 41.

‡ J. D. Cunningham, 74, and *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 48.

§ See also the quotation from the *Vichitra Natak*, in Malcolm, 55, where Govind says he went, on his father's death, to the Kalindi, or Jamuna river.

¶ *Sakhi Book*, 41.

** Perhaps the Narayangarh, about 18 m. n. e. of Ambala: Mani Majra is about 22 m. n. of the same place.

†† McGregor, i. 80, attributes it to an attempt by the Rajahs to appropriate some valuable presents—an elephant, a horse, a tent, a sword, and a hawk—that had been sent to Govind Singh.

‡‡ *Sakhi Book*, 46.

§§ Cunningham, 75, says his first contest was with Nahan, aided by the Rajah of Hindur. Govind was victorious, and he killed Hari Chand, of Nalagarh (capital of Hindur, see Thornton, 681) with his own hand.

We hear next* of an expedition against Govind, commanded by Saida Beg, but we cannot fix the year. The traditions state that the commander was won over to the Guru's side, while the next in command, Ramzan Beg, was killed. The Muhammadans, who had been encamped at Thanesar, then moved towards Sarhind. The next day their baggage was plundered by the Sikhs during the march to Shamsabad. The Muhammadans returned to Dihli.†

The hill rajahs were still hostile,‡ and Rajahs Bhim Chand, Madan Pal, Bir Singh and others combined with Dina Beg Mughal, to attack the Guru. In the ensuing battle the Sikhs were victorious, and they pursued the Muhammadans as far as the village Khidarabad, plundering them as they fled. On another occasion,§ however, they were less successful. The Guru was besieged in Anandpur¶ by all the hill rajahs. The siege lasted for fifteen days, and the extremity was so great that Govind threw all his treasures into the Satlaj, and his followers began to die of starvation. Pamma, the minister of Rajah Bhim, was sent to negotiate, and as the Sikh story goes, killed the Guru into fancied security by pretending to become a disciple. His real object was to gain time for the arrival of the Muhammadans, for whom he had sent.¶

Apparently there was now a combined attack by the hill rajahs and the Muhammadans commanded by a Khwaja.**

This is the same story as in Malcolm, 55, and note. Hindur and Kahlur are hill States, lying just north of Anandpur, the Sikh Guru settlement on the bend made by the Satlaj, just as it enters the plains.

* *Sakhi Book*, 59.

† Malcolm, 59, 60, names Dilawar Khan and Rustam Khan as commanders of expeditions sent against Govind Singh. Thanesar is 28 m. s. of Ambala, and Sarhind 28 m. n. w. of the same place.

‡ *Sakhi Book*, 71.

§ *Idem*, 73.

¶ In the Kohlur State, in a bend of the Satlaj (Thornton, 34). The town was founded by Tegh Bahadur, Govind's father. Makhawal and Kiratpur, the homes of previous Gurus, are not far off.

¶ *Sakhi Book*, 77. Cunningham, 75, says "He (Govind) became the ally of Bhim Chand of Kahlur, then in rebellion against the imperial authorities at Kot Kangra," or perhaps this refers to an earlier event.

** *Sakhi Book*, 98. McGregor i. 85, says that Zabardast Khan, subahdar

Terms of some sort were made with the rajahs, after which the Guru, with two wives and forty followers, fled into the Malwa, or country south and east of the Satlaj. The Muhammadans attacked him again near the village of Ghanaula, in the Ambala district. One follower, Ude Singh, who resembled the Guru in features, placed himself in the front of the fight and fought on till he was killed, allowing Govind Singh time to escape. After plundering the Sikh camp, which was near Rugar on the Satlaj, the Muhammadans made a diligent search for the Guru, of whose escape they now heard. Govind fled into the forest, and his wives received shelter in the house of a secret adherent. Next day the Guru reached Chamkaur, a place lower down the Satlaj than Rugar.* He was then alone. The pursuit continuing, he went on with two disciples, who now joined him, and they walked southwards for fifteen miles. He halted to rest at Machiwara, a town with a ferry over the Satlaj, twenty-two miles east of Ludhiana. Disguised as a Muhammadan, he gave himself out as a Haji, or pilgrim from the Arabian holy places, and in this character received assistance from some Pathans. His flight was then continued on a horse brought to him by a disciple, and he was lost sight of for three months.† At length a man of village Kangir, in the Firuzpur district, found him and took him to his house.‡ Govind lived there a

of Lahor, and Shams Khan, of Sarhind, were the Muhammadan commanders. The hill rajahs had asked Alamgir for aid. The siege of Makhawal (*i. e.*, Anandpur) lasted seven months. Malcolm, 66, gives the names of the leaders as Khwaja Muhammad and Nahar Khan.

* Seven miles s. w. of Rugar (Thornton, 215). Cunningham, 76, and Malcolm 65, say that there was a siege at Chamkaur, and that two sons, Ajit Singh and Jajath Singh, were killed there.

† Cunningham, 77, gives Bahlolpur as one stage in the flight, and the final refuge was, he says, in the wastes of Bhatinda (about 60 m. s. e. of Firuzpur, and 120 m. s. w. of Rugar; it has now a railway station.) He adds that the Sikhs place these events in 1705-6. McGregor, i. 87, has 'Belalpure.' Thence Govind went to Machiwara (91), thence to Kanija, three miles from Ludhiana (92), then to Jalpura, ten miles from Ray Kot (92). His followers now assembled, and he went to Kot Kapura (92), then to Muktsar (93). The Muhammadans followed and Govind defeated them. Being unable to obtain water, they were forced to retreat.

‡ Sakhi Book, 103.

year, and afterwards passed nearly three years at Damdama, where he composed his *Granth*, known as "The Book of the Tenth King."*

At the time of Govind's investment in Makhawal-Anandpur, he sent away his mother, Gujar, and his two sons, Fath Singh and Zorawar Singh.† They took shelter in the town of Sarhind; or as one account says,‡ they were captured by a force sent out by Wazir Khan, the *faujdar* of Sarhind, under the command of Khizr Khan, Malner, and his own Bakhshi or chief officer. At first, Wazir Khan is said to have treated the prisoners with kindness. But, at the suggestion of his chief subordinate, Saj Anand, Brahman, who frightened him by a picture of the Emperor's possible displeasure at his mildness, he resolved to put them to death. He asked Khizr Khan to do the deed, but he refused with scorn to undertake an executioner's work. One Karakchi Beg Mughal accepted the office, and although the children clung round their grandmother's neck, he tore them away and cut their throats in the poor woman's presence.§ Overcome with grief and horror, she fell down and expired on the spot.¶

The Muhammadan authors assert** that Guru Govind now sent in petitions to Alamgir, offering to make his submission,

* E. Trumpp, xcii, Damdama, a residence built by the Guru in a village of the Malwa country. Cunningham, 77, says it is half-way between Hansi and Firuzpur. The *Firuzpur Gazetteer* (Lahor, 1883-4), p. 41, describes it as "the breathing place, at which Guru Govind halted in his flight from Bhatinda before the battle of Muktsar." A *mela* or fair is held there. Malcolm, 186, note, quoting a Sikh author, not named, states that the *Granth* above referred to was completed on the 8th Bhadwan 1753 S. (August 1696, A. D.)

† Browne, 6, 7 who says, that the boys were aged six and five years. Malcolm, 65; McGregor, i. 86; *Sakhi Book*, 102.

‡ Browne, 6.

§ Browne, 8, and *Sakhi Book*, 102.

¶ One version is that they were built-up alive in a wall (McGregor, i. 86). Warid, fol. 29, says that the mother, wife, two sons, and one daughter of the Guru were captured. The two sons and the daughter were subjected to indignities, paraded in derision, and then executed. Age of boys 9 and 3 years, Ijad (136). He says Govind's mother poisoned herself.

** Warid, fol. 116 b.

coupled with a promise to accept Islam. If this is true, no prospect could be more pleasing to such a bigot as that Emperor: and, as we are told, a confidential messenger, or mace-bearer, was sent to bring the suppliant to the Court. The messenger produced Govind Singh, in the first instance, before Munim Khan, then *nazim* or governor of Lahor, and *diwan*, or chief revenue officer, to Prince Muazzam (afterwards, as Emperor, known as Bahadur Shah). Govind Singh was forwarded by the governor to the Dakhin. On the way the party heard of Alamgir's death, which took place at Ahmadnagar, in the Dakhin, on the 28th Zul Qada, 1118 (2nd March 1707); and Govind, believing his star was again in the ascendant, turned his face and hastened back to Hindustan. The story, as it stands, with these details, is not quite credible. Was Govind Singh at all likely to surrender? If in the custody of a Muhammadan mace-bearer, would he be allowed to return home, at his own pleasure, because Alamgir was dead? All we can say is that there may be some foundation for the story.

Of the next part of Govind's life we know a little more, though not very much more, than of that which had gone before. Dr. Trumpp* seems to look on the evidence for the following facts as slightly doubtful; but I think there is partial confirmation of them from the official history of Bahadur Shah's reign, compiled at the time. It seems certain that Govind Singh joined Bahadur Shah at some point, when that Prince was on his march down country from Lahor to Agra, to contest the throne with his brother, Azam Shah. Govind Singh must have received some rank but what it was is not stated by the Muhammadans. A *mansab* of 5,000, as stated by the Sikhs, is preposterous, the greatest leaders, at the head of thousands of soldiers, having no higher rank, whereas Govind Singh is reported as having no more than two or three hundred men.† In the same way the Sikhs make the battle, fought at Jajau, between Agra and Dholpur, on the 18th Rabi I. 1119 (18th June, 1707), to be won solely by the marvellous feats of Govind Singh and his Sikhs. This is absurd, and may be summarily

* *Adi Granth*, xciii.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 652. Bhimsen (1686) mentions Guru Govind as joining

rejected. But there is, I think, evidence that Govind Singh was in the Emperor's army at Agra immediately after the battle. I think that he is to be identified in the entry of the *Bahadur-Shah-nama** of the 4th Jamadi I. 1119 (2nd August 1707), when "a jewelled scarf was presented to Govind Singh."

The same doubt surrounds the place and time of Govind Singh's death. The Sikhs assign it to Nader, on the Godavari, where they have a shrine called Achalnagar, or the Immovable City.† I think that this tradition must be accepted as historically correct, and the time of death must be taken as November 1708.‡ Bahadur Shah was then on his march from Burhanpur to Haidarabad, as already related, and the Guru was in his train. The tradition says that Govind Singh's death happened on the fifth day of some lunar month.§ Now, in the *Bahadur-Shah-nama*, on the 5th Ramzan, 1120 (17th November 1708) we find that a report was made to the Emperor "as to the disposal of the movable property left by Guru Govind Nanak.§ It was of considerable value, and according to rule ought to be confiscated. The Emperor, with the remark that he was not in want of the goods of a *darvesh*, ordered the whole to be relinquished to the heirs." The death might have just occurred; at any rate, it must have happened quite recently. Unfortunately, Danishmand Khan, in his contempt for all narrative, tells us nothing of the mode of death. One Ajit (or Ajib) Singh, who passed as the Guru's son, was brought to the Emperor, was invested with a robe of honour, and taken into the imperial service.**

Bahadur Shah, but gives no details except that "he does not follow the ways of a *faqir* and *darvesh* but lays claim to be a soldier."

* Danishmand Khan, *fol.* 18.

† E. Trumpp, *Adi Granth*, xcvi.

‡ McGregor, i. 100, says Sawan 1765 S., which would be July 1708. Cunningham, 81, note, has "towards the end of 1708," and Muin-ud din fixes it on Katik, Sudi 5th, 1765 S. (November 1708).

§ *Sakhi Book*, 200.

§ As to the use of the name *Nanak* by each Guru, see Cunningham, 57.

** Mirza Mhd. This Ajit Singh was apparently an adopted son (Rai Chatarman's *Chahar Gulshan*, my copy, *fol.* 143.) He was executed at Dihli 18 January 1725, (*Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*), by order of Muhammad Shah, for the crime of rebellion.

There are several accounts of Guru Govind Singh's death, but the two more usually received agree in stating that it was a death by violence.* Of these stories, one is that an Afghan horse-dealer had sold some horses to the Guru. Payment was delayed. One day, the dealer clamoured for his money with angry gestures. Provoked by the man's words, Govind Singh cut him down. Some time afterwards the Afghan's sons found their opportunity and stabbed the Guru mortally, when asleep or unguarded. This story is also slightly varied. The Guru, in this version, is supposed to have repented of his violence and showed favour to the murdered man's son. One day, when they were alone together, the Guru taunted the youth for his cowardice in not revenging his father. The boy struck him with his dagger, inflicting a slight wound, through which the entrails protruded. The wound was sewn up and was healing, when Govind Singh, in attempting to string his bow, burst the stitches, the bowels again protruded, and he died almost immediately.

The tradition in the Sikh books† is somewhat different. The murderer is stated to be the son of Said Khan, and the grandson of Painda Khan. Possibly the latter was the opponent whom Guru Har Govind slew. In opposition to his own precept, which prohibited all friendship with Muhammadans, Govind Singh allowed this boy to come about him. One day, after they had played at *chaupar*, a sort of draughts, Guru Govind lay down to rest, two daggers recently given to him being by his side. The boy took up one of the daggers and inflicted three wounds. Govind Singh sprang up, crying out, "The Pathans have attacked me." One Lakha Singh ran in and cut off the boy's head. The wounds were sewn up, and for fifteen days all went well. Then, on the 2nd of some lunar month, two bows were brought to the Guru. In trying to bend them, the Guru's wounds opened, during the 3rd and 4th he was insensible, and on the 5th of that month he expired.‡

* McGregor, i. 99, Cunningham, 79. The *Siyar-ul-mutakherin* (Briggs, 114) says that Govind died of grief for his children.

† *Sakhi Book*, 198.

‡ Katik, Sudi 5th, 1765 S., see *ante*, p. 90, note †

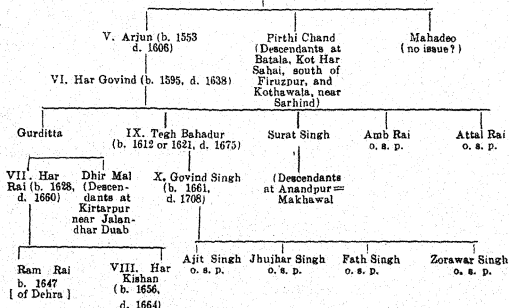
Govind Singh had three wives, Jitu, Sahib Kuar, and Sundari.* He had four sons; one, Jhujhar Singh, by Jitu; two, Zorawar Singh and Jit Singh, by Sahib Kuar; and one, Fath Singh, by Sundari. According to the Sikh writings, all his sons pre-deceased him, and according to them he left no male descendants. There was, however, the adopted son, Ajit Singh, of whom we learn from Muhammadan sources.†

NOTES

Genealogical Table of the Sikh Gurus. Succession in the same family began with the third Guru, Amardas. Roman numerals show the Gurus and their order of succession.

III. AMARDAS, BHALLA (b. 1509, d. 1574)

Mohani *alias* Bhaini=IV. Ramdas, Sodhi (b. 1524, d. 1581)



(Founded on Cunningham, *History*, App. xxii. Dr. Trumpp's Introductory Essay) and Malcolm, p. 36.

* *Sakhi Book*, 97.

† See *ante*, p. 90, n **

See B. M. *Addl.* 23609 (Rieu. 781) for a portrait labelled Guru Govind Singh. It shows a stout man, with black pointed beard, mounted on a black horse, facing to left, yellow figured coat and turban, striped trousers, a hawk on the right hand, no arms.

SEC. 18.—BANDA, THE FALSE GURU: HIS EARLY CAREER.

On the death of Govind, his family and followers brought forward a man, who exactly resembled the deceased.* It is not very clear who this man was; he is generally spoken of either as Banda (the slave), or as the False Guru. Two contemporaries† call him Fath Shah, and if this be correct, it points perhaps to his passing as Fath Singh, the son of Govind. Some say he was a Bairagi faqir, a native of a village, Pandor, in the Baith Jalandhar *Duaba*, who for many years had been the intimate friend of Guru Govind.‡ A more recent account calls him Madhu Das, *alias* Narayan Das, and tells us he was born on Katik, Sudi 13th, 1727 S. (October 1670) being the son of Ram Deo, Rajput, of Rajauri-garh in Punchh.§ The name given to him at birth was Lachmi Deo. He formed a friendship with Janki Parsad, Bairagi, with whom he went to the monastery (*math*) of Baba Ram Thamman. This *math* is in a place not far from Qasur, which is itself a little way south of Lahor. Authority was at that time exercised there by the Baba's grandson, of whom Lachmi Deo became a *chela*, or disciple, receiving the name of Lachman Bala, *alias* Narayan Das. In the end, he found his way as a pilgrim to the Dakhin, there met Govind Singh, and became his disciple.§

Whatever may be the truth as to his origin and antecedents, this man was now sent off secretly from the Dakhin to Hindustan. At the same time letters were written to the Panjab, informing the disciples that their Guru had been slain in the Emperor's camp by the dagger of an Afghan. But just before his death, their leader had announced that in a short time, through the power of transmigration, he would appear again clothed with sovereignty, and whenever he should raise the standard of independence, they would by joining him secure prosperity in this world and salvation in the next. Immediate

* Warid, fol. 117a.

† Kamwar Khan and Yahya Khan, *Tazkirat-ul-muluk* (1149 H.)

‡ Browne, 9.

§ Punchh, a district in the west of Kashmir (Thornton, 788). Rajauri lies between Naushahra and Punchh.

§ *Shamsher-i-khalsa*, 183.

collections of cash and goods must be made. Expectation was thus aroused, and the new manifestation awaited.

Suddenly there appeared in the town of Kharkhoda, thirty-five miles west of Dihli, a man who gave himself out to be Guru Govind Singh.* According to some accounts, he asserted that he had recovered from his wounds and returned to the Panjab; others believed that he had been restored to life by God's power.† Personating thus Govind Singh, the new leader became notorious under the deceased's title of the Guru, or Spiritual Director. The zamindars of the village where he appeared had become, several years before this time, followers of Guru Govind, and knew his appearance. As the pretender had copied Govind Singh's exterior, and resembled him in features, these zamindars believed in him, adopted his cause, and wrote in all directions to the Sikhs, telling them that their lost leader had returned to earth. In response to this call many armed men assembled, and as soon as there were five hundred of them, they marched for Sonpat, about twenty-five miles north of Dihli. The *jauddar* of Sonpat came out utterly unprepared, was routed, and fled to Dihli.

Elated by this victory, Banda made his way to the foot of the hills north-east of Sarhind, where Govind Singh early in life had taken shelter. Soon he had forty thousand armed men gathered round him, recruited chiefly from the lower caste Hindus.‡ His chief object was to attack Wazir Khan,§ the murderer of Govind's children and still *jauddar* of Sarhind, before he had time to make sufficient preparations. The Guru began operations by encamping near the town of Sadhaura,

* Warid, fol. 117 a, Qasim fol. 24.

† No astonishment need arise at the acceptance in those days of such inventions; for we have an almost exact parallel in the modern case of the Panjabi pretender to the Raj of Landhaura, in the Saharanpur district, who appeared at Rurki in 1874.

‡ Khafi Khan, ii. 562, says that at first there were 4,000 to 5,000 men on ponies and 7,000 to 8,000 infantry, increasing first to 19,000, and in the end to 40,000 well-armed men.

§ Muhammad Jan, entitled first Kar Talab Khan, then Wazir Khan, rank 3,000 (*Tarikh-i-Mhdi*, year 1122). The *Shamsher-i-khalsa*, 186, states that he was a native of Kunjipura, a town in the Karnal district.

about twenty-six miles east of Ambala, where there was a celebrated Muhammadan shrine, the tomb of Shah Qamis, Qadiri.* Neither officials nor townspeople interfered with him, and by friendly overtures he lulled their suspicions to sleep. Then he attacked the town, killed many of the inhabitants, and plundered their houses.†

Wazir Khan, as soon as he heard of the pretender's rising, hurried off from Sarhind with the three thousand to four thousand men then present.‡ The Sikhs were then on their way to attack him. Both forces met on a plain between Alwan Sarai and the town of Banur, some ten to twelve miles north-east of Sarhind.§ This was on the 24th Rabi I. 1122 (22nd May 1710). At the first shock the Sikhs, after a feeble resistance, turned and fled. Wazir Khan's force appeared to have already gained the day, when suddenly a crowd of men were led by the Guru to an attack on the Muhammadan rear. This bold movement put heart into the flying Sikhs and, with loud cries of "*Sacha Padshah*" and "*Fath daras*", they fell in a compact body on the Muhammadans, who for a time held their ground. The Sikh swordsmen attacked several elephants and wounded

* Thornton, 891. Lat. $30^{\circ}23'$, Long. $77^{\circ}16'$, a town near the foot of the Sub-Himalaya, close to the left bank of the Markanda torrent; it has a wall pierced for musketry, and tall towers. See also George Forster, *Journey*, i. 236, and the *Ain-i-Akbari* (translation) ii. 105, 296. The *Shamsher-i-khalsa*, 187, calls the Sadhaura saints Baha-ul-haq and Qutb-uddin, Jaison. Shah Faiz is wrongly given in some books for Shah Qamis. (*Khazinat-ul-asfiya*, i. 135.)

† Mirza Muhammad, 215. The *Shamsher-i-khalsa*, 187, places the attack on Sadhaura in Magh 1764 S. (November-December 1707). The month may be right, but the year must be wrong.

‡ Mirza Muhammad, 215; Qasim, 84; Warid, 117b; Khafi Khan, ii. 653. The last gives the Muhammadan force as 5,000 to 6,000 horse, 7,000 to 8,000 foot, matchlockmen and bowmen, with cannon and elephants. Sarhind is a corruption of the original name, Sahrind.

§ Browne, 9, places the battle at Alwan Sarai, which is 12 m.s.e. of Sarhind. Warid, 117b, says "near Banur." The Anonymous Fragment of a *Farrukh-siyar-nama* (in my possession), fol. 15a, states that the fight was near Chapparchari. There are two villages of this name, C. Kalan and C. Khurd, on Sheet No. 48 of the *Indian Atlas*. They lie about 16 m. n. e. of Sarhind, on the Patiyali Rao, and are 10 m. n. by w. of Banur.

them. Sher Muhammad and Khwaja Ali of Kotilah Maler* were killed, and confusion arose in the Muhammadan ranks. Wazir Khan, then fully eighty years of age, made no attempt to escape, but tried to rally his men, and continued to shoot his arrows at the enemy. At length he, too, was killed by a musket shot.† The baggage was plundered, the elephants captured, and the body of Wazir Khan dishonoured and hung to a tree. Not a single Muhammadan escaped with anything but the clothes upon his back.

Alarm spread through the streets of Sarhind, an old and prosperous town, inhabited by wealthy bankers and traders and many well-born Muhammadans of the learned class.‡ Those who could do so fled, one of the first being Wazir Khan's eldest son, who, leaving all his father's hoards behind him, made off to Dihli with all his family. After a feeble defence of two days, the town was taken. Every one who, for want of carts or other conveyance, had been left behind, was made prisoner. Only those Muhammadans who disguised themselves and hid in the houses of the Hindus, escaped injury. The scavengers and leather-dressers and such like persons, who were very numerous among the Sikhs, committed excesses of every description. For the space of four days the town was given up to pillage, the mosques were defiled, the houses burnt, and the Muhammadans slaughtered; even their women and children were not spared.§ Some say that unborn children were taken from the womb and killed before their dying mothers' eyes. Hindus even were not respected. One of the

* Maler is about 36 m. s. w. of Sarhind.

† B. M. Or. 3610, Fragments 5a. Wazir Khan met Nar [? Baz] Singh and struck at him with a spear. The Sikh laid hold of it and with it wounded the Khan's horse on the forehead. Wazir Khan then drew his bow and hit Nar Singh on the arm, and drawing his sword tried to make an end of him. Fath Singh who was waiting near by, gave Wazir Khan a cut on his sword belt that cleft him from the shoulder to the waist, and his head fell to the ground.

‡ Mirza Muhammad, 215, 217; Qasim, 24; Khafi Khan, ii. 654. Sarhind, now in the Patiala territory, is about 28 m.n.w., of Ambala.

§ The infants were tossed into the air and cut in two as they were falling to the ground. (B. M. Or. 1870, *Fatahat-nama-i-Samadi*, f. 12a.)

principal objects of the Sikh vengeance was, of course, Saj Anand Brahman, Wazir Khan's chief revenue official and his adviser in taking the life of Govind's sons. Even Muhammadan writers have nothing to say in this man's favour ; he had been, no doubt, like most men in his position, exacting and haughty in his days of prosperity. All power was now usurped by the Sikhs, and one Bar Singh, a man of poor origin, belonging to pargana Haibatpur Patti in the Bari Duab, was appointed *subahdar*, or governor of Sarhind. It is said that two krors of Rupees (about two millions sterling) in money and goods belonging to Wazir Khan and several hundred thousand Rupees belonging to Saj Anand and others, fell into the hands of Banda.*

The atrocities of which Banda and his agents were guilty aroused horror in the breasts of the Muhammadans. They forgot too readily, perhaps, that rulers of their own faith had formerly committed equal excesses. But, though the ways of the Muhammadan Government were never gentle in the suppression of rebellion, many generations must have passed since such wholesale and unjustifiable destruction of life and property had been done by them. Warid can only compare the doings of the Sikhs to the cruelties committed by Pharaoh upon the people of Israel, or to the massacres that followed the fall of Jerusalem. Even in those two instances, though the living were destroyed, the dead were spared. But "those infidels," the Sikhs, did not even spare the dead ! The descendants of Shah Qamis Qadiri of Sadhaura were summoned before the Guru and told that their only chance of life lay in destroying with their own hands their mosque and the tomb of their ancestor. The wretched men complied. Thereupon the Guru declared that to sweep from the face of the earth men who could destroy their own holy places would be a righteous act, bringing full reward in a future world. He then directed them to be tortured and executed. When the tomb of the saint was dug up, there was no trace of the body to be found beyond a handful

* Kamwar Khan, entry of 2nd Rabi II. 1122 H. Bar Singh also appears as Baz, Taj, and Baj Singh.

of dust. Instances of Muhammadans abandoning their faith were not unknown.* Dindar Khan, a man belonging to the neighbourhood of Sarhind, joined the false Guru and assumed the name of Dindar Singh ; while Mir Nasir-ud-din, the imperial news-writer of Sarhind, became known as Mir Nasir Singh, a curious and incongruous combination of titles.

From Sarhind as a centre, Banda sent out parties to occupy the country to the south, the east, and the west.† In the first two directions nearly the whole of sarkar Sarhind (of subah Dihli) was occupied. Every mosque was thrown down. Samana, Sunam, Mustafabad, Kaithal, Kuhram, Buriya, Sadhaura, Chath, Ambala, Shahabad, Thanesar, Pael, Supar, Phalwalpur, Machiwara, Ludhiana, all parganas in the north of the Sarhind *sarkar*, between the Satlaj (popularly called the river of Ludhiana) and the Jamuna, fell into the possession of the Sikhs. The Lakhī jungle,‡ was the only country not taken. Their further progress southwards from Thanesar was opposed by Sardar Khan, a Muhammadan Rajput zamindar. If it had not been for his exertions, there was nothing really to stop their advancing against Dihli. It is true that Asad Khan the *Wakil-i-mutlaq*, or Vice-gerent, was there, and as governor of the province in which Sarhind was included, it was his duty to have taken active measures to restore order. But he was very old and probably indifferent : in any case, he did nothing.

In all the parganas occupied by the Sikhs, the reversal of previous customs was striking and complete. A low scavenger or leather-dresser, the lowest of the low in Indian estimation, had only to leave home and join the Guru, when in a short space of time he would return to his birth-place as its ruler, with his order of appointment in his hand. As soon as he set foot within the boundaries, the well-born and wealthy went out to greet him and and escort him home. Arrived there,

* Yar Muhammad, *Dastur-ul-insha*, 8.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 662; Mirza Muhammad, 215; Warid, 118 a.

‡ On the map between pp. 64 and 65, in J. Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan* (London, 1793), this tract is shown as directly south of Firuzpur, between it and Bhatner. To the south of this, was the desert country of Bhatti.

they stood before him with joined palms, awaiting his orders. A scavenger, from the nature of his duties, is intimately acquainted with the condition of every household. Thus, the new ruler had no difficulty in exacting from every one their best and most valuable belongings, which were confiscated for the use of the Guru, or for his treasury. Not a soul dared to disobey an order, and men, who had often risked themselves in battle-fields, became so cowed that they were afraid even to remonstrate. Hindus who had not joined the sect were not exempt from these oppressions.

One party of Sikhs was sent across the Satlaj to take Sultanpur and other places, in the *Duaba* of Baith Jalandhar. They wrote in the form of a *parwana* (that is, as if he were their subordinate) to Shams Khan, the faujdar, calling on him to submit, to send such supplies as they needed, and to come out to escort them in, bringing with him such money as he might have in his treasury. Shams Khan, by the advice of the chief men of the town, gave the messengers the answer, that he could not send the powder and lead they asked for, as he required the necessary carriage for his friends and followers. The shops in the bazar were full of lead, and he had store-house upon store-house full of powder. If they furnished means of conveyance, a supply would be sent.

Shams Khan then took the field at the head of four thousand to five thousand horsemen, and thirty thousand matchlockmen and bowmen, partly old troops and partly newly-raised men sent in by the zamindars. The better classes of all kinds, also the poorer classes, and many artisans, chiefly weavers, joined his standard, resolved to defend their homes and sell their lives dearly. Contributions in money were also given. Altogether more than one hundred thousand men had collected, and a start was made from Sultanpur.* As soon as the Sikhs heard that Shams Khan was coming, they moved at the head of 70,000 horse and foot, with the cannon taken at Sarhind, much siege *materiel* in the shape of planks and sand-bags for preparing batteries, with cart-loads of powder and

* About 40 m. w. of Ludhiana and over 80 m. w. of Sarhind.

lead. Plundering as they moved, they drew near to the town of Rahun, about fifty miles east of Sultanpur, before which they encamped. They occupied the mounds formed by some brick-kilns, and with the bricks and debris built a sort of fort, placed entrenchments round their camp, and awaited an attack. They sent out foraging parties in all directions with menacing letters to the head revenue payers (*chaudhuris*), and revenue officers (*qanungos*) of the parganas, demanding their submission.

Shams Khan's supporters well knew that if he were defeated, their lives, families, and property would be sacrificed. Therefore they advanced boldly till they were about the distance of a musket-shot from the Sikh entrenchment. The cannonade began at three hours after sunrise. Thousands of balls and stones from slings fell like hail on the Muhammadans, but without causing much loss. Shams Khan had warned his troops against too hasty an advance and a useless expenditure of powder. They bore onward slowly and steadily. After two volleys from the Sikhs, the Muhammadans, reinforced by a number of their co-religionists from the country around, rushed on their foes with loud cries of *Allahu-Akbar* (God is Great). Many of the Sikhs were killed and wounded; their efforts at resistance were fruitless, and in a panic, they took refuge within the fort near Rahun, which they had prepared before the battle. There they were invested and could only reply by musketry-fire and the firing of rockets. They had a supply of the munitions of war and of food, which they had brought together from the houses in Rahun, the inhabitants having fled for their lives, leaving everything behind. Thus they were able to hold the position for several days, and at night parties issued forth to harass the outlying posts of the Muhammadans, destroying many a horse and man. Both sides suffered, but especially the Sikhs. After a time they evacuated their entrenchments during the night, and Shams Khan pursued for some miles, capturing one gun and several loaded camels and oxen. He then returned in triumph to Sultanpur. The next day, however, about one thousand men came back, ejected Sham Khan's officer, and re-occupied Rahun; but

beyond this no hold was then obtained by the Sikhs upon the Jalandhar Duab.*

Let us next trace the Sikh fortunes in another direction. As soon as the Sikh expedition eastwards had crossed the Jamuna, Ali Hamid Khan Qanaui, *faujdar* of that part of the country, took fright, and in spite of offers by the Afghan and other leading Muhammadans to repair the walls and stand on the defensive, that very night marched away from Saharanpur, and took the road to Dihli. The Sikhs, learning that the imperial officer had abandoned the town, made all haste to the spot, soon overcame the resistance of the inhabitants, and plundered it as they had done Sarhind. The whole country, far and near, was in a panic. Those people, who were rich enough or lucky enough to obtain means of conveyance, carried off their goods and families. The rest, taking their wives and children by the hand, fled on foot. Women who had rarely been outside the courtyard of their own house, and had never gone one step outside of it on foot, were forced to walk distances of thirty and forty miles. Many women threw themselves into wells to avoid outrage. In this way, half of the *sarkar* of Saharanpur fell into the hands of the Sikhs.†

Next, the Sikhs wrote to Jalal Khan,‡ former *faujdar*, calling upon him to submit. He lived at a town founded by him, and called Jalalabad; it lies about thirty miles south of Saharanpur and about twenty miles west of Deoband. The town is surrounded by a wall, and many Afghan soldiers had their homes there. When the Sikh messengers came before

* The report of Shams Khan (entitled Shams-ud-din Khan) was received by the Emperor on the 18th Shaban, 1122 (11th Oct., 1710) (Kamwar Khan, entry of that date). He was a nephew of Husain Khan of Qasur (*Fatuh-nama-i-Samadi*, f. 24 a.)

† Mirza Muhammad, and Khafi Khan, ii. 654. The latter calls the *faujdar* Ali Muhammad Khan.

‡ Jalal Khan, son of Hazar Mir, Warakzai Afghan, Miranzai *Khail*, died about the 22nd Muharram, 1130, Farrukh-siyar's sixth year (Kamwar Khan, entry of that date). He is there described as *thanadar* of Thana Bhim, the pargana capital, three miles south of Jalalabad. Dost Muhammad Khan, founder of the Bhopal State, in Central India, was of the same tribe. (Rustam Ali, *Tarikh-i-Hindi*, fol. 279 a.)

Jalal Khan, he ordered them to be paraded derisively through the streets and ejected from the town. Immediate preparations were made for its defence. Soon word was brought that the Sikhs had surrounded two large villages, dependent on and situated four or five miles from Jalalabad. The chief sent out a strong force to relieve these villages, putting at its head Ghulam Muhammad Khan, his grandson, and Hizbar Khan, his cousin. Encouraged by the arrival of reinforcements, the villagers, four or five hundred men, armed with matchlocks or bows, and a number of their tenantry armed in various ways, many with only slings and stones, came out boldly to disperse the Sikhs. In the fight, Hizbar Khan and a number of both Muhammadans and villagers lost their lives. But, in the end, pressed by repeated onslaughts from the Afghans, the Sikhs gave way.*

Other contests followed between the Sikhs and Jalal Khan, and the former were repulsed two or three times. In spite of these reverses, they persisted in their attempts against the town. Seventy to eighty thousand men had collected from all parts. The assailants prepared two or three hundred movable batteries, formed of planks and mounted on cart-wheels. Jalalabad was closely invested. When these batteries were brought to the foot of the walls and close to the town gate, the Sikhs showered from them bullets and arrows and stones upon the Afghans, then with cries of *Fath daras* four or five hundred men, carrying mattocks and other tools, rushed forward, intending to dig through the earthen wall, to affix ladders, and to set fire to the gates. At such moments, the Afghans threw open the gates and, sword in hand, with their shields raised before their faces, made a rush upon the foe. At each sally they cut down two or three hundred of the Sikhs, at the same time losing many lives on their own side. At night-time other sallies were made, when the besiegers were caught unawares and put to the sword. For twenty days the besieged found no proper leisure to eat their food or to take rest. In the end, after losing some thousands of men, the Sikhs withdrew without having been able to take the town.†

* Khafi Khan, ii. 655.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 656. The Emperor received Jalal Khan's report of

When the outbreak in Sarhind and the defeat of Wazir Khan became known at Lahor, the Sikhs collected at their holy place, Amritsar, or the Nectar Lake, in the village of Chak Guru, about forty miles north of Lahor, already renowned for its gardens and lake, and for the great gathering, or *mela*, held there in Phalgun (February) of every year. In this conclave, the Sikhs resolved to make an attempt on Lahor, hoping to have the same success as at Sarhind. The imperial governor was then Sayyid Aslam Khan, a *maulavi* from Kabul. He was the deputy for Prince Muizz-ud-din, Jahandar Shah, the Emperor's eldest son. This man made no effort to repel an attack from outside, though in one way or another he prevented any outbreak within the city of Lahor itself. But parganas such as Batala and Kalanaur (where Akbar was crowned), both in sarkar Batala, were completely ravaged.* The Sikh depredations extended even to the suburbs and to the Shalimar garden, only three miles from the city. The Muhammadans of Lahor now took the matter into their own hands. Muhammad Taqi, a relation of the late Shah Sadullah (*i.e.*, Shah Jahan's greatest *Wazir*, Sadullah Khan Allami), and Musa Beg Luhani, son of Khuda Wirdi Beg, Aghar-Khani, specially exerted themselves to collect men and obtain supplies. Many traders made contributions in money. Others joined in person, such as the son of Sayyid Ismail, Haji Yar Beg, Sayyid Inayat, and Mulla Pir Muhammad, the preacher. The rallying point was the plain near the Idgah mosque.†

Hearing that among the populace he had earned the reputation of a coward, Sayyid Aslam Khan, the governor, sent out a force of five hundred horse and foot, commanded by Mir Attaullah, a man from down country, and Mahabat Khan Karal, zamindar of Faridabad. This expedition caused the Sikhs to retreat to pargana Tappa Bharli ;‡ where there was a small

these events on the 15th Jamadi I. 1122 (11th July, 1710).—Kamwar Khan (entry of that date).

* Batala, about 60 m. n. e., and Kalanaur, about 70 m. n. e., of Lahor. Details of the attack on Batala are given in McGregor, i. 108.

† Qasim, fol. 27.

‡ In sarkar Bari Duab, *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii. 110. For Karal, or Kharal, see Ibbetson, *Census*, 470, 471.

brick fort, built by Bhagwant Ray, the *qanungo* of the pargana. The fort was put in a state of defence and supplies to last a siege were collected. After some delay, the imperialists arrived and invested the place. The Sikhs were unable to come out into the open, but they made a good defence from the bastions and walls. After a time they lost heart and decamped under cover of night. The Muhammadans returned to Lahor, signaling their return by insulting the Hindus of the city and threatening their own rulers.*

Once again, the Sikhs gathered at Kotila Begam, a place near the town of Jamarhi.† The Lahor Muhammadans a second time took the field. On the march, their undisciplined force plundered the villages near the road. When the Muhammadans reached the small fort, the Sikhs came out boldly and met them in the open. Treachery was at work among the Muhammadans. The Afghans of Sauri village, who were secretly disaffected owing to the governor's exactions, are said to have come to an understanding with the Sikh leaders, who were their neighbours. While the fortune of the day was doubtful, and the result still hung in the balance, these Afghans turned their bridle-reins and made for their homes. The remaining Muhammadans were unable to hold their own, and some of their leaders fell, among others Sayyid Inayat, of Bhatdyan village, the Muhammad Taqi already mentioned, and Muhammad Zaman, a Ranghar Rajput. By a great effort the Sikhs were driven back to the walls of the fort, and thus many Muhammadans were enabled to escape from the battle. High wind and heavy rain were obstacles in the way of both combatants, and night fell before a decisive victory had been gained by either side. As the daylight disappeared the fighting died down, and during the night the Muhammadan force melted away into nothing.‡

SEC. 19.—THE EMPEROR MARCHES AGAINST THE SIKHS.

The first news of the Sikh outbreak was brought to Bahadur Shah on the 2nd Rabi II. 1122 (30th May, 1710), when he was

* Qasim, fol. 95.

† In *sarkar Batala*. *Ain*. ii. 110, 318.

‡ Qasim, f. 97.

approaching Ajmer on his return march from the Dakkhin. A peace was forthwith patched up with the Rajputs and attention was turned to the new trouble. Some difference of opinion seems to have arisen between Bahadur Shah and Munim Khan, his Wazir. The Emperor wished to make a rapid march with such troops as could keep up with him. Munim Khan, arguing that it would be derogatory to the Emperor's dignity thus to rush in haste to suppress an enemy that had never been heard of before, preferred a more deliberate advance. If it were thought that delay would enable the rebel Guru either to make his position impregnable or to escape, Munim Khan would bind himself by solemn oaths to be answerable for the capture of the rebel. Some state that Bahadur Shah's unwonted eagerness arose from the chance of conducting what he looked on as a *jihad*, or holy war against the infidel, such as had not been the good fortune for many years of any Emperor in Hindustan.*

The plundered inhabitants of Sarhind and Thanesar, with the Pirzadas of Sarhind and Sadhaura, arrived at the camp in a destitute condition, raising loud cries about the oppression that they had suffered, and making many grievous complaints. Ajmer was quitted on the 1st Jamadi I. 1122 (27th June, 1710), urgent orders being sent to Khan Dauran (afterwards Nizam-ul-mulk) the subahdar of Oudh; Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, faujdar of Muradabad; Khan Jahan, subahdar of Allahabad, and Sayyid Abdullah Khan Barha, calling on them to march without delay and join Asad Khan, subahdar of Dihli and *Wakil-i-mutlaq*, in his advance against the Sikhs. Meanwhile the Emperor's camp moved on, *via* Rupnagar, Sambhar, Rasulpur, Pragpura and Narnol; the capital, Dihli, being passed on their right hand at a considerable distance.† In order to prevent desertions, proclamation was made on the 1st Rajab, 1122 (25th August, 1710), that no man should visit Dihli without

* Kamwar Khan, 68; Warid, 119 a.

† Rupnagar, about 28 m. n. of Ajmer, about 200 m. s. w. of Dihli; Sambhar, about 55 m. n. e. of Ajmer; Rasulpur, (not traced); Pragpura, 120 m. n. e. of Ajmer, about 100 m. s. w. of Dihli; Narnol, 150 m. n. e. of Ajmer, 80 m. s. w. of Dihli.

permission, nor should any man's family come out to camp to see him. Another precautionary measure was an order for all Hindus employed in the imperial offices to shave off their beards. As the Sikhs had many well-wishers among the Khatri clerks, these men were thus forced to choose between losing their appointments, or committing an act that excluded them from the Sikh sect. The order was carried out, it seems, in a very harsh manner. Petty officers perambulated the streets and bazars of the camp, followed by barbers bearing dirty water in a scavenger's vessel. Whenever a Hindu was met wearing a beard, he was seized and his beard shaved off. The clerks in the imperial offices hid in their quarters, and did not appear again in public, until they had been shaved.*

From Praggura, on the 12th Jamadi II. 1122 (7th August, 1710), a force was sent on in advance, under the command of Firuz Khan Mewati, Sultan Quli Khan, a nephew of Rustam Dil Khan, Shakir Khan, and others; an allowance of 50,000 Rupees being granted to Firuz Khan for the payment of levies. Muhammad Amin Khan and his son, Qamr-ud-din Khan, arrived about the same time from Muradabad (27th Jamadi II. 1122, 22nd August, 1710). A week or two after the first force had started, another was sent off under Sayyid Wajih-ud-din Khan Barha. On the 4th Rajab (28th August) Khan Dauran† reached the camp; and when the Emperor was at the town of Patodhi,‡ (17th Rajab, 10th September), Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, and Siraj-ud-din Ali Khan, younger brothers of Sayyid Abdullah Khan Barha, came in from their home across the Jamuna. Khan Jahan (Sipahdar Khan) did not arrive till the 4th Ramzan, 1122 (26th October, 1710). Churaman Jat joined when the camp was nearer Dihli.§

After a halt to celebrate the Emperor's birth-day, followed by several days' delay from heavy rain, and a hunting excursion of a few days in the preserves of Jyunti, the army at

* Qasim, 32; Kamwar Khan, 73; Khafi Khan, ii. 669, 674. *Dastur-ul-insha*, 13.

† Formerly Chin Qilich Khan, afterwards Nizam-ul-mulk.

‡ About 35 m. s. w. of Dihli.

§ Kamwar Khan, 72, 73, 75; Browne, 11; Khafi Khan, ii. 668.

length, on the 29th Shaban 1122 (22nd October, 1710), reached the town of Sonpat, some thirty miles beyond Dihli. Here, on the 4th Ramzan (26th October), a letter was received from Shams-ud-din Khan, faujdar of the Jalandhar Duab, reporting that he had, on the 19th Shaban, 1122 (12th October, 1710), gained a victory over the enemy. On the 8th Ramzan (30th October 1710), at the next stage, Sarai Kunwar, Rustam Dil Khan reported to His Majesty that four days before (26th October), Firuz Khan Mewati had fought the enemy between Indri and Karnal, and he now sent in three hundred heads. Firuz Khan was rewarded with the appointment of faujdar of Sarhind, and six robes of honour were sent for him and his companions. The next marches were to Sarai Sambhalka, Panipat, Kharonda, then to near a brick bridge close to Karnal, next to Karnal itself, Azimabad-Talaori (*alias* Alamgirpur), and then Thanesar, which was reached on the 22nd Ramzan, 1122 (13th November, 1710). At Karnal a further fight was heard of; it had taken place at Thanesar and the Sikhs had been again defeated. Firuz Khan, after clearing Thanesar, had gone on to Shahabad, ten miles further to the north. Such Sikhs as had been made prisoners were strung up to the road-side trees, their long hair being twisted to perform the office of a rope.*

Before these successes were obtained, the road from Dihli had been barred for many months. Bayazid Khan, an Afghan of Qasur near Lahor, and then faujdar of the Jammu hill country, was on his march up-country with a retinue of several thousand men. On reaching Panipat his further progress was stopped. But on the advance of Firuz Khan, he took the initiative and drove the Sikhs before him. He was also assisted by his nephew, Shams-ud-din Khan,† faujdar of the Jalandhar Duab, already spoken of, who came now from Bajwara, in that jurisdiction, as far as Sarhind. Bayazid Khan, Umar Khan, and Shams-ud-din Khan encountered the Sikhs at a grove

* Kamwar Khan, 75, 76; Qasim, 100; for Shams-ud-din Khan see the next note.

† Shamsher Khweshgi, was made Shams-ud-din Khan, and on joining the imperial service had been given the rank of 500,150 horse. (Danishmand Khan, entry of 24th Zul Hijja, 1119, 2nd year of Bahadur Shah).

known as Yaqut Khan's, and drove them in disorder towards Sarhind, where they took refuge in the fort, and were there invested. The first success of these leaders was gained on the 19th Shaban, 1122 (12th October, 1710),* and it was followed by a further victory, of which a report was received on the 6th Shawwal (27th November, 1710). Good service was also done within the Baith Jalandhar Duab, by Isa Khan Main. Muhammad Amin Khan, who had been appointed to command a detached force, was now directed to march with all speed and take measures for the reduction and occupation of Sarhind.

Leaving Thanesar on the 4th Shawwal, 1122 (25th November, 1710), Bahadur Shah, in five marches by way of Shahabad and Aukala, reached Sadhaura on the 13th of the same month. Sadhaura is about thirty-six miles north-east of Thanesar. A few days before this date, it had been reported that the Sikhs had moved southwards from Sadhaura, with 3,000 horsemen and 10,000 infantry,† and had entrenched themselves on the road. Subsequently, they must have thought it wiser not to risk an encounter, for the imperial march was not molested. The Sikhs fled even from Sadhaura, and took refuge in the hills to the north-east of that place. Sadhaura itself is a town on a high hill of steep ascent, standing on the edge of the Markhanda torrent, in a hilly and, in those days, well-wooded country.‡

The Guru's head-quarters were not at Sadhaura, but farther on, within the first hills, in a region called by the native writers both Mukhlipur and the Dabar. Their use of the first name raises some difficulties of identification. They confound the site of the Guru's fort with Mukhlipur, the name for the hunting lodge, now called Badshahi Mahal, built by Shah Jahan close to the left bank of the Jamuna, and a few miles below the heads of what are now called the Eastern and Western Jamuna Canals. Some lands, which had been detached from pargana Muzaffarbad, of sarkar Saharanpur, were assigned to

* Report received on the 4th Ramzan.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 669, says 30,000 to 40,000 men.

‡ Kamwar Khan, 77.

it and called Faizabad.* This is, at the very least, twelve miles too far to the east for the Mukhlispur that we want, for which we must make search somewhere between Sadhaura on the west, Nahan on the north, and the Jamuna river on the east. That there was such a place, is shown by our finding Moklespore (Mukhlispur) on J. Rennell's map† of 1792, exactly where we want it, namely, half-way between Nahan and Sadhaura. Dabar (with the Hindi, or cerebral d) must have been the name of the region round Mukhlispur. It is described as "a place seven or eight kos from Sadhaura, near the northern hills, and on the edge of it is a small hill, difficult of access, on which Islam Khan, son of Sher Khan Sur, in his day of brief authority, began to build a strong fortress, under the name of Pawagarh. It was left unfinished at his death, and fell into ruins, parts of which still remain. Banda restored and extended these ruins."‡

Here the Sikhs had built a strong fort as a place of refuge, apparently the first to resort to this quarter having been Guru Govind Singh, in the period of seclusion succeeding his father, Tegh Bahadur's, death. The name given to the stronghold was Lohgarh, or Iron Fort, either in allusion to the prominence of iron in the Guru's new ritual, or with reference to the fort's supposed impregnability. Its exact situation cannot be determined, but it was about half-way between the towns of Nahan (in Sirmur) and Sadhaura (sarkar Sarhind); probably it stood on some spur of the hills overlooking one of the dry, stony, torrent beds, or *raos*, which form such a peculiar feature of the hill country and its border-land, both there and in the north of the Saharanpur district. The fort may have been on the Som *rao*, or more probably, on the *rao* still bearing the

* *Masir-ul-umara*, printed text, ii. 867; iii. 157. Alamgir visited this place in 1073 H. (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 42).

† Rennell, *Memoir*, 3rd edn., *Map of Countries between Dehli and Candahar*.

‡ "Anonymous Fragment," f. 14b. This work is tract No. 4, in a miscellaneous volume, formerly in the library of Dr. Lee, now owned by me. Salim Shah (Islam Khan) reigned 1545-1553.

name of Lohgarh.* Roughly speaking, it lay some twelve miles to the north-east of Sadhaura. Here the Guru stood at bay, having the walls of the fort mounted with small cannon and pierced for musketry.†

At Lohgarh, Banda tried to assume something of regal state. He was the *Sacha Padshah*, or Veritable Sovereign, his disciples all *Singhs*, or lions. A new form of greeting, *Fath daras* (May you behold victory!), was invented and Muhammadans were slightly called *Maslah*. Coin was struck in the new sovereign's name. One side bore the lines :

*Sikḡah zad bar har do alam tegh-i-Nanak wahib ast,
Fath Govind Shah-i-shahan fazl-i-Sacha Sahib ast.*

If we are to judge by this halting, obscure verse, Banda was a better warrior than he was poet. The lines, an obvious imitation of the inscriptions on the Mughal coins, seem to mean "Fath Govind, king of kings, struck coin in the two worlds, the sword of Nanak is the granter of desires, by grace he is the veritable Lord." On the reverse were these words *Zarb ba Aman-ud-dahr, Maswarat-shahr, Zinat-ut-takht-i-mubarak-bakht*. "Coined at Refuge of the World, the Walled City, Ornament of the Fortunate Throne." These were the titles and epithets assigned by him to Lohgarh, just as each imperial city had its appropriate honorific name. On his letters he impressed a seal, bearing the following rhyming inscription :

*Teg, deg, o fath, nusrat-i-be-dirang,
Yaft az Nanak, Guru Govind Singh.*

"Guru Govind Singh found in Nanak, sword, pot, and conquest, help without hindrance or delay."‡ Not content with supre-

* *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 48.

† Kamwar Khan, 79.

‡ These words were used by the Sikhs on the coins they made at Lahor in 1765. See C. J. Rodgers, *Journal, Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, lvii, Part I, 30. For the seal, bearing the same inscription, still used by the Sikhs at Achal-nagar (Nader) and elsewhere, see Sayyid Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, 270. *Deg*, literally "pot," means, I believe, the contributions levied from the faithful. Cunningham, 103, note, and App. ix, thinks it a metaphor for abundance or prosperity.

macy in the State, he also claimed, as other sovereigns have done, to be above grammar. By his order all nouns in Hindi and Persian having feminine terminations were changed into the masculine form. For instance, *sawari* (a retinue) and *kachari* (a Court-house or office) were pronounced by him and his Sikhs, *sawara* and *kachara*!*

The campaign which the Emperor had undertaken was rendered more arduous by the nature of the country and the season of the year. It happened that much rain fell that year in December and January, and the imperialist army, largely composed of men who had served in the Dakhin only, and were accustomed to a much milder climate, suffered severely from the almost incessant rain and the bitterly cold wind, which blew with great force every night. Supplies were also deficient, and the muddy state of the country was an additional obstacle. The losses among the horses and cattle were very heavy. Added to these material difficulties were others of a more imaginary but hardly less potent nature. According to the popular voice the Guru was a most powerful magician, greater even than he who made a calf to talk; he could turn a bullet from its course and could work such spells that spear and sword had little or no effect upon his followers. Owing to these idle rumours the Emperor and the nobles and the soldiers were much disturbed in mind and disheartened. The Sikhs, on the other hand, were encouraged by the belief instilled into them by Banda that all who lost their lives in this war would be re-created at once in a higher rank of life.†

SEC. 20.—SIKH ENTRENCHMENTS STORMED: ESCAPE OF BANDA.

On the 13th Shawwal, 1122 (4th December, 1710), Rustam Dil Khan, in his capacity of *Mir Tuzak*, or quarter-master-general, was directed to go forward with the advance-tents and select an appropriate site for the next encampment, taking care to protect the tents from any attack by the other side. Munim Khan, the Wazir, and his son, Mahabat Khan, escorted

* Anonymous Fragment of *Farrukh-siyar-nama*, fol. 16 a.

† Kamwar Khan, 78; *Dastur-ul-insha*, 11; and Khafi Khan, ii. 671.

the tents with their own troops, reinforced by those of the third Prince, Rafi-ush-shan, which were commanded by his Bakhshi, or general, Afzal Khan. Next day it was ascertained that when Rustam Dil Khan had gone about two *kos* from camp, the enemy began to show in the jungle, commencing the attack with a shower of arrows, rockets, and musket balls. Without pausing, Rustam Dil Khan rushed upon them. The Sikhs stood their ground bravely and on their coming to close quarters, many on both sides were killed. Soon the rest of the imperial troops arrived.* About fifteen hundred Sikhs were slain, including two of their leaders, and of the imperialists, a nephew of Firuz Khan Mewati was killed, and his son wounded. Just before night-fall the Sikhs lost heart and made off into the ravines between the hills.†

The imperialists beat their drums in honour of the victory, and, advancing another one-and-a-half *kos*, they set up the imperial tents. Munim Khan and his son remained to protect them, while Rustam Dil Khan, Afzal Khan and other employes proceeded half a *kos* farther and took up a position on the bank of the Som, in which stream there was a small quantity of running water. On the other side of the stream stretched a wilderness full of trees. All night long there was a dreadful noise, and the whole time was passed in watching and on the alert. The Emperor gave Rustam Dil Khan the credit for this first success. This was no more than his due, for when most of his followers had retreated, he stood firm with only forty or fifty horsemen, who were his own relations, and continued the fight till the rest of the division came up to reinforce him and dispersed the enemy. He received the title of Ghazi Khan, Rustam Jang, and his rank was raised to 4,000 *zat*, 3,000 horse. Valuable gifts were sent off to him by the hand of Haiyat Khan, and trays of food from the imperial kitchen were forwarded to the Wazir and his son.‡

* Kamwar Khan himself was present with Rafi-ush-shan's troops.

† Kamwar Khan, 78.

‡ *Ibid*, 79.

On the 18th Shawwal 1122 (9th December, 1710), Bahadur Shah reached his camp on the banks of the Som, where Munim Khan and his son Mahabat Khan were received in audience. The Emperor expressed his intention of inspecting the next day the entrenchments prepared by the Sikhs at the foot of the hills, and Prince Rafi-ush-shan received orders to provide for His Majesty's protection during the reconnaissance.*

Next morning, the 19th Shawwal 1122 (10th December, 1710), Prince Rafi-ush-shan led out the imperial troops towards the foot of the Dabar hills. A quarter of a *kos* in advance came the Prince, leading the imperial vanguard. Rajah Udait Singh Bundela (of Orchha), was at the head of Zulfiqar Khan's contingent; while Munim Khan, the minister, accompanied by his two sons, Mahabat Khan and Khan Zaman, bore away to the right by a route pointed out to him by men with knowledge of the locality. The most forward part of Munim Khan's force was led by Rajah Chattarsal Bundela and Islam Khan, general of artillery. Munim Khan was also supported by the troops of Hamid-ud-din Khan and the contingents of the Princes Azim-ush-shan and Jahan Shah.†

Before a fourth of the day had passed, Munim Khan and his force came upon the Sikh entrenchments, strongly constructed on the tops of the hills. A heavy artillery and musketry fire was commenced, and in time the enemy were dislodged from the top of a small hill. The contending parties then came to closer quarters and many Sikhs lost their lives. About midday Munim Khan's troops made good their approach to the Lohgarh fort, the Guru's home and head-quarters. A severe struggle ensued. By this time the imperial troops (under Rafi-ush-shan) had quitted the open plain and were distant about a quarter of a *kos* from the walls of Lohgarh. From time to time shots from the walls fell in the Prince's ranks, but luckily none of them did any harm. Zulfiqar Khan halted

* Kamwar Khan, 79.

† Kamwar Khan, 79, 80. He here notes that he now quits the reports of others and records what he saw with his own eyes. Mirza Muhammad and his brother were also with Rafi-ush-shan's division. (I.O.L. No. 50, f. 98a).

and at intervals sent messages to the Prince that a slow advance was advisable. Although this advice was in appearance full of prudence, the clearer-sighted were aware that this desire to delay was wholly due to old quarrels and differences of opinion with Munim Khan. The Prince, to please Zulfiqar Khan, gave orders to halt, and alighting, he entered a light field-tent to eat some breakfast.*

A little after midday, at the time of the *Zuhr* prayer, a great smoke and much noise arose within the Sikh enclosure. Kamwar Khan with one or two companions, then left the Prince's division and went towards the position of the Sikhs. When they arrived within an arrow's flight of the earthen fortification, they drew rein, and at that moment a cannon ball from the top of the hill struck a tamarind tree, then glancing off grazed slightly the neck of the horse ridden by one of the party, and passed on without doing further damage, beyond having thrown the group into some disorder. Shortly after this happened, some plunderers who had made their way into the fort, passed carrying on their backs an Afghan, who had been hurt by a gunpowder explosion. From these men Kamwar Khan learnt that the imperialists had reached the hill-top and had begun to slay and plunder, but the enemy still continued to defend several other of the small hills, and some of them had taken refuge in a fort that they had named Sataragarh, or the Star fort.†

Kamwar Khan went on to the entrenched post of the Sikhs and found it in the hands of the plunderers, Rohela Afghans, Biloch, and others, who had taken crowds of women and children prisoners. The heavy goods and baggage they had set fire to, taking only cash and articles of value. Through the carelessness of these men several magazines of powder took fire, by which many of them were blown up. One heart-rending spectacle was the dead body of Saj Anand's son, and those of many Muhammadan men and women, slain by the

* Kamwar Khan, 80.

† *Ibid*, 81.

Sikhs before they had taken to flight. The bodies lay half-hidden by a few stones hastily thrown over them.*

One Mirza Rukn now arrived from the front, and informed them that the struggle still continued in the passes of the hills. Rustam Dil Khan, he said, had gained the foot of a small hill, on which stood a white building. It was believed that the Guru, in person, was in that house. The Mirza added that, so far as he had ascertained, the Sikh leader was seated under a particular awning on a particular hill, looking on at the action, and that all way of escape from that hill was cut off. This conversation had hardly ended, when Rajah Udait Singh, stung by the taunts of his fellow countryman, Chhattarsal Bundela, rode off towards that hill, and his matchlockmen, quickly occupying an eminence which commanded it, poured their fire upon it. It seems that the Guru, who with several of his chief men was in that tent, was disconcerted by this firing, and moving down to the other side of the hill made good his escape. His departure caused the evacuation of several of the other hill-tops. The Rajah and other commanders of Munim Khan's force cleared the other eminences of their defenders, and by the time of evening-prayer none of their Sikh opponents were left, except those in the white building. Many women and children, horses and camels, were captured. Munim Khan was now recalled and he returned to the imperial camp, leaving Rustam Dil Khan and his troops round the hill on which the building stood. Munim Khan reported to His Majesty the course of events, and in the confusion of the fight the escape of the Guru having remained unnoticed, he added that the leader was surrounded and would shortly be brought in a prisoner. One story is that Zulfiqar Khan, long at enmity with Munim Khan, purposely spread the false report through his spies that the Guru was a prisoner. Munim Khan's own spies believed the story and brought in the news as true, whereupon Munim Khan intimated the fact to the Emperor.†

* Kamwar Khan, 80.

† Kamwar Khan, 82, *Masir-ul-amara*, iii. 673-4.

Prince Rafi-ush-shan and Zulfiqar Khan camped for the night at the place where they had halted in the morning. Up till midnight the sounds of fighting were brought on the wind to the imperial camp, which was at a very little distance. Between midnight and daybreak there was a loud report, which made the ground under the tents tremble : and scouts brought word that it was caused by the explosion of a cannon made out of the trunk of a tamarind tree, which the Sikhs had filled with powder and blown to pieces just as they were about to retreat.*

In the morning (20th Shawwal, 1122=11th December, 1710) Rustam Dil Khan appeared with the prisoners and spoil, the latter including five elephants, three cannon, seventeen light pieces (*rahkḷa*) and some other things. He was rewarded with a gift of two of the elephants. The prisoners, ten or twelve in number, were made over to the police officer, Sarbarah Khan, for execution. The chief man among them was one Gulabu Khatri, a tobacco seller, who had passed himself off as the Guru, in order to facilitate the real man's escape. As the proverb says "The hawk had flown and the owl was netted."† Khafi Khan, with reference to this event, comments‡ on the zeal and self-sacrificing spirit shown by the Guru's followers. They were all equally devoted to his cause. What a contrast to the imperial armies, where, out of two or three thousand men, it was wonderful if one or two hundred were really prepared to fight to the death!

Bahadur Shah's displeasure at the escape of the Guru could not be concealed, and his calm temper was disturbed in a very unusual degree. There was a stormy scene between him and the chief minister. Bahadur Shah reproached him with being the cause of delay of every kind. At length, when the quarry had been driven into the net, it had, by his want of care and precaution, sprung away again, leaving no trace behind it but a little dust. It mattered not where the "dog"

* Kamwar Khan, 82.

† *Baz parida o bam ba dam uftada ast. Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 673.

‡ ii. 672, 673.

had fled to, whether he were drowned in the river or hiding in a cave in the hills ; in any case, the Wazir had bound himself to produce the rebel, and produce him he must. He (Bahadur Shah) claimed the man from him. Overwhelmed with these fierce reproaches, Munim Khan left the council-chamber with hanging head and dejected mien. His death, which followed soon after, is partly attributed to the untoward result of the campaign against the Guru.*

On the 22nd Shawwal, 1122 (13th December, 1710) orders were sent to the Rajahs of Srinagar (i.e., Garhwal) and Nahan† to seize the Guru wherever they found him. The escape had been made into, or through, Nahan territory. That Rajah's crime was therefore the more patent, and unfortunately for him his chief town was only a few miles away, and to it Hamid Khan was sent to seize him. A few days afterwards (2nd Zul Qada, 1122=22nd December, 1710), that noble returned bringing Bhup Parkash, the son of Hari Parkash, the ruler of Nahan. He was kept in confinement, and thirty or more men who had been sent by his mother to plead for his release, were executed (4th Safar, 1123=23rd March, 1711). Finally, he was put into the iron cage constructed for the reception of the false Guru, and forwarded to Dihli, where he was kept a prisoner in Salimgarh until, during the confusion in Jahandar's time, he was set at liberty. Fath Singh, of Srinagar, was not so easily accessible. He was prudent enough to make his peace by sending presents (20th Muharram, 1123=8th March, 1711), but he could not be seized. Although the principal object of the campaign, the capture of the Guru, was not attained, it was not altogether fruitless, for treasure amounting to about twenty lakhs in Rupees and *ashrafis* (gold coins) was recovered, by

* Warid, 119b, 120a.

† These are generally styled by the Muhammadan writers *Barfi Rajah*, or Snowy kings. For instance, in Khafi Khan, ii. 671, and *Masir-al-umara*, iii. 673. Khush-hal Chand, *Nadir-uz-zamani* (B. Museum, Addl. No. 24,027, fol. 214b) tells us that the name was given because the Nahan Rajah used to send boatloads of ice (colloquially *barfi*) as presents to the Emperors and nobles of Dihli.

digging up the whole surface of the ground in Lohgarh, the Guru's fort (25th Shawwal, 1122 = 16th December, 1710).*

SEC. 21.—DESULTORY FIGHTING WITH THE SIKHS.

It will conduce to clearness if, discarding a strict chronological order, we here carry the story of the Sikh revolt up to Bahadur Shah's death and the reign of Jahandar Shah, leaving the final overthrow and capture of the Guru in Farrukh-siyar's reign, to be related hereafter. To resume, then :—On the 22nd Zul Qada, 1122 (11th January, 1711) Muhammad Amin Khan returned to head-quarters and reported the re-occupation of Sarhind. He was received with honour, and escorted into camp by Khan Zaman Bahadur, the Wazir's second son. Shortly after this date, Saf Shikan Khan Bahadur, with his sister's son, Himmat Daler Khan, was despatched against the Sikhs in the direction of Lahor. He was followed on the 18th Muharram, 1123 (7th March 1711), by Hamid Khan Bahadur, at the head of 5,000 horsemen. Three months had hardly passed from the taking of Lohgarh, when, in the early part of 1123 H., the Guru issued from the hills and appeared further to the west, in the parganas of Raipur and Bahrapur,† thus raising a fresh disturbance in the Bari Duab. On the 7th and 14th Rabi II. 1123 (24th and 31st May, 1711), Rustam Dil Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan were sent to restore order, and were directed to construct a bridge of boats across the Bias river. Meanwhile, by a report which arrived on the 18th Rabi II. 1123 (4th June, 1711) the Emperor learnt the death of Shams Khan Khweshgi.‡

Shams Khan Khweshgi, who had shortly before this time lost his appointment as *faujdar* of Baith Jalandhar, was on his way to his home at Qasur, south of Lahor, accompanied by one hundred horsemen. The party was attacked by the Sikhs, who had gathered together to the number of some 20,000 men, horse and foot. In spite of the disparity of numbers, the Muham-

* Kamwar Khan, 83, 87; Warid, 120b.

† Raipur (not traced). Bahrapur, n. of Gurdaspur.

‡ Kamwar Khan, 84, 85, 87, 91, 92; Mirza Muhammad, 215, 217.

madans, disdaining to flee, offered a stout resistance. Many of the Sikhs were killed, but at the same time, Shams Khan himself was among the slain. As the Guru did not know of this leader's death, he and his men left the field. By the time he heard the news and returned, the Afghans had removed Shams Khan's body and with it escaped to his home. The Emperor appointed Isa Khan Main to be deputy *faujdar* of Baith Jalandhar, with the rank of 1,500 *zat*, 1,000 horse.*

Owing to the death of Shams Khan, the inhabitants of the Bari Duab, especially of Batala and Kalanaur, two important towns, fled from their homes, with their families and such property as they could remove, taking refuge in Lahor or other places of safety. As soon as the Sikhs found that the towns and villages were not defended, they placed in them armed posts and slaughtered all those upon whom they could lay hands. A force was also sent by them across the river Ravi to devastate the Rachnau Duab; Aurangabad, Parsaror, and other places were taken and many houses burnt.†

On the 23rd Rabi II. 1123 (9th June, 1711) Hamid Khan Bahadur returned to head-quarters, then at Hushyarpur, and at the same time it was reported that Isa Khan Main had inflicted a severe defeat on the Sikhs. As the victor was a *protege* of the eldest Prince, Jahandar Shah, that Prince received robes of honour as a compliment for the victory. Five days later (28th Rabi II. 1123, 14th June, 1711), Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, and Rustam Dil Khan, wrote that, near Parsur (or Parsaror), they had also defeated the Guru, who had fled without any followers into the hill-country of Jammu. In these operations against the Sikhs, Rustam Dil Khan is said to have committed great excesses against the inhabitants of Kathotha, Barwal,‡ and other parganas, seizing many persons on the wrongful accusation of being Sikhs, and giving them to his soldiers in lieu of pay. These latter sold the poor wretches in the horse-market (*nakhkhas*) at Lahor.§

* Mirza Muhammad, 215, 237.

† *Ibidem*. Aurangabad (not traced); Parsaror, a few miles s. of Sialkot

‡ Kathotha (in Rachnau Duab, *Ain* ii. 321); Barwal (not traced).

§ Kamwar Khan, 92; Qasim, 103.

Soon, the two commanders, Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustam Dil Khan, began to quarrel and send in complaints against each other. From this cause the pursuit relaxed. The charge against Rustam Dil Khan was that, after he had learnt the Guru's hiding-place in the hills, and had resolved to surround it, the fugitive made overtures of humble submission, and on several occasions sent large presents of money to his pursuer. These presents caused Rustam Dil Khan to delay his advance. By this remissness the Guru succeeded in effecting his escape. Muhammad Amin Khan's story was believed, and Rustam Dil Khan was recalled to Lahor. From that time the operations slackened.*

One account states that Rustam Dil Khan's offence was leaving his troops and returning to Lahor without orders. Whichever is the true version, it is certain that on the 19th Rajab, 1123 (1st September, 1711), Islam Khan, general of artillery, Mahabat Khan, Mukhlis Khan and Sarbarah Khan, the *kotwal*, were sent to arrest him. He was brought in during the night, seated on the carriage of a field-piece. Orders issued to put fetters on his feet and convey him to the citadel of Lahor. On his way to prison, a number of men who had suffered at his hands, cursed him and threw dust at him; but true to his reckless character, he was not in the least dejected, and occupied himself in interchanging witticisms with the men in charge of him, who were seated on the same elephant. Some of the bystanders shouted out, "Pimp! Pimp!" Now, as Islam Khan was following his prisoner on another elephant, Rustam Dil Khan retorted unabashed, "Which do you mean? The pimp in front or the one behind?" His office of Mir Tuzak was given to another man, and Inayatullah Khan, the *Khan-saman*, or Lord Steward, was directed to confiscate his property. The amount reported was 500 gold coins (*ashrafi*) 1,36,000 Rupees, 11 elephants, 70 horses, 18 camels, some jewels, and forty cart-loads of tents. After a few months the culprit was released, and received the name of Ghazanfar

* Warid, 125b. Rustam Dil Khan was the grandson of Allah Wirdi Khan Shahjahani.

Khan in place of his old titles (20th Shawwal, 1123=30th November, 1711).*

On the 14th Zul Hijja, 1123 (22nd January 1712), barely a month before Bahadur Shah's death, Muhammad Amin Khan reported a severe fight with the Sikhs, and with his letter he sent in five hundred heads. But, on the Emperor's death, Muhammad Amin Khan left that part of the country and returned to the imperial camp with the object of taking part in the fight for the succession. The Guru saw his opportunity and once more took possession of the town of Sadhaura, and restored the fort of Lohgarh. Here he remained undisturbed for about two months. When Jahandar Shah's accession had taken place, Muhammad Amin Khan was sent back to continue the campaign, and Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan, *faujdar* of *Chakla* Sarhind, was ordered to put himself under that general's orders. For several months the investment of Sadhaura was maintained without result. Then, towards the end of the year 1124 (December, 1712), when Jahandar Shah left Dihli for Agra to oppose the advance of Farrukh-siyar, he recalled Muhammad Amin Khan to head-quarters. Subsequent events will fall within the reign of Farrukh-siyar.†

APPENDIX I. SOURCES OF SIKH HISTORY.

[The special points in Mr. W. Irvine's sketch of early Sikh history are:—(1) An attempt to get rid of the fable mixed up with the Sikh legends, and to work the residue of fact into some sort of historical order; (2) to clear the story, as far as possible, from numerous discrepancies and obscurities of place and date; (3) the introduction of new matter from contemporary Muhammadan sources; (4) new first-hand evidence for the date of Govind Singh's death; and lastly (5) the identification of the places referred to in the course of the narrative.]

* Kamwar Khan, 95, 98, and *Dastur-ul-aml*, B. M., *Oriental MSS.* 1690, fol. 115b.

† Kamwar Khan, 100; Mirza Muhammad, 215-237.

I. PRINTED BOOKS (ENGLISH)

1. Browne.—*India Tracts*, by Major James Browne, 4to.. London, 1788. Translation of a Pers. MS. written by two Hindus at Browne's desire.
2. Rennell.—*Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, by Major James Rennell 4to., London, 1793.
3. G. Forster.—*A Journey from Bengal to England*, by George Forster, 2 Vols., 8vo., London, 1808.
4. Malcolm.—*Sketch of the Sikhs*, by Lt.-Col. John Malcolm, 8vo., London, 1812. Reprint from *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. ii.
5. *The Siyar-ul-mutakherin*, by Mir Ghulam Husain Khan (translation), edited by Lt.-Col. J. Briggs (O. T. Fund), 8vo., London, 1832.
6. McGregor.—*The History of the Sikhs*, by Dr. W. L. McGregor, 2 Vols., 8vo., London, 1846. Some confusion of dates.
7. Cunningham.—*History of the Sikhs*, by Capt. J. D. Cunningham, 8vo., London, 1853.
8. Thornton.—*Gazetteer of the Territories under the E. I. Co.*, by E. Thornton, 8vo., London, 1862.
9. *Sakhi Book*.—Translation of, by Sirdar Sir Attar Singh, K.C.I.E., Chief of Bhadaur, 8vo., Benares, 1873.
10. Dr. E. Trumpp.—*Adi Granth* (translation). London, 1877.
11. *Firuzpur Gazetteer*.—8vo., Lahor, 1883-4.
12. C. J. Rodgers.—Article in *Journal, As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. lvii, 1888.
13. *Ain-i-Akbari*, (translation), Vol. ii, by Col. H. S. Jarrett, (*Bib. Ind.*) 8vo., Calcutta, 1891.
14. S. Mhd. Latif.—*History of the Panjab*, by Sayyid Muhammad Latif, 8vo., Calcutta, 1891.

II. PRINTED BOOKS (PERSIAN AND URDU)

15. *Dastur-ul-insha*, by Yar Muhammad, compiled c. 1170 H., Folio, Calcutta, 1253 H.
16. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, by Mhd. Saqi, Mustaid Khan, composed 1122 H., (*Bib. Ind.*) 8vo., Calcutta, 1871.

17. Khafi Khan.—*Muntakhab-ul-lubab*, by Mhd. Hashim. Khafi Khan, (Bib. Ind.) 8vo., Calcutta, 1874.
18. *Masir-ul-umara*, by Shah Nawaz Khan, (Bib. Ind.) 3 vols., 8vo., Calcutta, 1888-91.
19. *Shamsher-i-khalsa*, by Gyan Singh, Gyani, and Babu Raj Indar Singh. (Urdu) 4to. Litho., Sialkot, 1891.

III. MANUSCRIPTS (PERSIAN)

20. *Dastur-ul-aml*.—British Museum, Oriental MSS., No. 1690.
21. Danishmand Khan.—*Bahadur-Shah-nama*, by Danishmand Khan, Ali (1122 H.). B. M., Or. 24, and my copy. See also Elliot, vii. 568.
22. *Anonymous Fragment of a "Farrukh-siyar-nama"* (c. 1131 H.).—My copy. [I find on further comparison and study that this is a portion of Mhd. Ihsan Ijad's History, of which another fragment is in the B. M., Or., 25.]
23. Mirza Mhd.—A memoir or *Tazkira* (called in some places *Ibratnama*), by Mirza Muhammad, Harisi. (1133 H.). My copy, and India Office, No. 50.
24. Qasim.—*Ibratnama*, by Mhd. Qasim, Lahori (c. 1133 H.). My copy, and I. O. Library, No. 194, [also in B. M.]. See also Elliot, vii. 569.
25. *Fatihat-nama-i-Samadi*, by Ghulam Muhi-ud-din (composed 1135 H.) B. M., Or., 1870.
26. Kamwar Khan.—*Tazkirat-us-salatin-i-Chaghtaiyah*, by Mhd. Hadi, Kamwar Khan, Vol. II. My two copies (to 6th year of Mhd. Shah) [Also in Library R. Asiatic Society (to 7th year of Mhd. Shah), and I. O. Library (only to second year of Mhd. Shah.) There is no copy of the second vol. in the B. M.] See also Elliot, viii. 17.
27. Warid.—*Mirat-i-Waridat*, by Mhd. Shafi, Warid, (up to 1147 H.). B. M. 6579. See also Elliot, viii. 21.
28. Rustam Ali.—*Tarikh-i-Hindi*, by Rustam Ali,

- Shahabadi (1149 H.). B. M., Or., 1628. See also Elliot, viii. 40.
29. Yahya Khan.—*Tazkirat-ul-muluk*, by Yahya Khan, Mir Munshi, (1149 H.). I. O. Lib., 1149 (Ethe No. 409).
30. Khush-hal Chand.—*Nadir-uz-zamani* (after 1161 H.). B. M. Additional, 24,027. See also Elliot, viii. 70.
31. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, by Mirza Muhammad, Harisi (author of No. 23), (c. 1163 H.). B. M., Or., 1824, and my copy.
32. Muin-ud-din, Buta Shah.—*Tarikh-i-Panjab* (composed 1264 H., 1847-48 A.D.). My copy, [also in B. M.]

SEC. 22.—BAHADUR SHAH MARCHES TO LAHOR.

DEATH OF MUNIM KHAN, WAZIR

On the 13th December, 1710 the Emperor moved his camp to an opening leading to the pass through the hills, and then nine days later to the village of Puri. The weather continued to be very stormy, there was heavy rain, and the cold was intense. As soon as the tents could be moved, they recrossed the Som river, and encamped again near Sadhaurah. As soon as the rain had abated a little, a short march was made, and again in a few days they moved close to the villages of Sarwarpur and Rasulpur.

On the 15th February, 1711 the camp was at Bhadoli, and here it was reported that Munim Khan, the chief minister, was suffering from some affection in the face, of the nature of gangrene, which had attacked his eye and ear. A halt was accordingly made, and after thirteen days, Munim Khan expired (28 Feb. 1711).* His age was a few months over sixty years. His body was sent to Dihli to be buried near the Qutb; and Bahadur Shah, who was in great sorrow at the loss of his chief adviser, conferred on his sons and family the whole of the deceased's property, which the official valuers reported to be worth three

* The place of his death is named *Buriyah* [in the Duab between the Satlaj and the Bias]. (Mirza Muhammad, f. 98a, and *T-i-Mdi*).

krors of Rupees (about 3 millions of pounds sterling). The Emperor's private physician, Mutamad-ul-mulk, was sent to the survivors with consolatory messages, followed by one hundred trays of food from the royal kitchen.

MUNIM KHAN, HIS CAREER AND CHARACTER.

Munim Khan,* born about 1062 H. (1651-2) was the son of Sultan Beg, of the Badakhshi tribe of Birlas, a man who had held office first as *kotwal* of Agra and then in some subordinate post in Kashmir. On his father's death, Munim Khan went to the Dakhin to push his fortunes, and his bravery attracted the notice of Ruhullah Khan then Mir Bakhshi, through whom he obtained an introduction to Alamgir. His first recorded office was that of *amin* to the *Haft Chauki* (a name for the establishment of pages or *khawas*) in place of Mir Abdul Karim, Multafat Khan. This was in the 34th year of Alamgir. Ten years afterwards we find him at the siege of Parnala and Pawangarh, two Mahratta strongholds, and in the succeeding year he received the gift of an Arab horse with gold trappings in acknowledgment of further services. In 1114 H. he became superintendent of the elephant stables with the rank of 1,000 *zat*, (300 horse). But owing to a charge made against him by Muhammad Amin Khan of not making sufficient haste to reinforce that noble, he was reduced in rank by 250 horse and the appointment in the elephant stable taken away. The Emperor's eldest son Muhammad Muazzam (afterwards Bahadur Shah) now became his patron. At his own request, Munim Khan was transferred from the Dakhin to Kabul. He replaced Aslam Khan as *diwan* or chief revenue officer to the Prince (1705), and shortly after succeeded the same noble as *diwan* of the subah of Kabul. In the next year he became the Prince's deputy in the Lahor subah and his rank was increased to 1,500 *zat*, (1,000 horse). From this point his fortunes, following those of his patron, Muhammad Muazzam, have been already sufficiently recorded in these pages.

* M. U. iii. 667-677; K. K. 502; M. A. 338, 437, 450-451, 459, 464, 482-497. Dil. 164a, 167a.

Although Munim Khan can hardly be called a great minister, he was at least a fairly good one, and considering the many difficulties which were crowded into the five years of his ministry, he may be held not altogether unsuccessful. Perhaps it may be laid to his charge and that of Bahadur Shah that there was too great a love of compromise, a habit of patching up any arrangement for the sake of obtaining temporary relief from an embarrassment without sufficient thought for the ultimate result of leaving the evil uneradicated.

Personally he was hospitable and pleasant mannered, absolutely free from haughtiness and vain glory, firmly attached to his friends, and courteous to all. Even a man of low rank was honoured by him if the man had been known to him in his own humbler days. His conduct as minister was free from avarice and self-aggrandizement, and even the details of business were most scrupulously attended to. [Iradat Khan, K.K. 675.]* He also instituted a reform in the mode of charging officers for the feed of Government-cattle, which is gratefully referred to by Khafi Khan. He was skilled in various arts and also wrote verses. In religion he was inclined to the Sufi heresy, and wrote a book on the subject called *Ilhamat-i-munami* or the 'Beneficent Revelation.' The rationalistic views of this work are condemned by the author of the *Masir-ul-umara*. (iii. 675).†

With the idea of perpetuating his name and fame, he formed the project of building in every important town a mansion, a traveller's hostel (*sarai*), and an enclosed market (*kaṭra*). Unfortunately the local officials in their over-zeal were guilty of many harsh acts in acquiring the land required for these buildings. Thus, what was begun out of a benevolent intention was productive of more harm than good. At the time

* Khafi Khan (964), in recounting the facts of Ahmadabad-Gujarat, charges Munim Kh. with re-imposing 30 to 40 lakhs of Rupees reduced by Akbar besides adding to the *jama kamil*.

† Anand Ram [*Mirat-ul-istilah*, fol. 152b] says that Iradat Khan Wazih was the real author, and that he was one of those who encouraged Munim Khan in his Sufi opinions. The work was headed by a verse instead of the usual "In the name of God."

of his death many of the houses were still incomplete, and from that time they fell into decay without ever having been of the least use to anybody. Much of the land thus used was vacant town land which was purchased by the Wazir. In connection with these alienations, Mukhlis Khan (Mughal Beg) one day out of ill-will and a desire to make mischief, said to Bahadur Shah that if the rulers of Iran or Rum heard that His Majesty was selling land to one of his subjects, they would think it a disgrace to him. Although he was reputed to be so heedless, Bahadur Shah gave a very good answer: "Mukhlis Khan! What harm have I done? I give him unused land with nothing on it, and he spends a large amount in bringing it into order. He is an old man; tomorrow he may die, and it will all come back to the State." [K. K. 675; *M.U.* iii. 676.]

DISPUTE OVER THE APPOINTMENT OF A NEW WAZIR.

On the death of Munim Khan, his eldest son Mahabat Khan came with tears in his eyes to Prince Azim-ush-shan and asserted his claim to succeed his father as chief minister. Azim-ush-shan, who was then in high favour with his father, Bahadur Shah, wiped away Mahabat Khan's tears. The Khan recited the verse, "What avails it to wipe the tear from my cheek? Apply a remedy to my bleeding heart." The Prince promised to use his best endeavours to secure the appointment for Mahabat Khan.* At his interview on the next day with the Emperor, he represented that Munim Khan's son was one of his most faithful protégés and he recommended his appointment as Wazir. The Emperor answered that he had full confidence in Azim-ush-shan. If the candidate was fit for the post and would act according to the Prince's orders, there could be no objection. But Mahabat Khan's ways were so notorious as to need no discussion, and in the end the Prince's patience would be exhausted by his ill temper. Meanwhile it had become known that Zulfiqar Khan looked on the vacant wazirship as his father's right. Asad Khan had given way when he found that the new sovereign had promised to make the late Munim

* *Dastur-ul-insha*, 14.

Khan his chief minister. But now that Munim Khan was dead Asad Khan was, in his son's opinion, the only person who could fill the vacancy. Zulfiqar Khan like other far-seeing men of that period, looked to the possibility of future independence in the Dakhin and was in no case willing to relinquish his hold on those provinces of which he was subahdar. [M.U. ii. 98]. Bahadur Shah held that the union of the offices of Wazir, Mir Bakhshi and governor of the Dakhin in one family was likely to be productive of danger to the dynasty. Often in private Bahadur Shah expressed the vexation and annoyance which this dispute caused him. [K. K. 678]. It was part of his character that he should wish to oblige everybody and refuse no one's demand. One project was to make a nominal Wazir of the Safawi Prince Muhammad Hashim (afterwards called Khalifa Sultan), a royal refugee from Iran, nominating one of the diwans to perform the actual duties. But the Irani Prince after his arrival at Court gave such offence by his haughty manners that no one could endure him, and the plan fell through. One compromise offered was that Mahabat Khan should replace Zulfiqar Khan in the six provinces of the Dakhin and that Zulfiqar Khan should then be the new Wazir. This arrangement in no way accorded with Zulfiqar Khan's views, and pleading filial respect as making it impossible for him to be chief minister in his father's lifetime, he refused the offer. At length, as a temporary measure, the real power being left in the hands of Prince Azim-ush-shan, Hidayatullah Khan (afterwards Sadullah Khan), eldest son of Inayatullah Khan, *Khan-saman*, and at that time diwan of the *Khalsa* and *Tan*, was appointed chief diwan (a part of the minister's duties) with instructions to sign and seal orders after the manner formerly employed by Kifayat Khan Jafar. His title was changed to that of Wazarat Khan. This appointment was made on the 5th March, 1711. After a short time Wazarat Khan asked for the title of Sadullah Khan, which was that formerly held by the most renowned of Shah Jahan's Wazirs. The Emperor said "It is not easy to be a Sadullah Khan; let him be called Saidullah Khan." But in spite of this, he generally passed by the name of Sadullah Khan. [Kamwar, Yahya 115b, M.U. ii. 504.]

THE MARCH TO LAHOR.

On the 7th March, 1711, the camp was moved from Bhadole to Abdullahpur. After some days spent in fishing in the *Shahnahr* or royal canal and in elephant fighting, the march was resumed, the next stages being Budhawali, Sahaura, Rasur, Fathpur and Dheripur, and four other halts, reaching Rupar near the banks of the Satlaj on the 30th April. They moved nearer the river on the 2nd May, and the Emperor crossed the stream on the 17th May by a bridge of boats. A move to Minnatpur was made on the 23rd and to Naushara on the 25th. After halts at Akbarpur and Dharpur, they reached Hushyarpur on the 9th June, and on the 23rd Bahadur Shah crossed the Bias by a bridge of boats to the village of Sahu. During the night heavy rain fell, the bridge was broken, and some of the boats carried away. Prince Azim-ush-shan's camp and the advance-tents were left on the other side, and could not cross till four days afterwards. After twenty-one days spent close to the Bias river, the camp was removed to Narayanpur in pargana Kanu-wahan, described as the imperial hunting-preserve of the Panjab. A halt was made at the town of Kanu-wahan on the 17th July, they were at Kalanaur on the 29th, Jamari on the 30th July, and Panj Karanwe on the 3rd August. The final march was to the neighbourhood of Lahor which was reached on the 11th August, 1711. [Kamwar].

The fortress and palace in Lahor city were not entered. The Emperor and his four sons remained outside the city in their encampment, as if they were still on the march. The only difference was that the draught cattle and beasts of burden were dismissed, much of the impedimenta sent into store, and many of the *karkhanas* or manufacturing establishments which accompanied the camp were sent elsewhere. The imperial encampment was pitched near the village of Anwala, not far from the bank of the river Ravi. Azim-ush-shan took up a position between the Emperor and the river, and surrounded himself by a sort of fortification made out of the carts in which he carried his treasure. Prince Muizz-ud-din's camp lay near the market-place of Parwezabad facing the city. Prince Rafi-ush-shan was close to the river bank near Dharmus Bagh, while

Prince Jahan Shah went to some distance and encamped in the open plain near the tomb of the saint Shah Mir *Khush* (3 miles s.e. of the city). [Qasim 37, Iradat.]

SEC. 23.—THE KHUTBA RIOT AT LAHOR.

Early in his reign Bahadur Shah had directed an alteration in the public prayer for the sovereign put up every Friday in every mosque throughout the land. The word *wasi* or heir was to be added to the titles of Ali, Commander of the Faithful, in the recital of Muhammad's successors. This alteration raised the never ending controversy between the Sunni and the Shias as to the rightful succession to the prophet, and Indian Muhammadans being almost all Sunnis, this formal attribution of heirship to Ali was naturally offensive to their religious feelings. Riots had been caused at Ahmadabad and elsewhere by the attempt to recite the new form of prayer.. At Lahor, owing to the objections of the doctors of the law, no *khutba* had been recited for some time. [K. K. 603, 661, 681.]

On reaching Lahor, Bahadur Shah summoned the learned men of that city of whom Haji Yar Muhammad, Muhammad Murad and three or four other well-known men attended. They were directed to sit down before the Emperor in the *tasbih-khana* or praying room. Abdul Qadir nephew of Qazi Mir and two or three other doctors attached to the camp argued the point. Even Bahadur Shah in person quoted books of authority and traditions to prove the use of the word *wasi*. Haji Yar Muhammad, in meeting the Emperor's arguments, forgot all the usual modes of respect and spoke violently. Bahadur Shah lost his temper and asked him if he had no fear of the sovereign's anger. The Haji retorted that from the Great Giver he besought four things only, learning, recollection of God's word, pilgrimage to the holy places, and martyrdom. "Thanks be to God, three of these favours have been conferred, the fourth by the condescension of a just ruler may also be secured." In investigating these arguments, several days were passed. A number of men in the city, backed up by many Afghan commanders, in all some 100,000 men, promised to support Haji Yar Muhammad. In secret Azim-ush-shan, too, was opposed to the innovation.

At first Bahadur Shah held firmly to his purpose, the *khatib*, or reciter of the prayer, at Lahor was arrested and sent to be imprisoned at Agra, while Islam Khan received orders to march into the city on the next Friday at the head of all the artillery and to see that the *khutba* in the form appointed was duly read. But finally on the 2nd October, 1711, the *khutba* in the old form was recited at the Jama Masjid of Lahor in the presence of a large armed force and many of the nobles, who had been sent to preserve order. The form accepted was the same as in Alamgir's reign. In it were many honorific titles attached to the name of Ali, but the actual word in dispute, *wasi*, did not appear. The fact that the Emperor had given way was hardly known and several thousand men of every class had assembled round the mosque ready for an outbreak, and it was only when they heard the old *khutba* that they dispersed. [Kamwar.]*

* [Yahya 115b-116b.] Bahadur Shah had strayed from the orthodox faith of the Sunnat. He therefore sent for the learned men of the Panjab and reciting various traditions favourable to Ali said 'Are these correct? or inventions?' The learned men replied 'They are correct; and in respect of other companions there are many chapters (*fasl*) of traditions, there is no dependence (*hasan*) on such traditions for one only.' After that the Emperor recited several traditions from which the Lord of the Faithful (Ali) was shown as heir (*Wasi*) and he asked 'Are these traditions, too, correct or not?' They said 'It is correct.' The Emperor replied 'Therefore it is necessary to call the Lord of the Faithful Ali (the grace of God be upon him) the Chosen Heir (*Wasi-i-mustaffa*) in the public prayer (*khutba*).' From this they believed the rumours to be true that they had already heard, namely that Bahadur Shah had become a Shia, and they thought, if we agree to this, he will in future be able to say 'you must recite such and such words.' It would be better not to consent now. Therefore they replied 'There is no doubt that Ali was the Chosen Heir, but in the form of *khutba* fixed in the past by men of learning and perfect in the faith (*mujtahid*)—and thought best by them—and ordered to be recited, if the word *wasi* is left out therein that is no denial of Ali's heirship. Accordingly, in the holy Quran the word *sahib* (companion) with regard to the Lord of the Faithful (*Sadiq Akbar*) is distinctly fixed, *Qaulah taali az qal lasahabahu la tahzan an allah manad*. Although we do not refer to him in the *khutba* by those words, there is by their omission no denial of his companionship (*Razi allah anahu*). And although they gave reasonable answers he was not satisfied. He said 'I will give orders that if you do not obey I will make you eat out of the same platter as the dogs.' They said 'That matters not—for we feared that you

SEC. 24.—ILLNESS AND DEATH OF BAHADUR SHAH.

Some months were passed quietly at Lahor. Enquiries were made from Inayatullah Khan about the number of stages to Kashmir. A few proposed that the Emperor should move to Kangra for the hot weather, as it was so much nearer than Kashmir, and that he should return to Lahor in the cold season. To these and other proposals Bahadur Shah's only reply was the verse "Paradise is there where no harm is received, where no one has (any) concern with any other." He would not, he said, fix any month or year for the march, the establishments had all dispersed, his days of journeying were drawing to an end, and there was only left the one inevitable journey. He busied himself in altering and improving the garden of Shalimar, although he did not live long enough to receive any pleasure from the work.* [Kamwar, Qasim.]

would make us eat out of one platter with yourself.' At this speech he was very enraged. When they had gone he ordered 'Let all these learned men of Lahor be arrested tomorrow. I will order them to be imprisoned and afterwards I will have them executed.' He ordered that Lahor should be entitled *Dar-ul-jihad*. On hearing this Muizz-ud-din sent all his troops and artillery to protect the learned men, saying 'If the imperial troops attacked them I will come out myself and join them.' Hearing this the Emperor gave up his intention. But in a few days he sent for seven of the best and most noted men and put them in prison, sending them to Gwalियar. He ordered the *khatba* to be read in Dihli as he had directed. Asaf-ud-daulah on seeing the order said 'This cannot take effect in Hindustan; it is not Iran,' and refused to let it be recited saying he would write to the Emperor about it. Bahadur Shah, seeing he could not enforce his change and at Gujarat and Kashmir it had ended in the murder of the reciter (*khatib*), felt shame and became insane. He was not able to sleep at nights and dogs became hateful to him. He ordered every one in camp to kill a dog whenever they saw it. Thousands of dogs were killed. The learned men sent to Gwalियar prayed for the destruction of the sovereign. When they got to Akbarabad, Baqi Khan Chela, the commandant, sent for them and entertained them and sent them on and prayed them to stop those supplications and he would intercede for their release. They made evasive answers, and continued as before on reaching Gwalियar; and a few days passed. In the month of Muharram the Emperor fell ill.

* Kamraj, *Ibratnama* 44b. B. S. went out only once in a boat, and except that once did not go out hunting after reaching Lahor—nay, never

About the middle of January 1712 the Emperor's health failed.* Preparations for the annual celebration of his accession were made, but he was unable to appear. It would seem that he began to be troubled by delusions, for he gave orders to kill every dog both in the camp and the city. Hundreds were killed every day. Amin-ud-din, whose tent was on the bank of the river, himself saw the city dogs at early dawn jumping into the river and swimming to the other side, only returning after dark to the houses of those who fed them. Bahadur Shah held his last audience on the 24th February 1712. The next day he was reported to be ill, but no danger was anticipated. On the 26th it was noticed that the Princes were preparing for their own safety, and on the following day it was known that there was no hope and the men in camp began to send their families and property into the city, which was about two *kos* from the camp. Among those who sought refuge with their families in Lahor were Wazarat Khan, Inayatullah Khan, his father, the *Sadar-us-sadur*, Sayyid Amjad Khan, and Ikhlas Khan, the superintendent of *arz mukarrar*. [Kamwar, *Dastur-ul-insha* 15, *Siyar*, Mirza Md. 126.]

A great commotion existed during the three days of the Emperor's illness. From several sources we have accounts of the general consternation and hurrying to and fro. It is a pitiful picture! The poor old Emperor left in spite of all his worldly state, to die alone, his four sons being unable to stifle their hostility and their greed for his succession, even until the breath was out of their father's body. Nay, the dead body lay unheeded fully a month before it was sent off from Lahor for burial at Dihli. The second Prince Azim-ush-shan remained with his father till hope had gone and then left for his own quarters. As he left he directed Amin-ud-din Sambhali to

moved once outside the enclosure of his tents. He had ordered new stones to be laid in the *Shalimar bagh* and his visit there was expected from day to day.

* Yahya K. 116b. "They say that an inverted sore (*dumbal-i-makush*) formed on his stomach, and some have said other things which are not fit for me to repeat nor in accordance with his honour. God alone knows the truth!"

remain and report from hour to hour the progress of affairs. Amin-ud-din hid himself in the tent called the *kitab-khana* or library. After a time he learnt for a certainty that the Emperor was dead, and that Zulfiqar Khan, Hamid-ud-din Khan and Mahfuz Khan were preparing the body for the grave. The Prince's emissary made haste to his master and told him the news. After wiping away a few tears from the Prince's eyes, Amin-ud-din asked, "Why make further delay in proclaiming the new reign?" Azim-ush-shan told him he had leave to act, and Amin-ud-din gave orders that the drums should be beaten. [Kamwar.]

Just before sunset on the 25th February 1712, Prince Rafi-ush-shan the third son left his quarters at the mansion of Ali Mardan Khan in Lahor with the intention of visiting the Emperor. Kamwar Khan met his retinue in the sands of the Ravi and asked for orders in certain matters. After a word or two the Prince said there was then no time. Kamwar Khan returned to the ruin of which he had taken possession as his abode. Evening prayer was in progress when a camel-rider brought a verbal message from Sandal Khan, head eunuch (*nazir*) to Prince Rafi-ud-darjat, then with his father, ordering Kamwar Khan to join him with some of the Prince's men. Taking forty or fifty well armed men, Kamwar Khan made all possible haste towards the imperial camp. On reaching the river bed, they saw torches approaching. It was the Prince's retinue. One of the troopers rode up and told them that the Emperor had been laid up for over a day with swelling of the spleen. Prince Rafi-ush-shan had reached the Emperor's quarters about sundown. The eldest Prince Muizz-ud-din Jahandar Shah, came out of the enclosing screens (*gular-bar*) in a state of the greatest consternation and bringing his litter (*nalki*) close to that of his younger brother said, "The time of departure." Rafi-ush-shan turned back and sent a letter from his own quarters by the hand of a eunuch asking what His Majesty's wishes were. Bahadur Shah wrote on the letter with his own hand that the Prince should hurry home to his own house. "There", said the trooper, pointing with his hand, "there is the Prince coming, with his retinue." As they were

talking, the Prince arrived, and Kamwar Khan asked for orders for himself and his men. The Prince directed them to go home, and in the morning it would be known how matters stood. [Kamwar.]

During the night of the 27th February, 1712, the Emperor died. By Kamwar Khan's account it would appear that his complaint was enlargement of the spleen.* Maulavi Muradullah, Mahfuz Khan and Abdul Qadir prepared the body for burial and laid it in a bier. It lay unburied until the succession of the throne had been decided, when it was despatched to Dihli on the 11th April in the charge of Bibi Mihr-Parwar, the Emperor's widow, and of Chin Qilich Muhammad Khan, and on its arrival there on the 15th May it was buried in the courtyard of a marble mosque erected by Alamgir near the shrine of Qutb-ud-din Kaki. As he was born on the 30th Rajab 1053 he was 70 (lunar) years, 5 months, 20 days at his death. Counting from the date of Alamgir's death (28th Zul Qada 1118), the official date of accession (18th Zul Hijja 1118), the enthronement at Lahor (30th Muharram) or the victory over Azam Shah (18th Rabi I. 1119) respectively he had reigned 5 (lunar) years 1 m. 22 d., 5 (lunar) years 1 m. 2 d., 4 (lunar) years 11 m. 20 d., or 4 lunar years 10 m. 2 d. The official date of accession to the throne was the 18th Zul Hijja 1118, the date on which Bahadur Shah heard of his father's death. His full titles were *Abul-nasr Sayyid Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Shah Alam Bahadur Shah Badshah*. After his death he is styled by native historians *Khuld-manzil* or 'Departed to Paradise'.†

* Valentyn, 291, says he died at noon of 28th and the cause was apoplexy following on a cold. He also reproduces a rumour, evidently mere camp gossip, that Bahadur Shah was severely wounded in the stomach by a general "Jensiati Chan," who was surprised in company of one of the Emperor's wives. The murderer was in turn cut down within the harem by two of the guards. Bahadur Shah was supposed to have survived the wound three days. Some authorities [Viceroy of Goa] say the Emperor was poisoned, but no evidence is brought forward.

† Kamwar, Qasim 43, Mirza Md. 137, K. K. 684, Br. Mus. Addl. 16,713 See account of annual ceremonies at his tomb carried out by Mihr-Parwar Begam. (Kamwar 115-116).

The word *Sayyid* or Lord, which is confined to the descendants of the Prophet, appears in the above titles because Bahadur Shah, on very insufficient grounds claimed Sayyid lineage. This claim had never been made by any of his predecessors of the house of Taimur. The story goes that one Sayyid Shah Mir, a descendant of Abdul Qadir Jilani, resorted to the country near Kashmir which was ruled by Bahadur Shah's maternal grandfather. The Rajah became a disciple of and gave his daughter in marriage to the Sayyid. They had issue one son and one daughter. Then the Sayyid set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca and was never heard of again. The children were brought up secretly by their grandfather. Then the Emperor Shah Jahan demanded tribute of money and a daughter from that Rajah. The Sayyid's daughter accompanied by presents was sent to him. The girl was instructed by Muhammadan teachers appointed by the Emperor, and in due course married to Prince Aurangzeb. Her Muhammadan name was Kalimat-un-nissa, commonly called Nawab Bai Begam, and the sarai in Khandesh, at the foot of the Fardapur Pass, was built by her. This place was for a long time held by her in jagir. There is a ward in Aurangabad founded by her and called after her *Baiji-pura*. If the above story about the faqir is true, which is very unlikely, Bahadur Shah was of Sayyid descent through his mother. [K. K. i. 594.]

SEC. 25.—CHARACTER OF BAHADUR SHAH.

All accounts agree in representing Bahadur Shah as a man of mild and equable temper, learned, dignified and generous to a fault. With these qualities must have been united much command of his feelings and a power of profound dissimulation.* His mode of bearing the disgrace and indignity heaped on him by his father, proves the one, and the way in which he misled his brother as to his intention not to claim the throne proves the other. Although not so bigoted as his father, he was pious, and on Friday all business was suspended, the day being passed in prayer. He never neglected the opportunity of

* *Storia do Mogor*, ii. 394-396; iv. 245./

visiting a holy man or the tomb of a saint. He believed in omens, moreover, consulted astrologers as to the auspicious day for a battle, and complied with their directions on the occasion of an eclipse. He was kind to his children and their families, visiting them in sickness and condoling with them in time of sorrow. He could at times give way to anger, as we have seen when he rated Munim Khan after that minister's failure to capture Banda, though such outbursts were extremely rare. One personal peculiarity is noted by Iradat Khan, that this Emperor had an aversion to being in a house. Probably the habit of living in a camp had grown on him owing to the fact that from an early age he was constantly on military service in the Dakhin. When in charge of Kabul, he seems to have wandered about from place to place for the ten years or more that he was there. Certainly, from the day that he started to claim the crown until the day of his death, he never slept one night within four walls, and the occasions on which he even entered a building in the daytime could be counted on the fingers of one hand. We have a daily record of his movements for that period in the histories of Danishmand Khan and Kamwar Khan. He was in the habit of sitting up very late at night, and thus his marches began at a late hour in the morning, causing much inconvenience to the camp-followers who, not arriving till nightfall, could not find their own camp or tents and were forced to pass the night lying near the drum tent or the imperial audience-hall or among the shop-keepers. (K. K. 630.) A European traveller, who saw him about the year 1695 when he was 52 years of age, describes him as "tall and of a portly form, his beard thick, long, and beginning to grow white." (Gemelli Careri *Voyage du Tour du Monde*, iii. 182. French edition, Paris, 1727.)

Although not a great sovereign, Bahadur Shah may be called, at least in comparison with his successors, a fairly successful one. In his time the dignity of the Empire was fairly maintained. Having selected a competent Wazir and other great officials, he left them to carry on their duties without intriguing against them himself or allowing others to do so. Unauthorized interference in public affairs was sternly

discouraged. Once a man holding an office in his personal retinue ventured to take advantage of this position to speak in favour of Mihrab Khan, faujdar of Jodhpur, then in disgrace for his abandonment of that city. His Majesty was angry and said that such affairs belonged to the great officers of State and ordered the man's removal from his post, as one ignorant of manners. [Bahadur.]

His great fault was over-generosity and an inability to say no to any one.* Tradition asserts that before his accession he made a vow that when he became Emperor he would never refuse any petitioner. He would at times throw ridicule on his own weakness. Once Hamid-ud-din asked the title of *Rai* for his private *diwan*, Kesari Singh. Bahadur Shah wrote across the petition "Khans in every house and Rais in every bazar! To please Hamid-ud-din Khan let this blockhead (*gidi*) also be a *Rai*." After that, wherever the man went, they said "Here comes Gidi Rai." [Khush-hal Chand, 383a.] The *mansabs* or rank granted by Bahadur Shah were higher than ever before

* Yahya (116b) speaks of his servants' poverty before he attained the throne. At night-time some would come out to beg and many resorted to the imperial alms-distribution (*langar*) and took the cooked rice and pulses given to beggars and lived on that food. When they got pay they were again well off. This applied to all except a few favourites. The state of things arose because whenever news came that money was on the way the favourites would take 20,000, 40,000 or 50,000, 1 lakh or 2 lakhs of Rupees. What was by chance left was devoted to his own necessities—sometimes he paid it to his servants.

After his accession the imperial rule of cash *sadis* which was Rs. 120 for the *sadi* was set aside, and he retained the same rate as when he was a Prince, viz., Rs. 83 for each *sadi*. Several other practices of his were different from those of sovereigns. He appointed one *darogha* of *baghs* for the whole realm with power to appoint and dismiss—the *daroghas* of any one *bagh* received their appointments as his deputy. In the same way Hakim-ul-mulk was made a *darogha* of the *Dar-ush-shafa* for the whole Empire, also one *darogha* for *Balghur-khana* (*balghur*=pounded wheat or dish of same) in all *langars*. Nobles remonstrated against this practice as likely to cause disorder and want of confidence and give rise to bribing and to diminish the good of establishments. Answer '*Zabtah anra goyand keh badshah uara mi kunad, in zabtah az ma mauzu ast.*' In the end each man sent what *naib* he liked without asking the Emperor. Great evils.

known, and titles were conferred regardless of the fact that another man already bore the same title. [K. K. 627-628.] Up to this time some slight difference, even of a single word, distinguished one title from another. In Bahadur Shah's reign an already perplexing system was made more perplexing still by this carelessness. As Khafi Khan relates, one *mansabdar* petitioned the Emperor that he had lost his family title by its grant to another person. On his petition Bahadur Shah wrote "Granted, granted, granted, even if another has it." From that time all system was abandoned and, as Danishmand Khan tells us, there were three men who at one time bore the title of Fazil Khan.

Ikhlas Khan, who held the post of *arz muḳarrar*, (whose duty it was to bring up all orders a second time for confirmation), thought that some check should be devised on the Emperor's profuse grants of rank and money rewards. He consulted Munim Khan, the chief minister, and as neither of them felt inclined to face the storm of unpopularity sure to be raised among the crowd of needy office-seekers, they put this disagreeable duty upon Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan (author of the *Masir-i-Alamgiri*) through whose honesty and uprightness they hoped that their object would be effected. His duties were to receive all applications after the first order had passed upon them, and then institute an enquiry whether the new men were fit for the service, by what means or on what grounds office or promotion had been granted, whether the proposed rank was more than their position justified or whether the promotion was given before the proper period. He had also to enquire into the grants for the support of holy and learned men. These enquiries caused great delay. The Emperor's wives Mihr-Parwar and Amat-ul-habib and other near relations put great pressure upon Mustaid Khan and forced his signature [attesting the correctness of the pay-bills] from him. In this way great irregularities arose, and the Emperor's signature lost its value. In fact he used himself to say that from him they must look for nothing but consent to everything, the claims of God's people could not be denied by him, and his signature was a formality and they might do as they thought fit. His habit of granting

everything that was asked had become so notorious that some wit invented the words *Shah-i-be-khabar* (=1119), 'the unheeding king', as the chronogram for his accession. [K. K. 629-630.]

His administration still retained some traces of Aurangzeb's intolerance. We do not find in his reign, nor was there in the second half of his father's reign, any Hindu in high or independent office. There was no Hindu governor of a province : no Hindu in an important position about the Court. He allowed no Hindu to be employed as a reporter or *waqia-nigar*. No Hindu could ride in a *palki* and when the Sikh rising took place, all Hindus in the employment of the State were forced to shave. [*Bahadur*.]

Bahadur Shah in respect to his sons and other relations reversed the policy of his father. Instead of sending them away to distant provinces as governors, he kept them in attendance on his person. In one way the policy may be called successful. He was troubled by no revolt against his Government headed by a son or near relation, such as had been the case during the reigns of his father and most of his ancestors. To that extent he was justified by events, but as it turned out the struggle for the succession which, at the death of a Mughal Emperor, invariably broke out, if there were more than one son, though not so prolonged was perhaps more intense than ever before.

SEC. 26.—COINAGE OF BAHADUR SHAH.

In all other reigns except this and that of Muhammad Shah, the coinage bore a distich into which the name of the reigning Emperor was introduced. Danishmand Khan (poetically called *Ali*) composed two separate inscriptions neither of which was approved : and finally by Munim Khan's orders no verse was placed on the coin. They have on them the following inscription :—

Sikḥa Mubarak-i-Shah Alam Bahadur Badshah Ghazi
Ali's rejected verses were :—

- (1) *Z nam-i-Shah Alam, Padshah, Ghazi, adil,*
Jahan ba kḥair o barkat shud iyar-i-sim-o-zar kamil.

(2) *Shah Alam Padshah ghazi gardun-janab*

Sikḡa shud roshan z nam-i-namish chun ajtab.

With reference to coinage it may be well to note that early in 1119, on reaching Lahor Bahadur Shah coined Rupees which were half a *masha* greater in weight than those in use before. Many lakhs of these coins were minted. But as in payment of official allowances and in commerce the old weight was made the basis of account, the heavier Rupee fell out of use. Another order as to coinage was that the Alamgiri *falus* or copper coin, formerly 14 *mashas* and then 21 *mashas* in weight, should bear the new Emperor's name. The weight is also stated as equal to 8 *mishqals* and 2 *dank*. The words placed on the copper coin were *Sikḡa-i-mubarak i Badshah Shah Alam Ghazi*. [*Bahadur-Shah-nama*.]

SEC. 27.—BAHADUR SHAH'S WIVES AND CHILDREN.

Two wives Mihr-Parwar and Amat-ul-habib survived Bahadur Shah, and the former accompanied his body from Lahor to Dihli. The second of these ladies, also called Aziz-un-nissa Khanam, died in Dihli on the 22nd Rabi II. 1148, aged nearly sixty. Mihr-Parwar, or Mihr-un-nissa Begam, died at the same place on 10th January, 1744, aged over eighty years. Arslan Khan Kashghari (Chaghtai Khan Fath Jang) was her sister's son (he died 4 Shaban 1121 H. *T-i-Mhdi*) and his death-notice shows him to have been the son of Shah Khan, son of Sayyid Abdullah Khan Chengazi Kashghari. [K. K. 629, Mirza Md., *T-i-Mdi*.]

Kh. Kh. (ii. 334) mentions a Rani Chattar Bai as one of Shah Alam's wives (*zauja*) in 1097, when he fell under Alamgir's displeasure.

Miftah (299) says Jahandar Shah's mother was Nizam Bai [which wife of Bahadur Shah was this?]

One wife, married before 1081 H. (1670-'1) was Nur-un-nissa Begam, the daughter of Sanjar Khan Najm Sani; she was the mother of Rafi-ul-qadr (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 106-'7, Khafi Khan ii. 330) and exercised great influence over her husband. Another wife was the daughter of Rup Singh Rathor; she was the mother of Daulat-Afza and Mhd. Azim (*M. A.*, pp. 49, 93).

This marriage took place in 1071 H. (K. K. ii. 128). Rup S. Rajah of Kishangarh took the side of Dara Shukoh and was killed at Samugarh in 1068 (*Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 268).

Nur-un-nissa. Manucci Part iv. p. 3 says she died in Kabul in Feb. 1701. Shah Alam's wives: Khafi Khan ii. 333, 334. Mir-un-nissa Begam; Shakir (Shakir Kh.) her brother.

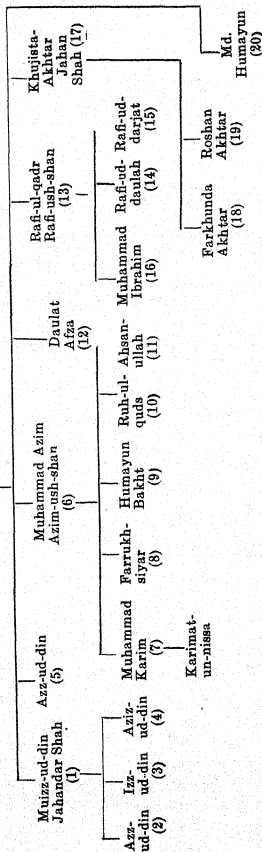
In the autumn season (1112 H., 1700 A.D.) Shah Alam came to Atak,—a bridge was built for him with the help of Khush-hal Kh. Khatak etc., crossed to the Afghan side. He halted two days at Khairabad (opposite Atak), then camped at Sarai, and afterwards moved to Naushara. While the Prince was at Khairabad, Amat-ul-habib, a Kafiri slave-girl in his harem, presented the Prince with a son. She was one of three Kafiri slave-girls sent to Alamgir by Allahdad Khweshgi, *faujdar* of Langar Kot. Two of them died, and the third was presented to Shah Alam in order to spite the latter's wife, the mother of Rafi-ush-shan. (H. G. Raverty *Notes on Afghanistan*, 1880, p. 445 and note). For more about Amat-ul-habib, and Mihr-Parwar's jealousy of her, see *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 780 (*sub voce* Mutehavvar Kh. B. Khweshgi).

The following table shows the sons and other descendants of Bahadur Shah who were either alive at his death in Muharram 1124 or had predeceased him.

MUHAMMAD MUZZAM

OR

SHAH ALAM, BAHADUR SHAH, B. 1053, D. 1124.



Note. (15) Yahya Khan (1086) calls him Rafi-ud-din.

Note.

(17) had another son, Mubarik Akhtar (Ache Khan) Khush-hal Chand 9336. Ashob (B. M. Or. 1832, fol. 36a) calls him Buland Akhtar (Ache Sahib). Gentil MS. (Orme Collection) says he left a daughter, Uruz Banu Begam.

NOTES AND REMARKS ON ABOVE TABLE.

(1), (2), (3) and (4) Jahandar Shah was born on the 10th Ramzan 1071 [A. N. 614.] Further particulars of this Prince and his children will be given when we come to his death in 1125 H.

(5) This *Azz-ud-din* (son of Bahadur Shah) was born in Zul Qada 1074 (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 48) and as we hear no more of him, it must be presumed that he died in infancy.

(6) *Azim-ush-shan* was born on the 26th Jamadi I. 1075 (16 Dec. 1664). His mother was the daughter of Rup Singh Rathor, (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 49 and *M. U.* ii. 270). He was drowned in the Ravi on the 9th Safar 1124, as will be hereafter related. His first wife was the daughter of Kirat Singh and the marriage took place in 1089 H. (*Masir-i-A* 167). Kirat Singh (d. 1084 H.) was a son of Rajah Jai Singh (I.) Kachhwaha of Amber. (*T-i-Mhdi* and *M. U.* iii. 156). The lady's name was Bai Jas Kuar. She died at Dihli on the 21 Rabi II. 1133 H. (*T-i-Mhdi*) and was buried at the Qutb (Kamwar Khan, 249). She was the mother of Mhd. Karim (*Masir-i-A* 181). Another of this Prince's wives was Aisha Begam, daughter of Ruhullah Khan Yazdi, the Mir Bakhshi; the marriage took place in the 33rd year of Alamgir (1100-1 H.). She was the mother of Humayun Bakht and Ruh-ul-quds (Nos. 9 and 10.) The Prince is said to have been very fond of her. She gave birth to twins, a girl and a boy, on the 14th Rabi I. 1121, and died on the 7th Jamadi I. 1121, and was buried on the hill at Daulatabad, near the tomb of the saint Burhan-ud-din. [Kamwar.] Shortly after the death of Aisha Begam the Prince was married [Kamwar] to his cousin, Giti Ara Begam, daughter of the late Azam Shah; she died on the 20th Ramzan 1136, being then over forty years of age. (*T-i-Mdi*.) There was also another wife, a Kashmiri woman, the mother of Farrukh-siyar. She had a brother, Khwaja Inayatullah, entitled Shaista Khan. (Died early Rajab 1141. *T-i-Mhdi*.)

(7) *Muhammad Karim*. He was born in Ramzan 1090, his mother being the daughter of Kirat Singh (*M. A.* 67 and 181). He was married on the 19th Ramzan 1121 to a daughter of Prince Kam Bakhsh (Kamwar Khan). A previous wife, Maryam

Banu, died on the 14 Safar 1121, on the march between Hajipur and Anjapur in the Dakhin. Muhammad Karim was seized at Lahor and executed by Jahandar Shah's orders in the end of Safar 1124. He left one daughter Karimat-un-nissa, who died on the 9th Muharram 1139 at Dihli, aged under 20 years. (*T-i-Mhdi.*)

(8) *Farrukh-siyar* will be dealt with when we come to his reign.

(9) *Humayun Bakht*. The year of his birth is not specified, but it must have been before 1117, for he died in prison at Dihli on the 27th Rajab 1157, being then over forty years of age (*Tarikh-i-Mhdi*). His mother was Aisha Begam daughter of Ruhullah Kh. I. (Warid 150b). He was blinded by the order of the Emperor Farrukh-siyar, his own brother, at the instigation, it is said, of the favourite, Mir Jumla. (Warid, p. 131). Khafi Khan (ii. 740) describes him as not more than ten or eleven years old in 1126 H. when he was blinded. But his first *mansab* of 8,000 (3,000 horse) was given him by Bahadur Shah on the 21st Rabi II. 1120 (*Bahadur*, 123) and he was then most probably 11 or 12 years of age, being the age at which a *mansab* was generally conferred on a Prince. Under 1130 H. Mirza Mhd. has an entry which contradicts that of 1157 H. and I am unable to reconcile them unless it be that there is a mistake of name in one or the other,—“1130 H., Prince Mhd. Humayun Bakht, son of Shah Azim-ush-shan Bahadur, son of Shah Alam, died in the day of the 3rd Rabi II. or during the night of the 4th, age 16 years.”

(10) *Ruh-ul-quds*. This Prince was born in the year 1107 and his mother was the daughter of Ruhullah Khan. (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 373). As we hear no more of him he probably died in infancy.

(11) *Ahsanullah*. He died at the age of ten months on the 5 Rabi 1122 (Kamwar Khan).

(12) *Daulat-Afza*. He was born in 1080 (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 93) and died in 1099 at Bijapur, (*ibid*, 314). His mother was the daughter of Rup Singh Rathor, (*ibid*, 93).

(13) *Rafi-ul-qadr*. He was born in Rajab or Shaban 1081, his mother being Nur-un-nissa Begam, the daughter of Sanjar

Khan Najm Sani (*Masir-i-Alamgiri* 106-'7). He was killed at Lahor in the battle that he fought against his brother Jahandar Shah on the 21st Safar 1124 (*T-i-Mhdi*). The story will be told in detail later. One of his wives was Raziya-un-nissa, daughter of Prince Akbar, fourth son of Alamgir (Khush-hal Chand 339b, *M. A.* 484). The marriage took place at Agra, where Prince Akbar's family were in captivity. (Yahya Khan 108b.)

(14) *Rafi-ud-daulah*. Born about 1110 H., died 4th Zul Qada 1131 (Kamwar Khan). His reign will follow that of his brother Rafi-ud-darjat.

(15) *Rafi-ud-darjat*. Born Jamadi II. 1111, his mother being Nur-un-nissa, the daughter of Shaikh Baqi (*Tarikh-i-Aftab-numa*). He died 24th Rajab 1131 (Kamwar Khan). An account of his reign will follow that of Farrukh-siyar.

(16) *Sultan Ibrahim*. He was raised to the throne by Sayyid Abdullah Khan on the 15th October 1720, with the title of Shah Jahan Sani (II), as will be more particularly related hereafter. He died in prison at Dihli on the 8th Muharram 1159, at or about the age of fifty years (*T-i-Mhdi*).

(17) *Jahan Shah* was born on 22nd Jamadi II. 1084 (*M. A.* 128). He was killed near Lahor on the 21st Safar 1124 when fighting against his brother, Jahandar Shah. One of his wives was Zakiyat-un-nissa, daughter of Prince Akbar, fourth son of Alamgir; he was married to her at Agra at the same time as his brother Rafi-ul-qadr was married to her sister (Yahya Khan 108b); another was Fakhr-un-nissa Begam, the mother of Roshan Akhtar, afterwards Emperor under the title of Muhammad Shah. She was said to be a descendant of Sharih Qazi; she died on the 2nd Zul Hijja 1145, aged about 60 years. (*T-i-Mhdi*). Another wife or concubine was Nek Munzir, who died at Dihli on the 14th Rabi I. 1157 (*ibid*).

(18) *Farkhunda Akhtar*. The date of his birth is not recorded. He was killed at the same time as his father on the 21st Safar 1124.

(19) *Roshan Akhtar*. This Prince ascended the throne under the title of Muhammad Shah, and he will be treated of separately when we arrive at his reign.

(20) *Muhammad Humayun* was born in Zul Hijja 1088

(*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 157), but as we hear no more of him, it is to be presumed that he died in infancy.

A daughter of Bahadur Shah, named Dahr Afroz Banu Begam, died on the 8th Ramzan 1114 (25th Jan. 1703) in Kabul. She was said to have been forty years of age (*Ti-Mhdi*).

SEC. 28.—THE DUTCH EMBASSY 1712—1713.

From 1616 the Dutch East India Company had been established as traders at Surat in the province of Gujarat, with stations subordinate thereto at Ahmadabad, Baroda and Agra, and in 1710 it was decided to send an embassy from that place to obtain certain concessions from Bahadur Shah.* Cornelis Bezuyen, the first person designated as envoy, died at Surat on the 18th October, 1710, and it was not till the following year that he was replaced as head of the proposed embassy by Johan Josua Ketelaar,† the Company's director of trade at Surat. He arrived at Sarai Khan Khanan a few miles from Lahor, the Court being then at that city, on the 10th December, 1711. That day Donna Juliana Dias da Costa, a Portuguese lady holding a position of trust in the harem, sent them some presents and the Emperor's French physician, M. Martin, with thirty Christians of various nationalities came out to greet them. On the 13th a noble, Khadim Beg Khan, at the head of 500 cavalry and 500 infantry, arrived as escort. He had an elephant with him, and also displayed four large and many small flags of white and green silk and four green silk standards, embroidered with gold. A deputation was sent out to meet him, in order to bring him to the envoy, and then to escort him to his tent outside the sarai. An Armenian bishop and some Jesuit fathers, who were in the imperial camp, were also among the visitors.

* The following account is from a diary kept by Ernst Coenraad Graaf, first sworn clerk to the embassy.

† Dr. G. A. Grierson informs me that in *Miscellanea Orientalia*, published by David Millins in 1743, there is a Hindustani grammar by J. J. Ketelaar societatis Indicae orientalis ad magnum mogulem quendam Legatus. It is there said that he lived at Agra, which seems a mistake.

On the 4th December a state entry was made. First came the introducer's elephant covered with a green trapping edged with red cloth bearing his standard of green and white silk and surrounded by men carrying small green and white flags fastened to rockets. Next was a large elephant intended for presentation to the Emperor. It was covered with gold brocade. Other elephants, with green and red cloths, followed in a row, each bearing a grenadier. Behind them rode the head elephant-man on horseback. Then came four great flags of the Company and forty small ones attached to rockets, followed by a man with kettle-drums on horseback, nine horses with rich gold and silver caparisons, for presentation to the Emperor, the master of the horse, and two trumpeters. Ensign Godlieb on horseback led six grenadiers, two and two, on horseback. Then came the submerchant, the secretary, the first clerk and his assistant, a sergeant and the subsurgeon, all on horseback. Next were two led horses attended by four silver stick-bearers, and the envoy's footmen and fusiliers. Here followed the envoy in a *palki*, accompanied by the introducers and M. Martin, also in *palkis*; then the first and second assistant envoys Rogier Beerendard and Dirk Huisinkveld, in *palkis*, preceded each by a led horse and surrounded by footmen and fusiliers. Close behind was a four-wheeled carriage of Dutch make, brought from Surat, bearing the Armenian Bishop and the Jesuits. In another similar coach rode the chief surgeon, H. Eppendorf. and after it were four native carriages (*raths*?), covered with red and green, carrying the rest of the clerks and soldiers. The procession was closed by a corporal on horseback, a loaded camel, a camel with kettle-drums and, last of all, the master of the camels on horseback.

Altogether it was a brave show, and evidently there was much eagerness to see the strangers. About two miles from Lahor they met a four-wheeled carriage covered with red silk curtains and they were told that it contained Donna Juliana and four of the principal women of the harem. They had been sent out by Bahadur Shah to bring him an account of the procession. The three agents, or *wakils*, employed by the Dutch Company to watch their interests at Court, now appeared. One

rode an elephant bearing a green and white silk banner, the other two were in *palkis*. Many horsemen and armed servants surrounded them. When they saw the envoy they alighted and came on foot to greet him, presenting several gold coins and Rupees, which he touched and remitted. They then remounted and took the head of the procession. At three o'clock they drew near their tents which were pitched in good order near the Emperor's artillery, and here several noblemen received them.

Donna Juliana sent word that the Emperor would admit the envoy and all the Europeans to audience as soon as he pleased. Inayatullah Khan, Wazarat Khan, and Islam Khan had received orders to forward the negotiations. Khadim Beg Khan had been appointed as introducer. As the presents were not unpacked the audience was postponed and on the 16th and 17th December they moved their camp into two walled gardens, not far distant, in order to avoid the effluvium prevailing at their first station. On the 20th Donna Juliana with some ladies of the Court visited them and inspected the presents. She had been preceded by a dinner of fifty dishes from the Emperor's table, and after dinner she scented them with essence of roses and other rich perfumeries and presented betel covered with gold and silver leaf. On the 21st a dinner was sent on a small but massive golden table, having in the centre a large vessel for vegetables, and all round it holes containing small dishes filled with delicate food, such as were prepared for the Emperor himself. So far all seemed propitious, Zulfikar Khan being known to be favourable. The only doubt was as to Azim-ush-shan and one or two nobles who hated Christians. It was believed, however, that Azim-ush-shan's goodwill could be brought.

On the 26th December the presents wrapped in red cloth were sent in charge of two Dutchmen and the native *wakils* to the Emperor's tents and made over to Khadim Beg Khan. The assistants were detained all night as Bahadur Shah wished them to show and explain the presents one by one. The Emperor took them one by one into his own hands and showed himself much pleased. Intimation came from Donna Juliana

that the first audience was fixed for the next day, but the weather being bad a delay was accorded.

The audience took place at last on the 3rd January 1712. The envoy marched to the imperial enclosure in the same state as upon the day of his entry, through Muizz-ud-din's camp stretching for one *kos*, and then for two *kos* beyond through the imperial camp, which lay along the Ravi. In the afternoon they reached the tent that had been pitched for them, where Donna Juliana entertained them. At three o'clock they set out again and drew near to the screens in front of the Emperor's tents. They were surrounded by three lines of strong netting placed at a little distance from each other. At the gate they delivered up their firearms. The ambassador and his suite kept their swords and were allowed to advance as far as the enclosure in their *palkis* or on horseback. The clerks and soldiers followed on foot, as no wheeled vehicle was allowed to proceed further. The Emperor not having yet taken his seat, they were shown into the tent of Islam Khan, general of artillery, with whom they held a friendly conversation until the clang of drums and cymbals announced the arrival of the Emperor.

Re-entering their *palkis* they were carried as far as the screens (*kanats*), in which there were three gates. These screens were made of old carpet and the ground they enclosed was fully two miles in circumference. In the middle stood a very large tent of carpet wrought in silk, gold and silver. At the back was the throne raised on a platform of earth, about five feet in height, covered with very handsome carpets wrought in gold and surrounded by a silver railing at the distance of a hand's breath. From the middle gate to the large tent a road was marked out by small red silk flags and a lattice-work partition, the ground being covered with carpets. At the gate they were received by the introducer Khadim Beg Khan. It was ordered that all Europeans should be admitted. The introducer took the envoy's hand, and led him followed by his assistants to the position from which the nobles saluted the Emperor. He was taken past a first railing of wood, close to the silver railing and on the Emperor's left hand among the group of nobles, with his assistants a few steps behind him. The rest of the

Europeans were kept outside the wooden rail. The envoy presented his offering of gold coins and a gold box containing a letter from the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies. The assistants also presented their *nazars*. Islam Khan received that of the envoy ; those of the assistants were taken by Khadim Beg Khan and passed on to Islam Khan. They were shown to the Emperor, who accepted them.

Next, they were led on one side past the silver railings by Khadim Beg Khan to a place behind the throne, where the envoy put on a robe of honour of gold brocade over his European clothes and tied a turban round his hat. The assistants received dresses of silver brocade. Thus altered, they were conducted again before the Emperor and there made four bows, bending the body down, touching the ground with the right hand, and each time on rising bringing the hand up to the forehead. They were then taken close up to the silver railings, but just at that moment the Emperor rose and left accompanied by his two sons Jahandar Shah and Jahan Shah, who had been seated on his right hand on a somewhat lower level. Everybody then retired and the crowd was so great that there was a risk of being crushed. Outside the *kanats* they returned to their *palkis*, and reached home at nine o'clock at night.

Owing to the late hour of the audience, neither the elephants nor the horses had been presented. These were sent on the 4th January, but according to custom sent back again, the object being to ensure that everybody should notice the valuable nature of the present. In the afternoon an officer arrived with a complete dinner prepared after the Mughal fashion, and half an hour later another with apples, pears, pomegranates, oranges and other fruits. These favours were acknowledged by three bows, or *salams*, made with the face turned towards the imperial quarters. Even the Emperor's wives and sons were required to observe this ceremonial. The men who carried the gifts were regaled with betel leaves, *attar* of roses, and received a considerable sum of money. An omission of these gifts might be fatal, for the Emperor was in the habit of enquiring what had been given and thereby gauging the value set upon his presents. On the 5th the envoy went to audience taking

the nine elephants and nine horses. The horses were accepted, but there was no time before the night fell to present the elephants. The envoy received a gift of a dagger studded with fine stones which he stuck into his sword belt and acknowledged by three low bows.

On the 6th the elephants were paraded and accepted with great satisfaction, and the Emperor's wives, having taken a fancy to the European carriage, oxen were yoked on it, and it was sent to them with all its appurtenances. This gift gave rise to quarrels, but it was at last assigned by Bahadur Shah to his principal wife, Mihr-Parwar. The lady was so pleased with this new toy that she harnessed her eunuchs to it and made them draw her every day round the enclosure formed by the *kanats* or screens. She conferred robes of honour on the envoy and his assistants by way of thanks for the gift.

Presents were selected and sent to the four Princes with a view to propitiate them, and on Donna Juliana's advice some extra gifts were sent to Prince Azim-ush-shan, who had charge of the imperial seal and was besides held to be of an avaricious nature. A part of the presents were received graciously and the rest returned. On the 12th presents were sent to Zulfiqar Khan, whose father, Asad Khan, is called "the Company's faithful friend"; and three days later others were sent to Inayatullah Khan, who is described as "provisional chancellor" meaning Wazir, and a great favourite of Azim-ush-shan. Inayatullah Khan took three pairs of spectacles, and returned the other things with assurance of his friendly feelings.

A few days afterwards, on the 18th January, a visit was paid to Zulfiqar Khan. The envoy and his assistants having been asked to sit down, Mr. Ketelaar paid his host a few compliments "in the Hindu language", and hoped that he would favour the Company's interests at Court, as they always recollected the friendship shown to them by his father, Asad Khan, when chief minister. The Khan said he would try to aid them and doubted not that they would succeed, but he objected to the erection of a new factory outside Surat. The envoy was very anxious to hear the grounds of his objection, but could not continue the interview, as the etiquette of the Court forbids

a long stay or much talk upon a first visit. Zulfiqar Khan, pleased at their allusion to his father, asked if they had called upon him on their way through Dihli, but they explained that it having been the month of fasting, during which no visits are received, they had been unable to pay their respects. In conclusion they asked for an order to the governor of Surat allowing the transfer of the other presents sent from Batavia. The order was made out and after sealing was handed over. No dresses of honour were given openly ; they were to be forwarded afterwards.

On the 24th January the envoy appeared again before the throne and received a gold ornament with pearl tassels for the dagger already given to him. Bahadur Shah asked that the Dutch musicians might be sent to perform. Three men were accordingly sent at night and played on the violin, harp and hautboy before His Majesty and his queens who were seated behind a screen. In return the envoy was invited to an inspection of the Shalimar garden, of which he gives a description, and a few days afterwards he visited the *Pari Mahal* or 'nymphs' palace' in the town, where in a large gallery he saw an artificial alabaster image representing Our Saviour surrounded by angels. A visit to the eldest Prince Jahandar Shah followed, and he also asked for the musicians to be sent to him and witnessed the manoeuvres of the Dutch soldiers commanded by Ensign Nythart. After this the envoy fell ill, and on the 16th February Bahadur Shah sent to enquire for him. On the 21st Mr. Ketelaar reappeared at darbar. He was so well received that he thought his affairs wore a most promising aspect and that they would be able "to leave that unhealthy climate" and return to Surat. On the 27th they learnt that in spite of Azim-ush-shan's opposition the first request of the Company had been granted and the order signed and sealed by the diwan Wazarat Khan and the other officials. The other demands were agreed to, and His Majesty had ordered their reduction to writing without delay.

These fond hopes of a speedy and successful return were dissipated in a moment. That very night the Emperor fell ill and was not expected to recover, the Princes set their troops

in motion and the roads to Lahor were rendered impassable by crowds of fugitives and their baggage. Bahadur Shah died on the 28th as they learnt from a friend at Court, and on the 29th Donna Juliana wrote advising them to take precautions against plundering. Thereupon they walled up the gate of one garden to which they transferred all the Company's goods, going in and out by the gate of the adjacent garden. Two hundred natives were enlisted as a guard.

Although by strict chronological order the conclusion of the envoy's story should appear in the next chapter, it seems better to make no break but carry it on to its conclusion. During the contest for the crown, the details of which we shall soon come to, no notice was taken either of the ambassadors or of the Company's affairs, much time was thus lost and much expense incurred. Nor were their persons and property altogether safe. To add to the difficulties of the position Jahandar Shah called upon them for military aid. After much consultation together this was refused, the chief plea being the ill-health of M. Ketelaar. Jahandar Shah accepted the excuses, and advised the Dutchmen to remove into the city so that they might evade similar demands from the other competitors for the throne. They rented three *katras*, or walled enclosures, in Lahor and succeeded in removing their baggage thither without loss, although the country was now swarming with plunderers.

It was not until the 1st April that negotiations could be reopened. The envoy paid a visit to Zulfiqar Khan, now Wazir, from whom he received promises of earnest support. The next day, to save the excessive house-rent, they returned to the walled gardens outside the town. The Emperor's audience was attended on the 7th and 10th. A petition was then sent in praying for the confirmation of what had been already granted by Bahadur Shah, the father of the new Emperor. This prayer was granted. On the 14th April Jahandar Shah passed their garden on his way from the mosque and received their gift or *nazar* in passing, and on the 25th the same was done to Lal Kunwar (Jahandar Shah's concubine, who is styled "the Empress"). The same ceremony was performed for both Jahandar Shah and Lal Kunwar, on their return from hunting.

In a few days they were assured by Zulfiqar Khan that all the documents were ready, and signatures only were wanting.

On the 10th May Jahandar Shah left Lahor on his march to Dihli. There the envoy attended the first public audience, which took place on the 10th July. They were much struck with the peacock and other thrones, of which the Diary gives a full description. They were at darbar again on the 11th August. They were now buoyed up with hopes of an early departure, and hearing that the documents were signed, enquiry was made from Zulfiqar Khan, who sent word on the 15th that the Emperor had consented to their going. But, as the matter-of-fact Dutchmen soon found, "these were only words," and in spite of the daily presents sent to the subordinates of the minister delay after delay took place. At length five *farmans* were made ready in legal form and their early transmission was promised. On the 31st August the final presents were ordered; a *farman* addressed to Abraham van Riebeeck, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, put up like all the others in a bag of gold cloth, accompanied by a dagger studded with rubies, a dress of honour, a piece of velvet, a stomacher of diamonds and other stones, set in gold, and fifty *tolas* of *attar* of roses. Eighty dresses of honour were subsequently added. For the envoy were sent a horse and gold trappings, a dress of honour, a dagger and a *kalghi* or plume studded with diamonds. The two assistants received each a dress and a dagger. At this juncture M. Martin the French physician raised some trouble by some story about a house in Surat known as Itibar Khan's, but his plots were exposed by Donna Juliana, and on the 21st September as a punishment the Frenchman's *mansab* was reduced one half by Zulfiqar Khan.

On the 11th September the *attar* of roses was delivered, and at the audience of the 19th the gifts for the Governor-General were made over to the envoy. On the 22nd the audience of leave-taking took place and the usual dresses and the presents were conferred. The horse given to Mr. Ketelaar was a piebald valued by the courtiers at 1200 rix-dollars, but F. Valentyn, who saw it afterwards at Batavia, in the square before the castle, found in him "no particular virtue, having often seen superior

to it at the price of 100 rix-dollars." Not an infrequent state of things in regard to darbar presents! On the 25th September they bade farewell to Zulfiqar Khan, and the envoy gave him a short letter in Persian thanking him for his favours, saying a few words in Hindustani, to which Mr. Beerenaard added a speech in Persian. Zulfiqar Khan promised to continue his favour towards them. Three days afterwards they saw the old Nawab, Asad Khan, and received from him promises of aid on all occasions. He was carried through his garden in a curious portable chair adorned with gold borne by four women.

Having received on the 29th September a *hasb-ul-hukm* directing the new governor of Surat, Mahmud Beg Khan, to restore to the Company the house of Itibar Khan and a new sealed *farman* for Ahmadabad, a few more farewell visits were paid; on the 1st October to Khan Jahan Kokaltash, on the 3rd to Sadullah Khan Mutaqid, the *Khan-saman*, and to Raza Quli (Shafat) Khan, general of artillery, on the 6th to Rajah Sabha Chand, diwan of Zulfiqar Khan, and to Khadim Beg Khan. On the 7th they went to the palace to take farewell of the Empress; they made four low bows (*salam*) before a window where she was. On the 9th they said good-bye to their friend Donna Juliana, and left the same day for Barahpula. On the 13th October they received the last of the documents and made ready for a start.

They started on the 14th, and reached Agra on the 20th October, 1712. Their stages were Faridabad, Palwal, Hodal, a sarai at "Tojalla", one *kos* from Mathura, a sarai at "Gosia Attebar Chan", and a sarai at Gaughat. The road was much infested by robbers. From Agra they returned to Surat. After exertions extending over one year and a great expenditure concessions of value had been obtained. Besides the heavy cost of the presents, the envoy's expenses amounted, it is said, to 30,000 guilders. The return presents were estimated to be worth 5500 rix-dollars. Yet, in the end, the whole of this expenditure was thrown away. Before the close of 1712 Farrukh-siyar had defeated Jahandar Shah, and the dead bodies of that luckless sovereign and of his Prime Minister were paraded through the streets of Dihli. After that revolution Jahandar

Shah's *farmans* were so much waste paper, and his reign was blotted out from the records of the Empire.

CHAPTER II

THE INTERREGNUM, 1712.

SEC. I.—THE CONDITION OF THE PRINCES AT BAHADUR SHAH'S DEATH.

By Bahadur Shah's death on the 20th Muharram 1124 H. (27th February, 1712) the whole camp was thrown into confusion. The Emperor had barely breathed his last, before his sons were ranged against each other in contest for Empire, an event which was far from unexpected. In order to make the narrative of events quite clear, it is necessary to go back a little and explain the position in which the four brothers stood to each other. Azim-ush-shan, the second son, had been far away from his father for the last ten years of his grandfather Alamgir's reign. In 1109 H. (1697-8) he was appointed governor of Bengal, to which was added Bihar in the year 1114 H. (1702-3). He did not see his father again until they met at Agra in 1119 H. (1707) just before the battle at Jajau and the defeat of Azam Shah. During these ten or twelve years, Jahandar Shah, the eldest son, from his inattention to public affairs, lost favour with his father and spent most of his time in his separate Government of Multan. In the earlier years of Shah Alam's stay in the Kabul province, his third son, Rafi-ush-shan, was his principal adviser and favourite son. In time he was supplanted in this position by the fourth son, Jahan Shah, who retained his influence at his father's accession and for some time afterwards. The credit of Munim Khan's appointment as chief minister is given to Jahan Shah. But about the time (December 1709) when the Emperor recrossed the Narmada on his return to Hindustan, all influence seems to have been absorbed by the second son, Azim-ush-shan. Jahan Shah had several long illnesses (4th—28th December, 1709, 30th July—5th October 1711), and ill-health may have contributed to his gradual exclusion from public affairs. At any rate, Azim-ush-shan continued in favour to the end of the reign. The great wealth that he had accumulated, both during his stay in Bengal and after he had obtained the chief direction of affairs, and the

preponderating influence that he had exercised for a considerable period, while they raised his brothers envy, pointed him out to all men as the destined victor in the coming struggle. [Ijad, 32b ; Scott, ii. Pt. iv. 45.]

The conduct of the four brothers betokened that they were at enmity ; that there could be little hope of a peaceful solution. Their dread of each other was shown in many ways, among others by an incident related by Iradat Khan.* During the Emperor's last illness, Jahandar Shah and Azim-ush-shan were seated near his bed. Azim-ush-shan took up a jewelled dagger lying near the pillow and began to toy with it, admiring the exquisite workmanship and the beauty of the blade. As he drew it from the sheath, Jahandar Shah, overcome with sudden terror, started up, and in his hurried retreat knocked off his turban at the tent-door, forgot to put on his shoes (a sign of great perturbation),† and, when he got outside, fell over the tent-ropes. As soon as his servants had picked him up, he mounted and rode off in all haste to his own tents. On a previous occasion a violent outbreak had been expected. On the 24th Rabi I. 1123 H. (11th May 1711), the day on which the Satlaj was crossed, Jahandar Shah and Jahan Shah went over the bridge of boats first and took up a threatening position upon the further bank. Messengers brought word that those two Princes and Rafi-ush-shan had made a plot together to attack the treasure carts of Azim-ush-shan as they were coming off the bridge. It was only by the exercise of the strongest pressure that the Emperor, who was extremely angry, was able to avert an outbreak. Another indication of the same strained relations between the four brothers

* J. Scott, 64; Ijad 120 b, 121 a.

† For instance on an occasion of great emergency, one of Ali Wirdi Khan's slippers could not be found and he refused to move till it was brought. A bystander said, 'Is this a time to look for slippers?' 'No,' replied the nawab, 'but were I to go without them it would be said, 'Ali Wirdi Khan was in such a hurry to get away that he left his slippers behind him' (Stewart, *Bengal*, 462, note). I heard once a sharp Benares mukhtar apply this taunt most effectively to a barefooted litigant at a local enquiry, to the huge delight of the bystanders.

may, I think, be detected in a sudden attack made upon Jahan Shah on the 15th Zul Hijja 1123 H. (23rd January 1712) near the kettle-drum stand, as he was leaving the camp after an audience. A man with a drawn sword rushed at his retinue, wounded a stick-bearer, and was himself cut to pieces. [Kamwar, 70, 100.]

Jahandar Shah had no money and therefore no troops: his whole force consisted of a hundred horsemen. Against Azim-ush-shan he felt that, under such conditions, it was hopeless to attempt hostilities; and he would have been content with, nay would have thought himself lucky in getting, one city only. He had made up his mind that on his father's death he would make his escape to Multan, where he was well known, and there make ready for an attempt to retrieve his fortunes. All the leading men paid assiduous court to Azim-ush-shan. Among the rest Zulfiqar Khan, Amir-ul-umara, the first *Bakhshi*, made an offer of his services through the means of Iradat Khan. One Shaikh Qudrat-ullah* wrote a note in reply, of a very curt and unceremonious kind, such as a person of his rank should not have written to a *mansabdar* of 7,000, saying that all the officers of the State were in attendance at the Prince's Court, there could be no question of any other place, and the Amir-ul-umara ought to present himself there, when he would be fittingly received. Zulfiqar Khan, with tears in his eyes, lamented over such mannerless conduct, and quoted the saying 'when Fortune turns against any one, everything conspires against his success.' He left the imperial guard-room at once, collected his troops, and moved with all his tents and effects to the camp of Prince Jahandar Shah, the eldest son.†

But Zulfiqar Khan had not been so imprudent as to leave his own fate completely in the hands of Azim-ush-shan. For a long time he had been negotiating with the three Princes opposed to Azim-ush-shan, and had succeeded in bringing them to an agreement. The Court chroniclers noticed, as the outward

* A native of Allahabad. He was hanged by Mir Jumla early in Farrukh-siyar's reign.

† Warid, 60, 61; Yahya Khan, 117b; J. Scott, 65; or text (my copy) 68.

sign of these intrigues, that on the 25th Zul Hijja 1123 H. (2nd February, 1712) Rafi-ush-shan and on the 1st Muharram 1124 H. (8th February, 1712) Jahandar Shah visited the quarters of Zulfiqar Khan. As Azim-ush-shan's power was held to be overwhelming, it was considered wise by Zulfiqar Khan, acting for Jahandar Shah, to make overtures for joint action to the two younger brothers. Accordingly an agreement sworn on the Quran was entered into for the division of the Empire into three parts. Jahandar Shah, as the eldest son, would be proclaimed Emperor of Hindustan, the Friday prayer being recited everywhere in his name, and the coinage throughout the country bearing his superscription. Rafi-ush-shan was to take Kabul, Kashmir, Multan, Tattha and Bhakkar, and Jahan Shah, the Dakhin from the Narmada to the island of Ceylon. Any cash or plunder obtained by a victory over Azim-ush-shan was to be divided among the three Princes equally. The preposterous condition was also included in the agreement that Zulfiqar Khan should be the only *Wazir*, remaining in person with Jahandar Shah at Dihli and exercising his functions through deputies at the Courts of the other two Princes. A more impracticable plan can hardly be conceived, and possibly it was never seriously intended by Zulfiqar Khan that it should be carried out. Up to this time, owing to the notorious poverty of Jahandar Shah, adventurers and soldiers had kept aloof from him, but when his cause was espoused by Zulfiqar Khan, they began to flock to his standard.*

We have already recounted how Prince Rafi-ush-shan passed under arms the greater part of the night of the 18th

* Kamwar Khan, 101, 102; Warid, 59, 60; Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 45. Valentyn, iv. 294, estimates the numbers of the contending forces as follows :—

			Horse	Foot
Jahandar Shah	...	...	20,000	30,000
Rafi-ush-shan	...	...	8,000	8,000
Jahan Shah	...	...	25,000	30,000
			53,000	68,000
Azim-ush-shan	...	...	30,000	30,000

He can give no record of the numbers slain in the subsequent fighting.

Muharram 1124 H. (25th February 1712). In the morning the Prince slept late and was not yet awake when Kamwar Khan arrived at his house. Assembled there were the Prince's chief men, Afzal Khan, Fath-ullah Khan, Ata-ullah Khan, Jahangir Quli Khan and others, with their friends and relations. Camel-riders, one after another, came in with reports of the increasing severity of Bahadur Shah's illness. About noon Rafi-ush-shan left the mansion of Ali Mardan Khan, with his three sons and his family, and took shelter in a small tent put up for the occasion on the river sands. Kamwar Khan was posted, with all the Prince's men, at Katra Shah Balawal* to keep watch during the night. Munim Khan was despatched to the left, to the river bank, at the head of Prince Ibrahim's troops, while Fath-ullah Khan Mughal went out to the distance of a quarter of a *kos* as an advanced guard. The rest of the troops were drawn up to form a centre and two wings, and thus the night was spent in anxious expectation of the next news. [Kamwar, 104-5.]

In the morning Rafi-ush-shan learnt that his father had passed away at the first watch of the night, and that the imperial camp had fallen into the possession of Azim-ush-shan. A tumult had at once arisen, and without delay, dark though it was, the chief nobles had deserted their posts round the Emperor's quarters, and had hastened to join one or other of the Princes. A few men only, such as Islam Khan, the *Mir Atash*, Hamid-ud-din Khan, Darbar Khan and Khawas Khan, remained at their posts and prevented the plunder of the women's apartments. Many men of lower station and all the traders, who had their families in camp, started for the city, leading their women and children by the hand. Most of their property was at once plundered by the loose characters hanging about the army, who collected at the Shalimar garden, between the camp and the city, while the streets and lanes of Lahor were crowded with people who could find no house

* Shah Balawal Qadiri Lahori, died 28th Shaban 1046 H. (4th Feb. 1637), aged 70 years. His tomb outside the Dihli Gate of Lahor was threatened by the Ravi in 1252 H. (1836-7), when the body was exhumed and re-buried at a little distance, *Khazinat-ul-asfiya*, i. 161.

in which to obtain shelter. The camps of the four Princes were in an uproar. The great nobles looked forward to inevitable death before the sun had set, while the soldiers clamoured for their arrears. Every sort of oppression was inflicted upon the paymasters ; and whatever could be laid hands upon was carried off. Son could not help father, nor father, son ; every one was wrapped up in thoughts for his own safety. Among others Inayatullah Khan, *Khan-saman* or Lord Steward, fled to Lahor, and as soon as he had reached the city, made a pretext of being ill of a cold and thus avoided presenting himself at any of the four *darbars*.*

At early dawn spies brought in word that Prince Muhammad Karim, son of Azim-ush-shan, had started for the encampment of Mahabat Khan and Khan Zaman, sons of the late Munim Khan, Bahadur Shah's *Wazir*. The real objects of this movement had not been discovered by the other side. Naturally, it was supposed that Azim-ush-shan, having more treasure, men, elephants, and cannon than the other three Princes put together, and all the great nobles, with the exception of Zulfiqar Khan, having joined him, had taken the field at once, without allowing his opponents time to collect more troops. Zulfiqar Khan, as soon as he heard of this movement on Azim-ush-shan's part, revived the courage of his troops, who wished to retreat, by quoting the proverb, 'Never take off your stockings, till you see the ford.' Then he rode off with a small escort to Jahan Shah, who was near the tomb of Shah Mir,† and thence to the position of Prince Rafi-ush-shan near the Ravi. Azim-ush-shan had made overtures to Rafi-ush-shan, who had at first held back from taking one side or the other, then by the persuasion of Zulfiqar Khan had joined Jahandar Shah. But Zulfiqar Khan was still a little suspicious of him and therefore proposed that, as his force was small, he should take up his position as the rearguard. To this Rafi-ush-shan consented, and as soon as he knew that Muhammad

*Kamwar Khan, 105; Qasim, 43; Yahya Khan, 117 a.

† Shaikh Muhammad Mir called Shah Mir or Miyan Mir, died at Lahor. 7th Rabi I. 1045 H. (21st Aug. 1635), and was buried in Hashimpur near that city. Beale, 2nd ed., 304, and *Khazinat-ul-asfiya*, i. 154.

Karim had marched, he drew up on the bank of the Ravi, at the head of 5,000 to 6,000 horsemen, about a bow-shot from his camp, and awaited the other side's approach. In like manner, Jahandar Shah, accompanied by Zulfiqar Khan, left his camp between the city and the Shalimar gardens, where he had been ever since arriving at Lahor; and Jahan Shah, mounting a swift gray horse, issued from his quarters near the tomb of Miyan Mir in readiness to give battle. [Kamwar 106, Nur. 23.]

One watch of the day had hardly passed when Azim-ush-shan's troops, after showing on a rising ground, disappeared from view. By the reports of the spies it became clear that Muhammad Karim had come out, not to give battle, but to rescue the sons of Munim Khan and some other nobles, who were escorted to Azim-ush-shan's camp. This movement was due to the fact that Rajah Gujar Mal and Jani Khan had been sent by Zulfiqar Khan to the tents of Mahabat Khan with the hope of persuading him to act as mediator between Azim-ush-shan and his three brothers, the object being to gain time. When Azim-ush-shan heard of this visit, he, suspecting that the sons of Munim Khan meant to desert him, sent his son to re-assure them, at the same time using the occasion to make a display of his own strength. The spies had also ascertained that Azim-ush-shan intended to shun a battle in the open, preferring to entrench himself. The preparation of earthen defences had been ordered and his purpose was to rely upon his artillery and musket fire. This news was most re-assuring to the three Princes, they returned joyfully to their camps, and ordered the enlistment of fresh troops.*

SEC. 2.—AZIM-USH-SHAN STANDS ON THE DEFENSIVE.

We will now return to Azim-ush-shan's camp. On the preceding night, when Amin-ud-din Sambhali brought word

* Kamwar Khan, 106; Nur-ud-din, 20, 24. Khafi Khan, ii. 686, says that Azim-ush-shan moved his position and transferred his camp to the vicinity of Budanah village, three or four kos from the city, where, having the Ravi in his rear, he dug a ditch round the other three sides. Faqir

that the Emperor had passed away, Azim-ush-shan first shed a few tears of sorrow at his father's death, then the drums were beaten in honour of a new sovereign's accession, and all the persons in attendance presented their congratulations and offerings. The Prince's advisers at once said to him that as Zulfiqar Khan was an open enemy, not a moment should be lost in making him a prisoner. Since he was at that time alone between the imperial audience tent and the outer enclosure, they could easily capture him. Niamatullah Khan and Aqidat Khan, in particular, insisted upon this order being given. From the first the Prince made objections, for he feared that the imperial family would at once be plundered. After all, what could Zulfiqar Khan do? Reliance must be placed on God's help alone. The leading men then ceased to urge the matter further, but said to each other, 'The Lord help and preserve us! the first words of invocation have been said wrong.*' On leaving the private audience-hall, Niamatullah Khan, disregarding the Prince's order, rushed off with a strong force, but before he could reach the spot, Zulfiqar Khan had left and gone to his own quarters, where he renewed his oaths to Jahandar Shah and by misleading promises persuaded the two younger Princes to make common cause with their eldest brother. [*Dastur-ul-insha*, 16.]

The next three days were passed by Zulfiqar Khan in negotiating with the Princes, rallying troops to their standard, and bringing artillery from the fort at Lahor. The former agreement between the Princes was renewed. Zulfiqar Khan visited Rafi-ush-shan and Jahan Shah, and urged them both to carry out their enthronement and assume regal honours and titles. When Zulfiqar Khan paid his visit to Prince Rafi-ush-shan, he used the most flattering words and placed his head on the Prince's feet. The Prince said to him, 'You place your head on my feet, lay rather your hand on my head, for have I not become an orphan?' and taking the hand of Zulfiqar

Sayyid Jamal-ud-din says that there is now no Budanah village there, and suggests instead Uwan, some miles n. e. of the Shalimar garden.

* *Bism-illah-i-avval ghalat shud.*

Khan, pressed it. Zulfiqar Khan made some appropriate reply and then left for his own camp.*

In two or three days' time a large force of soldiers, some of long service but most of them greedy mercenaries, had been collected, and the artillery had been strengthened by the guns removed from the city walls. Three of the very largest guns were removed from the fort, each being dragged by two hundred and fifty oxen aided by five or six elephants, and it was ten days before the distance to camp was covered. One of these was sent to Rafi-ush-shan and one to Jahan Shah. When everything was ready, the three Princes left their old positions and encamped close to each other in a wide and open plain. Azim-ush-shan all this time never left the shelter of his earthen entrenchments, but contented himself with the daily discharge of a gun or two. On their side, the three Princes advanced daily at the rate of about one-eighth of a *kos*, or one-third of a mile, encamping each evening on the ground where they stood, and keeping an active look-out for fear of a night attack. In these nightly halts many of the new troops left the army, and it almost looked as if Jahandar Shah would be forced to retreat without fighting. But Zulfiqar Khan and Abdus-samad Khan exerted themselves to keep the men together. At length, early in the month of Safar (1st Safar 1124 H.=9th March 1712), they pitched their camp not far from the entrenchment of Azim-ush-shan. For another two or three days, an artillery duel was maintained, and from time to time Azim-ush-shan's men made sallies and engaged the outposts of the attacking army. [Kamwar, 107 ; Nur. 28.]

On the other side, Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi urged Prince Azim-ush-shan to take the field and give battle in the

* Kamwar Khan, 107; Nur-ud-din, 26. There is a long letter, which I reject as apocryphal, in a work professing to be the *Inshā* of Har Karan, son of Mathura Das Multani, and said to have been compiled in Mhd. Shah's reign (1131-1161 H.). In it Jahandar Shah expostulates with Azim-ush-shan, and ends with the defiance, *Dam az mihr dah, ya ba kin zan payam, Kalam-am bar in khatam shud o us-salam*. 'Breathe words of love, or send your challenge, My speech closes with this and so farewell.' According to the true *Inshā* of Har Karan the letter, of which the above is an imitation, was addressed in 1068 H. by Aurangzeb to Dara Shukoh.

open. Daya Bahadur and others joined with him in his entreaties.* They believed that by one sudden onset they could drive the whole of the enemy's force away. The only answer they could obtain was 'wait a little longer.' After that they could say no more. Azim-ush-shan relied on the extent of his treasure; he had also received pledges from Churaman Jat and the Banjara grain-carriers that his camp should not suffer from scarcity of grain. In his opponents' camp there was, as he thought, nothing but poverty, and their men must disperse or die from hunger. Moreover, he had an exalted opinion of his own abilities and an equally low one of his brothers' capacities. Muizz-ud-din had, doubtless, shown himself a good soldier in his grandfather's and father's time, but now want of means rendered him quite helpless. As for Rafi-ush-shan, he had the heart of a courtesan, devoting all his energy to the adornment of his person and the purchase of clothes and high-priced jewels, a man to whom the verse applied:

Holding mirror and comb in hand,

Like a pretty woman, he adores his own curls.†

Then as for Jahan Shah, his conceit was such that he thought his very name enough to put an enemy to flight. For all these reasons he thought that the longer he delayed, the greater would be his advantage. Nor was he at all liberal in the distribution of money to his soldiers, his miserliness being proverbial. It was a saying that the coldest place to be found was Azim-ush-shan's kitchen. To every report that was made his only reply was the unchanging *andaḡ bashid*, 'Wait a little longer.' When they saw this state of things, his followers were much dejected and made sure that Heaven did not favour their cause.‡

On the 6th Safar (14th March 1712) the three Princes were

* The *Dastur-ul-insha*, 17, also names Amin-ud-din, Niamatullah Khan, Nawab Aziz Khan, Rajah Muhkam Singh Khatri, Rajah Raj Singh Bahadur, Baz Khan and Umar Khan.

† *Aina o shana girifta ba dast, Chun zan-i-rana, shuda gesu-parast.*

‡ Nur-ud-din, 27; *Dastur-ul-insha*, 17; Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 47; Yahya Khan, 117b.

close to the entrenchment of Azim-ush-shan. On both sides, small groups of men came out and fought. In the course of two days, batteries for the guns were made ready through the exertions of Abdus-samad Khan, and by these batteries three sides of Azim-ush-shan's position were commanded. Abdus-samad Khan wished, if he could, to blow up Azim-ush-shan's powder magazine. But Sulaiman Khan Panni* was too much on the alert. One night, however, the besiegers found the sentinels asleep and entered the camp by climbing over one corner of the earthen wall. In the darkness they encountered the outposts of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, and were forced to return with their purpose unexecuted. [Nur. 28.]

The next day (7th Safar 1124 H.=15th March, 1712), the besieged began a cannon fire, which they kept up continuously for some time. Repeatedly Kokaltash Khan and Jani Khan, commanding on the side of the investors, were forced to abandon their batteries and seek shelter behind walls. But, from a battery on the north, Abdus-samad Khan returned shot for shot. However, when the attack on two sides of the entrenchment had been withdrawn, as above stated, Shah Nawaz Khan, without asking the Prince's leave, came out at the head of 2,000 cavalry. Abdus-samad Khan and Jani Khan opposed him. Just as those on Jahandar Shah's side were about to be defeated, Prince Jahan Shah arrived with reinforcements, and forced the other side to take to flight. The Prince himself received a slight wound on the arm, but Shah Nawaz Khan, while retreating, received two sword cuts in the back from Jani Khan and his horse's tail was cut off. Pursuing the fugitives, Jahan Shah arrived at the walls of the earth-work. Thereupon Sulaiman Khan Panni, and his tribesmen, from their position on the walls shot arrows and fired off rockets. In another direction, Daya Bahadur offered a stout resistance and put many of Jahan Shah's men to flight. But Jahan Shah himself held his ground, nay continued to advance, shouting to the fugitives 'Are you men, if not, go home and put on women's apparel.' At this juncture, Mukhtar Khan threw himself

* Brother of Daud Khan Panni, *naib-subahdar* of the Dakhin.

bravely into the *melee* at the head of his most trusted followers. When he had fought his way close to Jahan Shah, he flung himself from his horse, and according to the ancient practice of Hindustan, continued the contest on foot, shooting his arrows and dealing blows about him with his sword. It was near to sunset when he forced his opponents to beat a retreat. Several men of note on Azim-ush-shan's side, such as Raza Khan and Karim Khan, were slain. [Nur. 29-31.]

When after night-fall Jahan Shah reached his quarters, Zulfiqar Khan came in person on the part of Jahandar Shah to congratulate him on the victory, and by his flattering speeches kept the Prince in good humour. He added that on the morrow it was his turn to take up the fighting and display his zeal for the cause. Next he visited Rafi-ush-shan, and talked to him in the same strain and impressed him so favourably, that he proposed to head the attack in person on the following day. Thence Zulfiqar Khan went to the camp of Jahandar Shah and laid before him other plans. At his suggestion, Jahandar Shah sent a message in very friendly terms to Prince Rafi-ush-shan asking him to give up his idea of heading an attack. Rafi-ush-shan returned his thanks but renewed his request, and very early in the morning (8th Safar) moved out at the head of 5,000 well-mounted cavalry, and boldly delivering his attack, forced a way to the foot of the entrenchment. The besieged replied with artillery fire and rockets, but repeated charges of Rafi-ush-shan's troops so demoralized many of them that they flung musket and rocket down and fled for shelter behind the wall. Then the men on Jahandar Shah's side mounted the wall and shot down their arrows on their foe within. They had almost succeeded in making their way into the entrenchment, when Sulaiman Khan Panni, followed by five hundred Afghans and two hundred of Shah Nawaz Khan's men, with Gul Khan at their head, arrived to reinforce the half-defeated defenders. Their arrows flew so thick and straight that the attacking party could not stand up against them but withdrew again from the top of the wall. Thereupon Sulaiman Khan followed in pursuit. [Nur. 33.]

On issuing from the entrenchment, Sulaiman Khan

advanced against the centre of Rafi-ush-shan's division. The fighting became general and both sides struggled bravely for victory. Zulfiqar Khan, at the head of 2,000 men belonging to Kokaltash Khan and Jani Khan, speeded to reinforce his own side, and without distinguishing friend from foe, ordered his bowmen to shoot off their arrows. If this help had not arrived, a disaster would have occurred to Rafi-ush-shan. The men who had dispersed re-assembled and resumed the offensive. Seven to eight thousand men, horse and foot, bore down on Sulaiman Khan and encircled him. Sulaiman Khan withstood the flood undismayed, and the fight waxed hot. In the thickest of the fray, an arrow hit Gul Khan in the throat and killed him, after which his men fell into disorder. Pressed back by repeated charges of Jahandar Shah's troops, Sulaiman Khan felt the day was lost, and turning his horse's head, he retreated into the entrenchment, where he resumed his fire from the shelter of the wall. The sky grew black with smoke. Many on both sides were killed or wounded. However, on Jahandar Shah's side no one of any note was injured, and when the sun had set, Rafi-ush-shan and Zulfiqar Khan returned in safety to their quarters. [Nur. 33, 35.]

After the first day's fighting, in which Abdus-samad Khan had penetrated into the entrenchment, but retreated without effecting his purpose, Shah Nawaz Khan hired several deft-handed Qalmaq slaves and sent them to assassinate Jahandar Shah. Evading the outposts, these men succeeded in penetrating at night as far as the tent occupied by the Prince. The eunuch on watch called out, 'Who is there, what do you want?' Their only reply was to cut him down and attempt to enter the tent. But a groan came from the dying eunuch and his falling body shook the ropes and sides of the tent. This untimely noise roused a Qalmaq woman servant of the harem, called Raiman, who was possessed of considerable strength. She ran out to see what was the matter. Observing the strangers she gave the alarm. The men retreated, pursued by Raiman, and one of them caught his foot in a tent-rope and fell. Raiman slew him with a dagger and was herself wounded slightly on the arm. Hearing the noise, sentinels ran from all directions but

the Qalmaqs mixed in the crowd and thus succeeded in escaping. After Jahandar Shah had obtained quiet possession of the throne, he conferred on Raiman the title of Rustam-i-Hind, a curious choice, giving as it did an opening for the scoffer to say that in India their only Rustam was a woman! [Nur. 35-36, Kamwar 108.]

On the third day of the fighting (8th Safar), the three Princes advanced together to the attack, beginning it with an artillery fire. Zulfiqar Khan took the direction of these operations. The cannon were posted on the mounds* formed of the debris left from brick-burning. The besieged were much harassed by the fire and many leaders quitted their posts and tried to escape. Finding the way closed by the besiegers they could only return within the entrenchment. Rajah Pirthi Raj Bundela,† by repeated attacks reduced the besieged to despair. Then Sulaiman Khan Panni, and Shah Nawaz Khan, with nearly 2,000 men of their own race, appeared on the northern wall, but there Abdus-samad Khan barred their exit. In another direction, where Pirthi Raj was closely threatening the entrenchment, Kesari Singh, brother of Muhkam Singh Khatri, made a sally and engaged his opponent hand to hand. Pirthi Raj was nearly overwhelmed, when Rafi-ush-shan detached to his aid Fathullah Khan and his Mughal horse. These men charged with drawn swords. Azim-ush-shan then sent out Daya Ram Nagar,‡ to reinforce Kesari Singh. While the contest was still undecided, Jahandar Shah arrived in person, and a rumour spreading that Azim-ush-shan intended to flee, his commanders, Sulaiman Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan, Kesari Singh and Daya Ram,

* For those not familiar with the north of India it may be necessary to explain that these mounds, thirty or forty feet high, are to be found outside every brick-built town.

† A son of R. Chattarsal Bundela.

‡ Called generally Daya Bahadur, a title given him in Bahadur Shah's 4th year (1710-11), when he returned to Court from the charge of Kora (subah Allahabad), where he was succeeded by his brother, Chabela Ram (B. M. No. 1690 fol. 156a). These men were styled *Mahia*, a word which means 'head' or 'chief,' and is ordinarily applied now to the richest or most important tenant in a village. The *Nagars* are a sub-division of the Brahman caste, and are chiefly found in Gujarat.

withdrew their men and returned to seek their master. Jahandar Shah and his two brothers proceeded in triumph to their previous encampment. [Nur. 37-38.]

SEC. 3.—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF AZIM-USH-SHAN.

After three days of indecisive fighting Zulfiqar Khan be-thought himself of another device for weakening the enemy. On the night of Bahadur Shah's death he had sent out troops in three directions in order to prevent all escape by the ferries on the Ravi river, and had sent flattering promises and a note in Jahandar Shah's hand-writing to Mahabat Khan and the other sons of Munim Khan, the deceased Wazir. Many imperial commanders and soldiers were encamped in great discomfort on the sandy ground in the dry bed of the river, where they also suffered occasionally from cannon shot which fell in that direction. It occurred to Zulfiqar Khan that if his guards at the ferries were withdrawn, all these men would be only too glad to make their escape with their families. Accordingly this order was carried out during the night between the 8th and the 9th Safar. Many marched away to a place of safety, and many joined the standard of Jahandar Shah. The movement also extended itself to Azim-ush-shan's own adherents. Crowds of men during this night, on pretence of placing their families out of danger, made their escape from the earth-work. None of them were touched or hindered by the other side; all were allowed to pursue their own way. Among the first who fled were Mahabat Khan and Khan Zaman Khan, sons of Munim Khan and Hamid-ud-din Khan Qul Alamgiri, all of whom crossed the Ravi during the hottest of the fighting. Sulaiman Khan Panni, Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, Daya Ram Nagar, and Kesari Singh remained faithful and passed the night on the alert.*

When morning broke on the 9th Safar (17th March, 1712), the three Princes decided to bring the contest to a final issue. Zulfiqar Khan took command of the centre by the side of

* Kamwar 108; Warid, 62; Qasim, 49. B.M., 1690, fol. 158b, adds Sarafraz Khan to the fugitives. They took refuge in the Lahor Masjid.

Jahandar Shah ; Abdus-samad Khan was put at the head of the vanguard ; Kokaltash Khan was on the right and Jani Khan on the left wing. Jahan Shah supported the vanguard and Rafi-ush-shan commanded the rear. In this order they advanced towards the entrenchment of Azim-ush-shan. For six hours both sides maintained an artillery-fire, and Jahandar Shah's guns after each volley were advanced slowly until they were close to the earthen wall. Suddenly Kesari Singh and his men charged the guns but were repulsed by Abdus-samad Khan. In the hand to hand encounter, Kesari Singh was shot and fell from his horse. His men were thrown into confusion. Abdus-samad Khan, seeing his chance, encouraged his men with a loud voice, and in a short space their opponents were all put to the edge of the sword, not one escaping alive. Following up their advantage, Abdus-samad Khan and his men rushed on towards the entrenchment. Pirthi Raj, leader of Jahan Shah's vanguard, and Abdus-samad Khan entered the position together. Sulaiman Khan and his fellow-Afghans met and opposed their onset. Once he succeeded in forcing back the assailants. But Abdus-samad Khan supported Pirthi Raj vigorously. Shah Nawaz Khan, by Azim-ush-shan's order, now arrived with reinforcements commanded by some Afghan leaders, such as Mali Khan and his son, Alwi Khan. Most of Sulaiman Khan's Afghans were killed. Shah Nawaz Khan was severely wounded and withdrew, having seventeen arrows sticking in him,* while Sulaiman Khan still stood firm, with a hundred of his own most trusty followers, and fronted Abdus-samad Khan and Pirthi Raj. The Turani bowmen, noted for their skill, shot their arrows at Sulaiman Khan and his men, and every arrow emptied a saddle. The Afghans treated it as if they were being pelted with flowers, and still barred the way. When only some thirty or forty horse-

* Shah Nawaz Khan died of his wounds (*Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, 1124). See his biography in *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 692. He was the last of the Safawi race who distinguished himself in India; he was in the sixth generation from Shah Ismail Safawi. (1500-24). Seven women of the family had been married to Princes of the Mughal imperial house. For lives of Safawis in India, see *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 670; iii. 296, 434, 477, 555, 556, 581, 583, 677, 692.

men were left, and all hope of reinforcements had vanished, Sulaiman Khan, seeing that further effort was fruitless, collected his men and retreated. As soon as the way was thus opened, Abdus-samad Khan accompanied by Pirthi Raj pressed onwards.*

In another part of the field Daya Ram Nagar attacked Jahan Shah's guns, hoping to pass through them and reach the centre of that Prince's division. But Afzal Khan's courageous resistance defeating this manœuvre, Daya Ram drew rein and turned off towards Jahandar Shah's batteries. Here Daya Bahadur was shot down. His men then dispersed in every direction and sought safety in flight. Those who made off towards the Ravi were met and killed by Rafi-ush-shan's troops, who protected the rear of Jahandar Shah's division. [Nur. 43.]

At length, Jahandar Shah obtained an entrance to the entrenched position of Azim-ush-shan. Zulfiqar Khan's and Jahan Shah's troops took possession of the walls, while Kokaltash Khan, at the head of 4,000 horsemen, was sent to the assistance of Abdus-samad Khan inside the entrenchment. As Jahandar Shah's men began to gain the upper hand, Muhammad Karim, eldest son of Azim-ush-shan, quitted his father and crossing the river hid in the house of a poor cotton-carder or weaver, where he was seized a few days afterwards, as will be related hereafter.† Jahandar Shah's army now advanced in a body against Azim-ush-shan. Sulaiman Khan tried all in vain to re-inspire his troops with confidence. Resolving to sell his own life dearly, he met Jahandar Shah's men with repeated discharges of arrows, until in a short time final disaster fell on Azim-ush-shan's partisans through the loss of the Prince, their leader. [Nur. 44.]

* Kamwar Khan, 108; Qasim, 50; Yahya Khan, fol. 177b.

† One account (Mhd. Qasim, 52) says that he had lost his way at the end of the first day's fighting and wandered all night round his own camp without being able to find it. At dawn one of his servants found him, changed his clothes, put him on a horse and took him to a weaver's house in the quarter of Talbagha, near the shrine of Pir Ali Hajwiri. This saint died in 456 H. (1063-4) and was buried at Lahor—(Beale 246). The mausoleum is now known as Data Ganj-Bakhsh (S. Latif, *History of the Panjab*, 84).

During this day Azim-ush-shan had preserved the same attitude as hitherto of a helpless waiter on events. When Daya Bahadur and Muhkam Singh entreated him to give orders to assume the offensive, no other answer could they force from him except his eternal *andaḳ bashid*, 'Wait a little longer'. They spoke their minds freely to him and went against the enemy without waiting for his orders. We have seen above how little advantage they reaped, in spite of all their exertions. Sufficient reinforcements were not sent, and by the end of the day most of the troops had vanished, having sought a refuge in Lahor city. At last out of the 60,000 to 70,000 men that he had at first under his command, Azim-ush-shan was left with 10,000 to 12,000 men only. During the night which preceded the last day's fighting, the rest of the men deserted. The artillery fire continuing all night long, every man thought of his own safety. Only a few determined to remain steadfast so long as Azim-ush-shan was still alive, and these passed the night in watching and prayer. At early dawn the drum beat for them to take horse. But, when the Prince's war elephant was brought up, it refused to allow him to mount, and his attendants were forced to send for another. Round him were grouped Niamat-ullah Khan and Aqidat Khan in *palkis*, for they said they were wounded, Rajah Raj Singh of Kishangarh with about 1,000 men, and Amin-ud-din Sambhali with twelve relations or dependents and ten new men. Shortly afterwards Khwaja Muhammad Asim,* paymaster of the Ahadis, with Ghulam Husain, an Afghan of Qasur near Lahor, joined the party. In all there may have been two thousand men round the Prince. [*Dastur-ul-insha*, 18.]

It so happened that a high wind sprang up and the sand from the Ravi banks rose in clouds. Everything was blotted from view : all that they could hear was the report of the cannon, all that they could do was to shut their eyes to keep out the dust. Jahandar Shah's army could not see them, nor could they see any trace of him. Suddenly some Mughals bore down on them

* Afterwards Ashraf Khan, and subsequently Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran Bahadur (d. 1151 H., February, 1739).

and let fly their arrows, by which some flesh wounds were caused. The Mughals did not recognize the Prince, and rode on to plunder the treasure and horses. Then a ball from a small gun (*rahkala*)* passed close over the Prince's elephant and set fire to the cushions, so that the smoke hindered the view. The Prince threw the cushion down, and when asked, said that no harm had been done. Amin-ud-din recommended him to mount his horse and take flight either to Bengal, where he was well known, or to the Dakhin, where Daud Khan Panni was favourable to him. In either place he could recruit his forces and renew the struggle. The Prince replied that Dara Shukoh and Muhammad Shuja had gained nothing by flight, ending by quoting in Arabic the words 'With God's help the few shall overcome the many.' Thus they might still win the day. Amin-ud-din said he had only twenty-two followers left. The Prince asked for ten of them with which to make a charge on Muizz-ud-din, the other twelve could be led by Amin-ud-din against Jahan Shah. This talk was just ended when Khwaja Mhd. Asim, the paymaster of the Ahadi troops, came from his station, and out of friendship to Amin-ud-din, called out, 'I am off to Bengal, come with me.' Amin-ud-din refused to leave while the Prince was still alive. Muhammad Asim then went off towards Sultanpur, in the Jalandhar *Duaba*, and finally made his way to Prince Farrukh-siyar at Patna. Rajah Raj Bahadur escaped to his home country of Kishangarh.†

In a little while a shot from one of the heavy guns struck the trunk of the elephant on which Prince Azim-ush-shan was riding. The elephant turned and fled towards the Ravi, the driver fell off, and Jalal Khan Lodi,‡ the attendant in the hind seat, clambered down by the ropes and escaped. Such was the terror of the elephant that it outstripped the dust itself had raised. Amin-ud-din and others galloped in pursuit at the top

* *Rahkala*, J. Shakespeare Dict., 1203, a small cannon, a swivel, a field-piece; also a cart.

† *Dastur-ul-insha*, 18; and B. M. 1690, fol. 158b; Kishangarh is in Rajputana, north-east of Ajmer.

‡ He was a *qarawul* (hunter) and *qush-begi* (chief falconer), Warid, 62. He died at the end of Safar 1136 H. at Dihli, *Tarikh-i-Mhdi*.

of their horses' speed, in the hope of barring the elephant's further flight. All was in vain; they were left far behind in the race. Suddenly the elephant disappeared over the high bank overlooking the stream; when the pursuers reached the edge and looked down, all they saw was the heaving mud and sand, from which issued the most frightful roaring. The elephant and the Prince had been swallowed up by a quicksand. Amin-ud-din passed the night alone under the shade of a tree, and in the morning sought refuge in the city of Lahor.*

SEC. 4.—THE DIVISION OF THE SPOIL.

The three Princes ordered the drums to beat for a victory, they sent congratulations to each other, and returned to their quarters with loud rejoicings. The plunderers were meanwhile busy and, with the exception of the treasure and the women's tents, which were protected by a girdle of cannon, the whole contents of that great camp were carried off and hardly a trace of it was left. Such persons as escaped from it were stopped and relieved of their belongings by the men attached to Jahandar Shah's artillery, whose camp was at the Shalimar garden. Horses and camels without number and much property fell into these men's hands. Jahandar Shah's troops speedily surrounded and took possession of the carts laden with treasure, of the cannon, and of the household of Azim-ush-shan. Thus the painfully collected wealth of that Prince, the fruit of years of meanness, became in a moment the prey of his adversary. [Kamwar, 109-110.]

* *Dastur-ul-insha*, 20.—Kamwar Khan, 109, says that Azim-ush-shan's corpse was brought in, and speaks (138) of its being sent by Farrukh-siyar to Aurangabad for burial; Yahya Khan, 117b also says it was found in the river and brought in; but I prefer the account in Amin-ud-din's letters, as given in the *Dastur-ul-insha*. I believe these letters to be genuine, and they were evidently so considered by Ghulam Husain Khan, who used them in writing his *Siyar-ul-mutakherin*, see Briggs, 29. Warid, 63, states that the elephant was brought in, but many believed that Azim-ush-shan escaped alive, since his body had not been found. When Warid wrote, nineteen years afterwards, the Prince had never been heard of. Others asserted that Rajah Raj Singh, styled Raj Bahadur, had carried off the corpse to his own country, *i.e.*, Kishangarh (Mhd. Qasim, 51).

The claims of Azim-ush-shan, whom judicious observers had considered the destined successor to the throne, being thus finally disposed of, the agents of the two younger Princes attended Zulfiqar Khan for several days in succession with a request for a division of the booty and the realm, according to the compact that had been entered into. But Zulfiqar Khan, his pride raised above all bounds by such a victory over his most powerful opponent, had forgotten all his oaths and promises. Furthermore, it was clear to everybody that just as two swords cannot be got into one scabbard, there cannot be two kings in one kingdom.* Each day witnessed the invention of new excuses.† His hope was that the two Princes having no money, their armies, largely composed of mere mercenaries, would during this prolonged delay disperse of themselves. One day he paid a visit to Prince Rafi-ush-shan and made to him the usual evasive promises. Another day he visited Jahan Shah. Rustam Dil Khan, who had been released from prison shortly before Bahadur Shah's death, had from the first taken the side of Jahan Shah. He and Mukhlis Khan Harisi now said to the Prince that this man (Zulfiqar Khan) was the root of all the troubles, if he were disposed of, the rest would be easy. Jahan Shah refused his consent, repeating the line, 'When God the Beneficent is our friend, what can our enemy do?'‡ Moreover, Zulfiqar Khan's obsequious manners in his presence led him to believe that the man was at heart his friend. One of Jahan Shah's chief men gave Zulfiqar Khan a hint and he hastened his departure, asking as a pretext that an officer might be sent with him to take over the Prince's share of the treasure and military stores. The Prince, only too delighted at the prospect, gave him his dismissal at once. As he left he said to the two nobles above-named, 'You have done your best for your master, but if he does not accept, it is because fate so decrees and not

* *Do shamsher dar yak ghilaf o do Padshah dar yak mulk budan muhal ast*, Yahya Khan, 117b.

† The Dutchmen, who take Jahandar Shah's side throughout, put the blame on Prince Jahan Shah's greediness, in claiming one-half instead of one-third of the confiscated property—Valentyu, iv. 293.

‡ *Dushman cheh kunad, chun Mihrban bashad dost*.

through your fault.' When he reached his quarters, he gave a flat denial to the officer who had accompanied him, and sent off both money and *matériel* to Jahandar Shah.*

During this interval Rafi-ush-shan, through his conduct to Hakim-ul-mulk, had cooled the zeal of any nobles who might have assisted him. Hakim-ul-mulk had received from him a promise of being his chief minister, and was deep in his confidence. But by chance there fell into the Prince's hands letters from the Hakim to Zulfiqar Khan, giving full details of all the Prince's intentions and plans. These letters had, it seems, been passing daily. Hakim-ul-mulk was sent for and so severely treated that he was carried away to his quarters half dead. [Yahya, 118a.]

SEC. 5.—DEATH OF JAHAN SHAH.

At last no doubt remained of Zulfiqar Khan's intentions, and further delay was obviously useless. The Princes ordered the enlistment of fresh troops, and a number of Azim-ush-shan's fugitive troops returned from Lahor city and were admitted into Jahan Shah's service. Some three thousand or four thousand experienced soldiers were thus recruited. Jahandar Shah adopted similar measures, taking on many of the fugitives at high rates of pay. Rafi-ush-shan did the same. A few days only had passed since these men had been ranged in battle against their new employers; then for a time they had been unable to find bread to eat and were trembling for their very lives. By one of those transformations peculiar to such times, they were now restored to prosperity as suddenly as they had been plunged into poverty. In eight days from the defeat and death of Azim-ush-shan all preparations had been completed. [Kamwar, 110; Nur. 50.]

On the 18th Safar 1124 H. (26th March, 1712) Jahan Shah made the first movement. He marched from his old position near Shah Mir's tomb and encamped near the village of Handu Gujar, † where there was an imperial hunting preserve. At once

* Kamwar Khan, 110; Khush-hal Chand, 385a-386a; Yahya Khan, 117b.

† Query *Maqdu Gujar* on *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 30, just north of Mian Mir and the Railway line?

Jahandar Shah sent out his advance guard under Kokaltash Khan and Abdus-samad Khan, now his *Mir Atash* or general of artillery. The fighting was confined to the artillery. Rustam Dil Khan, who had charge of the artillery for Jahan Shah, placed two cannon in a commanding position and killed many men, the fight being continued until the setting of the sun. Both armies encamped on the ground they occupied, and under cover of night many of the mercenaries absconded. The numbers on both sides were thereby much diminished. During this night Jahan Shah's powder magazines were exploded. Raji Muhammad Khan, afterwards Jahandar Shah's *Mir Atash*, obtained the credit of this exploit.*

The next day (19th Safar 1124 H., 27th March, 1712)† the fight was renewed, and it continued till the sun had passed the meridian, when both combatants prepared to rest and refresh themselves where they stood. Owing to the hot wind and exhaustion, the fighting had been up to this time far from vigorous. Jahan Shah now ordered a charge to be made by Rustam Dil Khan, Jani Khan and Mukhlis Khan. They rushed forward 'as a hungry tiger out of ambush flings itself on a buffalo's head.' Rustam Dil Khan reached without hindrance Jahandar Shah's vanguard which with little or no effort he drove before him, and pursuing the fugitives, he soon reached their centre. Here Azz-ud-din, the eldest son of Jahandar Shah, was made a prisoner. Nor far off was a small field-tent, in which Jahandar Shah had passed the night with his concubine, Lal Kunwar.‡ Surprised by this sudden attack, the Prince came

* Kamwar Khan, 110; Nur-ud-din, 51; Mhd. Qasim, 54; Valentyn, iv. 293.

† This is Kamwar Khan's date, but the Dutch envoy, then in Lahor, (Valentyn, iv. 294) says the 27th March was spent by Jahan Shah in a heavy cannonade and the attack was delivered on the 28th. Mirza Muhammad, p. 131, who was also there, gives the 20th Safar (28th March) as the date of the Prince's defeat.

‡ Mhd. Qasim, 55, calls her *Lad Kunwar*. She was a singing girl, who had become Jahandar Shah's favourite concubine. The *Hadiqat-ul-aqalim*, 131, says she was the daughter of Khasusiyat Khan, a descendant of Miyan Tan Sen, the celebrated musician of Akbar's time. (Blochmann, *Ain*. i. 612). There is the same statement in *Dastur-ul-insha*, 133, from which Shaikh

out and mounted his elephant, while Lal Kunwar entered a litter and fled for safety to the mansion of Dara Shukoh in the city of Lahor, a house which had been recently assigned to her. [Warid, 65.]

Rustam Dil Khan, followed by Jani Khan and Mir Baqi, forced his way to the elephant bearing Jahandar Shah, to whom he made use of the most abusive language. The Prince's defenders Diler Dil Khan (Khwaja Abdullah), his brother Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, and Rai Surat Singh Multani, with his relations, did what they could to protect their master, but were driven away. Jahandar Shah, before his assailants came too close, crouched down in the high-sided, iron-plated canopy (*imari*) so as to be completely hidden from view. The horsemen supposing that the Prince had quitted his elephant, turned off and attacked his escort. The plausible talk of the Prince's elephant-driver meanwhile so deceived Rustam Dil Khan and Jani Khan that they too desisted, and turned their attention elsewhere. By the time that they had learned the truth and could return, the elephant-driver had driven his elephant away to a place of safety. Then came disturbing reports of the defeat and death of Jahan Shah. As soon as these were confirmed, Rustam Dil Khan and Jani Khan felt perplexed, and in the hope of securing for themselves an intercessor, they released their prisoner, Prince Azz-ud-din. All haste was then made to the place where Jahan Shah had fallen a victim to Zulfiqar Khan's attack. By heroic exertions Rustam Dil Khan and his companions rescued the Prince's elephant from the hands of the enemy : but all was in vain, they recovered nothing but a lifeless body. The only course left to them was to seek safety in flight.*

Soon after ordering the charge by Rustam Dil Khan, Jahan Shah followed him in person at the head of his own troops. The movements of so many men had created so much dust that it was impossible to keep the right direction, nor could the one

Allahyar probably copied. There is a long poetical description of her charms in the fragmentary History, B. M. Or. 3610, fol. 18b, which ends thus :

Ba khabi Lal Kunwar nam-i-u bud,

Shakkar-gustar, sim-andam-i-u bud.

* Warid, 66; Kamwar Khan, 112; Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 54, 55.

army know the exact position of the other. The battle resolved itself into a number of separate skirmishes, the men attacking any one that they found in front of them, without regard to their own supports or any attempt at combined effort. Rustam Dil Khan's charge had been so far successful that Jahandar Shah's troops were shaken, and most of them took to flight and sought shelter wherever they could find it. One body of matchlockmen succeeded in reaching a deserted village, and there they hid themselves behind the ruined walls of the houses. In the confusion, and blinded by the clouds of dust, the wings and centre of Jahan Shah's force quitted the direction in which their vanguard had advanced, and losing their way, arrived at the village within which the matchlockmen were hiding. As Jahan Shah's men came into sight, the fugitives supposed that their retreat had been discovered, and resolved on selling their lives dearly. Jahan Shah was amazed by the sudden delivery of their fire, and his men hesitated. Emboldened by this first success, the matchlockmen renewed their fire and continued their defence. [Warid, 67.]

When informed of the unexpected attack on Jahandar Shah, Zulfiqar Khan left his tents in great perturbation to search for his master. On his way spies brought him word that a few matchlockmen had engaged Jahan Shah, when separated from the main body of his army and followed by no more than one thousand horsemen. Zulfiqar Khan hastened to the spot thus indicated. His arrival encouraged the matchlockmen to redouble their exertions. Jahan Shah, noticing the slackness of his men, drove his elephant to the front. The musket-fire now began to tell so severely that Jahan Shah's side relaxed all further effort, and most of them rode off. Excepting the few men round his elephant, the Prince was left alone. The other side now assumed the offensive, and the Prince's son, Farkhunda Akhtar, who had claimed command of the vanguard, was shot through the head at the first discharge. A moment afterwards Jahan Shah followed his son into the realms of Death. By one of those sudden reversals of fortune, so frequent in Eastern story, just as Jahandar Shah was about to flee in despair from the battlefield, Zulfiqar Khan appeared with his rival's head and

laid it before him with his congratulations. As Shaikh Sadi Shirazi says, 'A man wept all night at the bedside of a sick friend ; when morning came, he was dead and the friend was living.'

It is even said that so complete was the belief in Jahan Shah's victory that the news of his accession was spread far and wide by the messengers of the Rajputana moneylenders, and in many places the *khutba* was read in his name.*

SEC. 6.—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF RAFI-USH-SHAN.

Until two hours after sunset on this day, Rafi-ush-shan stood two *kos* from the field of battle, with his army drawn up in readiness. He had been advised to stand aloof and await the result of Jahan Shah's efforts. The astrologers had also told him that in the end, the prize would fall to his lot. In this way his inaction is to be accounted for. It was now necessary to find out how the day had gone.† The patrols and scouts brought in conflicting reports ; the only thing certain was that one or other of the two parties had gained the day. At length, when about one-fourth of the night had passed, an elephant without a driver appeared in the distance. When it had been captured, it was found that within the canopy was seated one of the children of Jahan Shah with its nurse. Rafi-ush-shan re-assured the child by giving him some fruit, and from his lips the fate of the battle was learnt. The Prince then sent one of his eunuchs to Jahandar Shah with a message to the effect that he (Rafi-ush-shan) not having in any way broken the compact, what were his brother's intentions with respect to him ? On reaching the tent of Jahandar Shah, the eunuch was told that the Emperor, tired out by exertions extending over a whole day and night, had retired to rest and could not be disturbed. The messenger proceeded next to the quarters of Zulfiqar Khan, where he was met with the same excuse. He now took his

* Warid, 70; *M. U.* ii. 93; Khafi Khan, ii. 687; Mhd. Qasim, 57.

† Valentyn, iv. 293, says that, although Rafi-ush-shan had received twenty-five lakhs of Rupees to remain neutral, he attacked Jahandar Shah's rear, while Jahan Shah went against his flank. Rafi-ush-shan then kept up a cannonade all through the night.

way to Kokaltash Khan, whom he found still awake, and to him he conveyed his master's message. Kokaltash Khan, styled indignantly by Kamwar Khan a 'senseless blockhead,' called out 'Perhaps you have come to see Jahan Shah ; there they are, the corpses of father and son ; tell Rafi if he wants to fight, he will meet the same fate.' The eunuch returned and reported to his master what he had heard and seen. [Kamwar 112, Qasim 58.]

At midnight Rafi-ush-shan dismounted from his elephant and called his chief men around him for a council of war. One officer argued that as Jahandar Shah and his men were worn out, they ought to attack him at once. Others objected to fighting in the dark. No clear conclusion was arrived at. Anxious and disheartened, the Prince again ascended his elephant and waited wearily for the dawn. When day broke on the 20th Safar (28th March, 1712),* orders were given to Jahangir Quli Khan and Muin Khan to advance with the artillery and begin the action. As the sun appeared above the horizon, Fath-ullah Khan Mughal, who had received large sums from the Prince, deserted his post in the right wing and rode off to Jahandar Shah. Shamsheer Khan Qureshi, of Hansi Hisar, Afzal Khan, and other of his relations and dependents had been ordered out to reinforce him. On reaching the field, they found he had gone over to the other side, and greeted them with a volley from his swivel guns. They pulled up and took to their bows and their matchlocks, with which they replied for about the space of one hour. Shamsheer Khan and some of his relations were killed. Afzal Khan received two arrow wounds, and his son Mirza Nakki, two sword cuts.†

The Prince's choicest troops, who had been sent to the front first, having deserted, the army of Jahandar Shah, under Zabardast Khan (grandson of Ali Mardan Khan), Shakir Khan, and Hafiz Ali Khan, advanced against the centre division under Rafi-ush-shan's personal command. His troops, largely

* The 21st Safar in Mirza Muhammad, p. 135; Valentyn, 294, gives the 29th March (=21st Safar); Yahya Khan, 118a, has the 20th but gives the year 1123 H. which should be 1124 H.

† Kamwar Khan, 113; Mhd. Qasim 60; Yahya Khan, 118a.

composed of new levies, turned and fled. The few that stood fast resisted to the best of their power. Hatim Khan and Kazim Khan Najm Sani* received severe wounds, of which they finally died. Abdur-rahim Khan was wounded, and Nur Khan Afghan, who had been placed in charge of the women, hastened to his master's aid and after a valorous defence was cut down. Anup Singh Naroka and eleven of his relations were cut to pieces in front of the Prince's elephant. Finally Rafi-ush-shan, followed by Abdul-latif, his teacher, jumped from his elephant, and rushing sword in hand upon the foe, met his death bravely fighting, being shot through the heart. His army was entirely overthrown; tents, mules, horses, camels, goods of every kind were plundered. The Prince's body, accompanied by his three sons and the litters of his wives, was carried off to Jahandar Shah. For three days the latter allowed the bodies of his brothers and his nephew to lie exposed on the sands, and on the fourth day only gave orders for their interment. The three biers were despatched with that of Bahadur Shah to Dihli for interment.

* i.e., a descendant of Mirza Yar Ahmad, surnamed Najm Sani, Wazir of Ismail I. Safawi, king of Persia. He died in Ramzan 918 H. (November 1512), Beale, 290.

CHAPTER III

JAHANDAR SHAH

SEC. I.—NEW APPOINTMENTS.

All his rivals having been removed, Jahandar Shah proceeded at once to carry out his formal enthronement and proclamation as sovereign of Hindustan. Tents were erected on the battle-field outside Lahor, and on the 21st Safar 1124 H. (29th March, 1712), the day after the defeat of Rafi-ush-shan, the usual ceremonies were observed. Jahandar Shah was at the time fifty-two (lunar) years of age. His titles were Abul-fath, Muhammad Muizz-ud-din, Jahandar Shah. [Nur. 66.]

The usual re-distribution of the great offices of the State followed the coronation. Asad Khan remained, as during the reign of Bahadur Shah, *Wakil-i-mutlaq* or Vice-gerent. His son, Zulfiqar Khan, Nusrat Jang, became chief minister, with the rank of 8,000 *zat* and a gift of a large sum of money. Ali Murad Kokaltash Khan, who had been long in Jahandar Shah's service, was given the title of Khan Jahan, and appointed to be first *Bakhshi*. The office of *diwan* of the *Tan*, or assigned land revenue, was conferred on Ikhlas Khan in addition to his former office of *darogha* of the *arz mukarrar*; while Sabha Chand, secretary to Zulfiqar Khan was made a Rajah and entrusted with the post of diwan of the public revenues or *Khalsa-i-sharija*. Hidayatullah Khan (known as Wazarat Khan in the last year of Bahadur Shah) was created Sadullah Khan and made *Khan-saman* or Lord High Steward. Sayyid Raji Muhammad Khan, a Gardezi of Manikpur, subah Allahabad, who had acquired great credit by blowing up Jahan Shah's powder magazines, became *Mir Atash*, or commander of artillery. Khwaja Husain, who had married the sister of Kokaltash Khan's wife, was made Khan Dauran, and 2nd *Bakhshi*; while Muhammad Mah Zafar Khan, brother of the said Kokaltash Khan, became Azam Khan with the governorship of Agra. Lutfullah Khan Sadiq Panipati, who had been one of Jahan Shah's chief advisers, but early deserted

him and obtained pardon by a large bribe (said to have been thirty lakhs of Rupees), was now made diwan to the new Emperor's eldest son, Azz-ud-din. Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri was sent off to the subah of Kashmir, which he already held, and Zabardast Khan (with the new title of Ali Mardan Khan) was appointed to Lahor.*

SEC. 2.—EXECUTIONS AND IMPRISONMENTS.

The troops of the deceased Princes, on being refused further employment, dispersed in all directions. some thousands of them marching eastwards to Bihar and Bengal under Mir Ishaq,† (son of Amir Khan deceased). Khwaja Muzaffar, Khwaja Fakhr-ud-din, Khwaja Lutfullah and others. But all of the defeated party were not so lucky as to be thought beneath notice. Mahabat Khan, son of Munim Khan, the late Wazir, Hamid-ud-din Khan Alamgiri, Sarafraz Khan Bahadur-Shahi, Rahman Yar Khan, Ihtimam Khan, Amin-ud-din Khan Sambhali, and some others, were sent to Dihli as prisoners and their property confiscated.

Some of the prisoners did not even escape with their lives. Rustam Dil Khan, Mukhlis Khan, and Jani Khan, who had been prominent among the followers of Jahan Shah, were ordered out for execution. Jani Khan was spared on the intercession of Prince Azz-ud-din. It seems that when that Prince was a prisoner in the hands of the above-named men, as already related, word came to them that Jahan Shah was dead. Rustam Dil Khan exclaimed 'What was fated to be has happened ; and what is to be will without fail come to pass ! Let us slay Azz-ud-din and avenge the blood of Jahan Shah'. Jani Khan objected that such an act would be useless, and it would be better for them to take steps for their own safety. Accordingly the Prince was released, and he now repaid the kindness then done to him. On the other hand, Rustam Dil Khan's offences were

* Warid, 79; Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 63; Kamwar Khan, 117; and B. M. No. 1690.

† Mir Ishaq is the man afterwards famous as Amir Khan. Umdat-ul-mulk, assassinated the 23rd Zul Hijja 1159 H. (5th January, 1747). *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 839.

many. He had urged Jahan Shah to seize and kill Zulfiqar Khan ; he had used abusive language to Jahandar Shah in the battle-field and made every effort to take his life ; worst of all, when retreating from the field, he had overtaken Lal Kunwar, then fleeing for safety to Lahor, and had swept her and her retinue roughly out of his path. If Zabardast Khan had not come to her aid, there is no knowing to what indignities Lal Kunwar might not have been exposed, for Rustam Dil Khan was about to undo the tassel of pearls hanging from the sash (*izar-band*) of her trousers, when she was rescued from his hands.

What crime Mukhlis Khan had committed is not so clear. Some say that he was an object of dislike to Kokaltash Khan, and it is possible that Zulfiqar Khan may have borne him a grudge for the advice given to Jahan Khan to seize that noble. The traitor Lutfullah Khan Mughal, who deserted Rafi-ush-shan in the battle-field, is also supposed to have persuaded Jahandar Shah that his brothers would never have resisted him, if it had not been for the urgency of Rustam Dil Khan and Mukhlis Khan. The Dutch diary, which is coloured by a desire to favour Jahandar Shah, accuses both men of having entered the late Emperor's harem, where they plundered and violated some of the women.*

Rustam Dil Khan bore to the last his character for reckless bravery. When he was brought before Zulfiqar Khan, the Wazir smiled and said to him ; 'In spite of all your cleverness, what dirt have you not ended in eating!' Rustam Dil Khan laughed and retorted : 'You and I ate the same dirt out of the same tray, it agreed with you and not with me.' Zulfiqar Khan had no answer to give, but hung down his head. As the executioner cut off one limb after another, Rustam Dil Khan continued to comment freely on Jahandar Shah, Zulfiqar Khan and Kokaltash Khan, and even to the end he never flinched. As soon as breath had left the body, his mangled limbs and the headless trunk of Mukhlis Khan were hung to the wayside trees. The confiscated property of Rustam Dil Khan, said to have

*Warid, 83; Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 62; Yahya Khan, 118b (as to Jani Khan); *Siyar-ul-mutakherin*, i. 33; Briggs, 42; Valentyn, iv. 294. Anon. Fragment B. M. Or. 3613, fol. 16a.

amounted in value to twelve lakhs of Rupees, was granted to Abdus-samad Khan. [Warid 85, Nur. 71.]

SEC. 3.—ABDUS-SAMAD KHAN, SKETCH OF HIS CAREER.

The history of Abdus-samad Khan, who in the reign of Farrukh-siyar assumed a more leading position, is a striking instance of the vicissitudes to which such soldiers of fortune were subject. He was a native of Samarqand, descended from the Naqshbandi saint Abdullah Ahrar,* and had served long in the Dakhin during Alamgir's reign without attracting any great notice. In Bahadur Shah's reign he came more to the front and strengthened his position by forming a marriage connection with the powerful Mughal family represented by Muhammad Amin Khan Chin. One day, towards the end of Bahadur Shah's reign, Abdus-samad Khan pressed his claims on Prince Azim-ush-shan, who was then all-powerful. The Prince disliked the man and gave an evasive answer. Abdus-samad Khan lost his temper and used disrespectful language. On a complaint to Bahadur Shah, Abdus-samad Khan was ejected from the imperial camp and ordered to start on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Reduced to the one horse he himself rode, he left the camp with his wife and family and halted at a little distance, hoping to negotiate a loan to pay his travelling expenses. These efforts had met with little success, when suddenly Bahadur Shah passed away and the contest for the throne began. Zulfiqar Khan knew that Abdus-samad Khan was a brave soldier, and his recent quarrel with Azim-ush-shan made him a still more fitting instrument for the coming struggle. He was therefore sent for and given the rank of 7,000 and

* Khwaja Nasir-ud-din Abdullah, son of Mahmud, son of Shahab-ud-din Ahrar, a descendant of Khwaja Muhammad Baqi of Baghdad. At first he lived in Shash (now Tashkand). His mother was a descendant of Shaikh Umar of Baghistan, which is a village belonging to Tashkand. Shaikh Umar is descended in the 16th generation from Abdullah, son of Umar, son of Alkhitab Khalifa Sani. Ahrar left Tashkand for Samarqand and Bukhara, and dying on the 29th Rabi I. 895 H. (20th Feb. 1490), aged 89, was buried at Samarqand. *Khazinat-ul-asfiya*, i. 582-585, Beale, 5 (Abdullah) and 275, where he spells *Ubidullah*, and gives the date as Rabi II. 896 H. (Feb. 1491).

placed in command of Jahandar Shah's vanguard. From this time his fortunes were made. [Warid, 124a.]

SEC. 4.—DEATH OF PRINCE MUHAMMAD KARIM.

The hiding place of Muhammad Karim, eldest son of Azim-ush-shan, was soon discovered. After a short time, his resources being exhausted, he was forced to make over a valuable jewel to the poor weaver in whose house he was hidden, with orders to pawn it and buy food. The value of the jewel led to the man being questioned, and in the end he disclosed the secret. The news reached Hidayat Kesh, a converted Hindu who was *waqia-nigar-i-kul*, or head of the central news-office. This man made Muhammad Karim a prisoner and produced him before Jahandar Shah, by whom he was transferred to Zulfiqar Khan. He was executed two days afterwards at that noble's quarters. They say that the wretched Prince asked with tears for a little bread and water, having been three days without food. No attention was paid to his request. After his head had been severed from his body, the corpse was buried at the mausoleum of the Emperor Jahangir, which is on the further or right bank of the Ravi.*

SEC. 5.—THE COURT MOVES TO DIHLI—DESPATCH OF AZZ-UD-DIN TO AGRA.

The Court now started from Lahor on its return to Dihli. Jahandar Shah left the banks of the Ravi on the 25th Rabi I. 1124 H. (May 1st, 1712); he entered Dihli on the 18th Jamadi I. (June 22nd, 1712).† During the march a rumour was heard that Farrukh-siyar, the second son of the late Azim-ush-shan,

* Mhd. Qasim, 52, 62; Warid, 63, 64; Kamwar Khan, 114; Khafi Khan, ii. 688. The Dutch account, Valentyn, iv. 294, here as elsewhere favourable to Jahandar Shah, asserts that the young Prince was at first pardoned, but soon afterwards executed on the complaint of Kokaltash Khan 'to whom he had addressed foul language, and on account of his other debaucheries.' Valentyn gives a portrait of him.

† Valentyn, 297, says the march began on the 10th May, which corresponds with the 4th Rabi, II. B. M. No. 1690 fol. 160a, states that they left Lahor city on the 26th Rabi, I. Khafi Khan, ii. 718, and B. M. 1690, fol. 160a, say the entry into Dihli took place on the 17th Jamadi I.

had left Bengal and arrived at Patna with the intention of contesting the new Emperor's right to the throne. Jahandar Shah treated the idea as ridiculous, saying that any one of the *faujdar*s would be sufficient to defeat such a feeble foe. Still, as a precaution, the eldest Prince, Azz-ud-din, was placed at the head of some troops and sent to Agra, there to watch the course of events. A large sum of money, said to be nine *krors* of Rupees, was disbursed to him on the 15th Jamadi II. (19th July, 1712), for this purpose. His force is estimated by Khafi Khan at 50,000 men. As he was young and inexperienced, and had shown not only signs of discontent at his father's conduct, but also dislike of Lal Kunwar, he was not trusted with the real command. He was placed under the tutelage of two men (1) Khwaja Husain Khan Dauran, brother-in-law of Kokaltash Khan,* and (2) Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, the Prince's own *diwan*. These appointments were made in opposition to the advice of Zulfiqar Khan, Kokaltash Khan taking the whole responsibility. Neither of the men had any experience of war, Khan Dauran had never been in a battle, and as the event proved, no more incompetent leaders could have been selected. As has been wisely said, Jahandar Shah forgot the maxim, 'Place no man at the head of an army, unless he has been in many a battle.'†

It was while the Court was at Sarai Dauraha, between Lahor and Sarhind, on its progress towards Dihli, that Mirza Rafi Sarbuland Khan, brother-in-law of the late Azim-ush-shan, presented himself with five or six thousand men. Azim-ush-shan had procured for him the appointment of *faujdar* at Karra Manikpur in the Allahabad province. But forgetting all his obligations, as soon as he heard the result of the late struggle, instead of waiting to assist his patron's son, Farrukh-siyar, he collected all the revenue that he could, some ten to twelve lakhs of Rupees, and started for the camp of Jahandar Shah.

* The printed text of Khafi Khan, ii. 697, calls him the *nabirah* (grand-son), of Kokaltash Khan, probably a misprint for *yaznah*, (brother-in-law.)

† *Sipah ra ma-kun pesh-ru juz kase, Kih dar jangha badah bashad base. Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 93; Ijad, 15; Mirza Mhd. 141; Khafi Khan, ii. 697, 700, 712, 715; Valentyn, iv. 299.

There, through the intervention of Niamat Khan, a brother of Lal Kunwar, and that of Khan Jahan Kokaltash Khan, he received the governorship of Ahmadabad Gujarat, without the *Wazir*, Zulfiqar Khan, having been consulted. [K. K. 715, Ijad 49 a.]

SEC. 6.—JAHANDAR SHAH'S LIFE AT DIHLI.

The next five months from July to December, until the Emperor marched from Dihli towards Agra, were given up to dissipation. As the proverb says 'Mad already, he has now taken to eating hemp.' [M. U. ii. 93.] Dihli for a time fell under the dominion of the Lord of Misrule. Grand illuminations took place three times in every month. In consequence of the extensive illuminations, so much oil was used that it rose to be half a *sir* weight to the Rupee; then, all the oil being expended, they had recourse to clarified butter until it, too, ceased to be procurable. Grain also grew very dear; not more than seven or eight *sirs* weight being procurable for a Rupee. One day some porters came from the other side of the Jamuna with head loads of grain. Lal Kunwar, who was looking out of the latticed window in the Saman Burj (or bastion) of the palace, sent for one of these men and asked him 'What have you given for this grain?' He replied 'Five or six Rupees.' She exclaimed, 'Praise be to God! things are still so cheap! Please the Lord Most High, I will bring the rate to five or six *sirs* for that amount of money.' From this may be judged what ideas prevailed in other State affairs. Another day Jahandar Shah and Lal Kunwar were on the roof of the palace, watching what was going on upon the river. A boat full of men crossed over. The favourite said 'I have never seen a boat-load of men go down.' A hint was enough. Boatmen were ordered out with a boat-load of passengers, and the favourite's wish to see the wretched drowning people struggling in the water was at once gratified.*

* Khush-hal Chand, 390b. As to the drowning, Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 46b, says that Zulfiqar Khan forbade it. The same story is told of Fazl Ali Khan, *amil* of Ghazipur Oldham, i. 93.

During these months the fiddlers and drummers, who were Lal Kunwar's brothers and relations, swaggered through the streets, committing every sort of outrage. Lal Kunwar was dignified with the title of *Imtiyaz Mahal*, Chosen of the Palace, and immense treasures, the spoils from Azim-ush-shan's and Jahan Shah's camps, were made over to her. Her whole family was ennobled, father, brothers, and brothers-in-law. Her middle brother was the most oppressive of all to the people. All the brothers were granted the *naubat*, or the right to play music at stated intervals, and the use of kettle-drums when on the march. Their titles were Niamat Khan, Namdar Khan, and Khanazad Khan. Some of the finest confiscated mansions in the city were given to them, and as Kamwar Khan says, 'the owl dwelt in the eagle's nest, and the crow took the place of the nightingale.' [Kamwar 119, Yahya 119 a.]

To this period belongs the story of Niamat Khan *Kalawant's** appointment to the *subah* of Multan. The Emperor signified his pleasure to the Wazir, but there was an unaccountable delay in the issue of the usual patent. The nominee at length presented himself to Zulfiqar Khan and made enquiry. The Wazir replied, with all gravity, that it was a well-known rule of every public office to issue no patent without a fee in cash. As he wished to be obliging, he would not ask for cash, but since he had need of them, would take instead one thousand guitars.† The stupid fellow, not seeing the ironical nature of this reply, worked his hardest and in a week sent as many as two hundred guitars to Zulfiqar Khan. The Wazir insisted upon delivery of the full number. Niamat Khan complained to His Majesty of the excessive bribe demanded from him. Jahandar Shah, when next he saw the Wazir, asked him the reason of collecting so many guitars. The answer was that when musicians were sent to govern provinces, nobles must discard their weapons and learn to play on the guitar.

* *Kalawant*—These are the male members of the professional singer class; the women sing and dance, the men play the accompaniments.

† *Tanbur*, a long-necked guitar, see figure on plate opposite p. 114 of *Ghunchah-i-rag*, (Nawal Kishor Press, Lakhnau, 1863).

This remonstrance induced Jahandar Shah to cancel the appointment.*

Among other wild freaks, an order was given to cut down all the lofty trees from the palace to the hunting preserve called Jahan-numa. Khush-hal Chand, a rare instance of an Indian taking notice of the beauty of natural objects, laments over the wanton destruction of the 'spreading trees, with heads reaching the sky, the refuge and solace of the weary, foot-sore, traveller, the abode of far-flying and sweet-singing birds. Throughout Dihli and its environs it was for the trees like the coming of Judgment Day; and the trees on the two banks of the Faiz canal, planted by Emperors of high emprise, ceasing to raise their heads to Heaven, received wounds in the garment of their existence, and fell into the dust of degradation and disgrace.' [Khush-hal, 389 b.]

Gifts were showered upon Lal Kunwar and her friends. It is said that an annual allowance of two *lacs* of Rupees (about £2,000,000 sterling) was made for her household expenses, exclusive of clothes and jewels. She was allowed to display the imperial umbrella and to march, with drums beating, as if she had been the Emperor in person. One writer says the days of Nur Jahan Begam were revived for her; that coins were issued in her name as they had been in that of Jahangir's favourite wife. Such coins of Lal Kunwar, if ever issued, have not come down to us. Low persons, such as Zuhara, a woman who kept a vegetable stall, were promoted to high rank and received valuable jagirs. There are many stories of the insolent conduct of these low-born favourites. One day Chin Qilich Khan (afterwards Nizam-ul-mulk), then living at Dihli without employment, was passing in his *palki* through a narrow street, when he was met by Zuhara on an elephant, followed by a long train of servants. The Khan's small retinue was hustled out of the way by the woman's followers, and as she passed she cried out, 'Is that the blind man's son?'† By the Khan's

* Warid, 80; Khush-hal Chand, 389b. Valentyn, 299, places the event on the 25th July (=19th Jamadi II.) and his details differ slightly.

† His father, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, although in active military

orders his men pulled her rudely from her elephant. Complaint was made to the Emperor through Lal Kunwar, and Zulfiqar Khan received orders to punish the Nawab. Zulfiqar Khan, who had been previously spoken to by Chin Qilich Khan, objected to the order as likely to cause wide-spread disaffection among the nobles. The matter then dropped. [Scott, ii. Pt. iv. 81, *Sigar* 48.]

Lal Kunwar herself was the cause of an estrangement between the Emperor and his aunt, Zinat-un-nissa Begam, daughter of Alamgir. This Princess had refused to visit or acknowledge the new favourite, who in her rage loaded the royal lady with the most opprobrious epithets. At his mistress' instigation the Emperor ceased to visit his aunt, and refused her invitation to an entertainment, because Lal Kunwar had not been asked to it. Again, as she did not like the Emperor's two younger sons, Azz-ud-daulah and Muizz-ud-daulah, their father refused to see them and sent them to prison. [Scott, 83; Yahya, 119 a.]

Jahandar Shah and his concubine, in defiance of etiquette, often visited the markets together, seated in a bullock carriage, making at the shops such purchases as took their fancy. One night after a day spent in debauchery and in visits to various gardens round the city, they entered the house of a spirit-seller, a friend of Lal Kunwar. There they drank till they were intoxicated. On their leaving, the woman owning the shop was rewarded with a sum of money and a grant of the revenue of a village. During the journey home they both fell asleep, and, on reaching the palace, Lal Kunwar was taken out by her women and carried to her room. The driver of the *rath*,* who had also shared in the carouse, made no inspection of it and left it at the stable. The Emperor's absence began to cause alarm to the officers of the palace. He was not to be found in Lal Kunwar's apartments, and on her direction the *rath* was

employ was blind during the last twenty-three years of his life (*Masir-ul-umara* ii. 875).

* *Rath*, a four-wheeled carriage, with canopy, drawn by two oxen, and much used in Upper India.

examined. There the Emperor was found fast asleep, nearly two miles from the palace. Khush-hal Chand quotes, as applying to Jahandar Shah when he woke and knew not where he was, the lines :—A drunk man is so happy that at the Resurrection he asks 'Who am I, who are you, and what place is this?'

Another instance of utter abandonment of decorum was the fact that acting on the popular belief, Jahandar Shah bathed every Sunday in company with Lal Kunwar, both naked as they were born, in the tank at the shrine of Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Oudhi, commonly called the Chiragh-i-Dihli (or Lamp of Dihli), in the hope that his saintly intercession might bless them with offspring. It is necessary for attaining this object to bathe at this place naked every Sunday for forty weeks.* We are also told of what he did once on a visit to the shrine of Qutb-ud-din. Near it is an eminence ending in a rock, with smooth, slippery face, sloping down to the plain ; and here the street boys of Dihli amused themselves by climbing the rock and rolling over and over down the polished surface to the ground. Seeing them at this game, Jahandar Shah must needs do the same ! It should be remembered that he was at this time, not a youth, but a man over fifty years of age.†

Nightly the low musicians gathered at the palace to drink in the Emperor's company. When these men became drunk they would kick and cuff Jahandar Shah and shout in a drunken way. Jahandar Shah, in spite of his long experience of the world, and all the training he had received from his grandfather and father, bore with these insults for fear of offending Lal Kunwar.‡ As for things forbidden by the Law, there was

* Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Oudhi, Chiragh-i-Dihli, (a Chishtî), grandson of Abdul-latif Yazdi. His father Yahya, a Husaini Sayyid, was born at Lahor. The Shaikh was born in Oudh, and died 18th Ramzan 757 H. (14th Sept. 1359), though some say the 13th (9th Sept.) is correct. Another authority has 752 H. (1351-2). The shrine lies about 7 miles south of new Dihli (Shahjahanabad), *Khazinat-ul-asfiya*, i. 353.

† Khush-hal Chand, 390a; Iradat Khan in J. Scott, ii. part iv, 82,83. Also as to the bathing see Kamwar Khan, 120, and Kamraj *Ibratnama*, 46b. Muhammad Qasim Aurangabadi, in *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, fol. 46b, has another version of the Qutb story, where a rocking stone near the shrine is rocked.

‡ This story is also in the Dutch diary, where it is assigned to the 17th July 1712, Valentyn, iv. 298.

no longer any restraint ; and the habits of the Court becoming known, all respect for, or fear of, the sovereign ceased. When the Emperor went abroad to hunt or for recreation, not a single noble attended, nor was he followed by any armed force. [Kamwar, 120.]

Zulfiqar Khan, the *Wazir*, imitated his master's example and devolved his duties on a favourite Hindu subordinate, Sabha Chand, a Khatri, lately made a Rajah, a man whose harshness and bad temper were notorious. Zulfiqar Khan's former liberality was changed into niggardliness, he hindered men in their promotion instead of helping them, and the falsity of his promises and assurances became a bye-word. Partisans as well as opponents were dissatisfied with him. In short, as the Eastern saying runs, 'As the king, so the *Wazir*,' or as we English say, 'Like master, like man.'

To add to the other sources of weakness and disorder, a feud arose between Zulfiqar Khan, the chief minister, and Ali Murad Khan Jahan Kokaltash Khan, foster-brother of the Emperor and now *Amir-ul-umara*, or second minister. For forty years, ever since they were children together, Jahandar Shah had been promising Ali Murad that when he succeeded to the throne he, his foster-brother, should be his *Wazir*. Khan Jahan, and more especially his female relations, resented his supersession by Zulfiqar Khan, although under the circumstances of the case, such supersession was obviously unavoidable. In their jealousy of each other, whatever was proposed by the one was opposed by the other. Contrary to the *Wazir*'s advice, Khan Dauran, Khan Jahan's brother-in-law, was sent in command of the troops against Farrukh-siyar. In the same way, Sarbuland Khan was presented through Khan Jahan and appointed to a governorship, acts which lay solely within the competence of the chief minister. It was while the central Government at Dihli was in this disorganized condition that a claimant to the throne appeared in the person of Muhammad Farrukh-siyar, the second but eldest surviving son of the late Azim-ush-shan, and to his story we must now turn our attention.*

* Yahya Khan, 119a, says the news of Farrukh-siyar's advance was

SEC. 7.—MUHAMMAD FARRUKH-SIYAR, HIS EARLY HISTORY, AND ARRIVAL AT PATNA.

Muhammad Farrukh-siyar, the second son of Azim-ush-shan, was born at Aurangabad in the Dakhin, on the 9th Ramzan 1094 H. (11th Sept. 1683) ; and was now in his thirty-first (lunar) year. In his infancy he was sent to Dihli, but brought back to the Dakhin in 1105 H. (Sept. 1693—August, 1694), in his tenth year ; and after three years spent with his great-grandfather, Alamgir, he accompanied his father, Azim-ush-shan first to Agra and thence to Bengal. In the last year of his reign, Alamgir recalled his grandson, Azim-ush-shan, from Bengal, giving him orders to leave his eldest son, Muhammad Karim, in charge of Bihar and his second son, Farrukh-siyar, in Bengal. The young Prince passed some years at Dacca, then the capital of the Bengal province ; but in the reign of Bahadur Shah (1707-1712), he moved to Murshidabad, where he occupied the palace in Lal Bagh. He subsequently moved to Raj Mahal, higher up and on the other side of the Ganges. Azim-ush-shan, anticipating a struggle for the throne at an early date, called on Farrukh-siyar to return to Court. Bengal had been made over to Izz-ud-daulah, Khan Alam (son of Khan Jahan Kokaltash Alamgiri). Farrukh-siyar was on the march and not far from Azimabad Patna, when on the 7th Safar 1124 H. (15th March 1712) he heard of Bahadur Shah's death, and on the 13th (21st March), without waiting for further information, he proclaimed his father's accession and caused coin to be stamped and the public prayer or *khutba* to be read in his name. He decided to march no further. Some say that astrologers, on whom he placed great reliance, had prophesied his accession to the throne at Patna and advised him not to leave it until that happy event had occurred. On the 29th Safar (6th April 1712) he heard of his father's defeat and death. For a little time the Prince contemplated suicide, but his friends dissuaded him, some counselling a retreat upon Bengal, others an advance into the Dakhin. One rumour which reached Dihli was that

received in Shawwal (31st Oct.—28th Novr. 1712). Other accounts say 'about the end of the rainy season', i.e. 1st—15th October.

Farrukh-siyar intended to leave Bengal and take refuge in flight by way of the sea. In the end his mother intervened and incited him to try the issue of a contest in the field.* Thereupon, with such state as he could command, he performed the ceremonies of enthronement in the *bagh* or garden known as Afzal Khan's, and proclaimed his succession to the Empire, issuing coin and causing the *khutba* to be read in his own name.†

No rasher enterprize was ever entered upon. Farrukh-siyar had been no favourite with his father and grandfather, and had been without authority or wealth during their life-time. It was only with reluctance that he had decided to obey his father's order to come to Court. He arrived at Patna with no more than four hundred followers, and there pitched his camp near the garden of Jafar Khan at the eastern extremity of the city. At first, when he came forward to claim the throne, none of the many nobles on whom Azim-ush-shan had heaped so many favours would espouse his cause. Most of them declared themselves on the side of Jahandar Shah. Murshid Quli Khan, diwan of Bengal, refused to move; nor was this so much to be wondered at, for great jealousy had existed between him and Azim-ush-shan from the first appointment of the latter to Bengal. An attempt was made by Farrukh-siyar to supersede Murshid Quli Khan by the despatch from Patna of a new subahdar, Rashid Khan, whose fate will be recounted when we come to the history of the provinces in Farrukh-siyar's reign.‡

We have already mentioned the defection of Sarbuland Khan. He had risen to position through his connection by marriage with Azim-ush-shan. On his falling under Bahadur

* If he launched his boat on stormy waters it would, if God were gracious, reach the bank in safety. After all, what was life but a matter of a few days? Why not run the risk? (Her speech.)

† Ijad, 14a; 39b, 40a; Stewart, *History of Bengal*, 382; Gladwin, *Transactions*, 94; Khafi Khan, ii. 707, 708; Kamwar Khan, entry of 27th Rabi I. 1123 H.; Warid, 139b; Yahya Khan, 119a. I have heard of a curious Hindi poem, on Farrukh-siyar's advance from Patna and victory over Jahandar Shah, by Sri Dhar (alias Murli Dhar), *kabi*, of Allahabad.

‡ Khafi Khan, ii. 707, 708; Ijad, 47b, 51a; Stewart, 384; Gladwin, *Transactions*, 33. 97, 98.

Shah's displeasure, Azim-ush-shan gave him refuge and made over to him Sahenda (in Bundelkhand) and other parganas of the Prince's jagir, as a means of support. The understanding between them was that if any great crisis arose, he should march at the head of three or four thousand men with a large amount of treasure that had been confided to his care. Sarbuland Khan acted in direct opposition to all his promises.* Another noble who was under equal obligations to the late Azim-ush-shan was Khan Jahan Bahadur (otherwise Izz-ud-daulah Khan Alam), son of Khan Jahan Kokaltash Alamgiri.† He was a man of the most insufferable pride, who made enemies wherever he went. In the early part of Bahadur Shah's reign he lived at Dihli without employment. When that Emperor was passing near Dihli on his return from the Dakhin, Khan Jahan was sent for to Court. Neither the Emperor nor the Princes were well disposed towards him. Wherever he turned, no smile greeted him, no brow smoothed its wrinkles. The Emperor refused even to read his petitions, owing to the disrespectful language in which they were couched. At length, Azim-ush-shan had pity on him, and after some exertion, the *subah* of Orissa was granted to him, with the office of deputy under the Prince in Bengal. This man was received in audience by Farrukh-siyar at the town of Surajgarh, in *sarkar* Farrukhabad (or Munger) of *subah* Bihar.‡ All honour was done to him. The Prince's

* His biography is in *M. U.* iii. 801. He was born c. 1085 H. (1674), and died 1154 H. (19th Jan., 1742), *T-i-Mhdi*. In the *Hadiqat-ul-aqalim*, 131, we are told that Shaikh Allahyar, the author's father, tried to persuade Sarbuland Khan that gratitude required him to join Farrukh-siyar. The author mentions a village, *Bani*, or *Topi*, in Kora, as the jagir of Azim-ush-shan, which was then in S. B. K's charge. He had been sent as naib to Bengal in the 2nd year of B. Shah. There he quarrelled with Zia-ullah Khan (son of Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri), the *diwan*, and was recalled. Then in the 3rd year of B. S. he was sent to the charge of Kora, where Azim-ush-shan had his *jagir* (B. M. Or. No. 1690).

† His biography is in *M. U.* iii. 949, under his former title of Sipahdar Khan. His name was Mhd. Muhsin. B. c. 1064 H. (1653-4) d. 1130 H. (Oct. Nov. 1718).

‡ Surajgarh, a *mahal* in *sarkar* Munger (*Ain*, ii. 155), on the right bank of the Ganges 20 m.w. of Munger (Thornton. 929).

chief man, Ahmad Beg (afterwards Ghazi-ud-din Khan Ghalib Jang), was sent to escort him, a rich *khlilat* was conferred on him, his sons, and his chief companions. At the time of his leaving, Khan Jahan made loud promises that he would help. But he took no steps in that direction. Then one Muhammad Raza, who had been deputy-governor in Orissa, before the appointment of Khan Jahan, went off to Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) to visit that noble on the pretence of further negotiation. In the end, on one pretext or another, neither one nor the other appeared again.* Ali Asghar Khan,† son of Kar Talab Khan Ansari, who had been made *faujdar* of Etawa (subah Agra), and Chabela Ram Nagar, then *faujdar* of Karra Manikpur, subah Allahabad,‡ showed no eagerness to take up the Prince's cause. There remained only the two brothers, Hasan Ali Khan (Abdullah Khan) and Husain Ali Khan, Sayyids of Barha, who owed to Azim-ush-shan the Governments of Allahabad and Bihar, which they then held. [Ijad, 59b—60a ; K. K. 715.]

SEC. 8.—ACCOUNT OF THE BARHA SAYYIDS.

The Sayyids of Barha claim to be descended from Abul-farah, of Wasit in Mesopotamia. Several hundred years ago, at a date which cannot be fixed exactly, Abul-farah and his twelve sons came from Wasit to India, settling at first in four villages near Patiala, in the *sarkar* of Sarhind and subah of Dihli. From these villages the four branches, into which they are divided, derive their names.§ Then crossing the Jamuna,

* At Dihli on the 27th September 1712 (26th Shaban 1124 H.), it was reported that Khan Jahan Bahadur and Murshid Quli Khan were marching to Patna to reinforce Azz-ud-din against Farrukh-siyar, (Valentyn, iv. 301). This report was quite unfounded.

† See *M. U.* i. 829-832, under his subsequent title of Khan Zaman B., born c. 1085 H. (1674-5), d. 4th Zul Hijja 1155 H. (29th Jan., 1743), *T-i-Mhd.*

‡ For C. R. see *M. U.* ii. 328. Daya Bahadur was killed on Azim-ush-shan's side at Lahor in Safar 1124 H. (March 1712).

§ Chat-Banur is still a large town. Kundli has a few huts, Tihanpur is a petty hamlet, Jagner uninhabited, (Alan Cadell, *Proc. As., Soc. Bengal*, 1871, p. 261). I find Chat and Banur, two separate places in the n.e. of the Patiala territory, on sheet No. 47 of the *Indian Atlas*; the former about 16 m. n. and the latter 12 m.n.n.w. of Ambala city.

they formed a settlement on the eastern side of the upper Duaba, half way between Mirat and Saharanpur, in a sandy, unproductive piece of country, possibly at that time very sparsely inhabited. The etymology of the name *Barha* is disputed; perhaps it is from the word *bara* (twelve), with some allusion to the number of their villages.* From the time of Akbar, the men of this clan of Sayyids were famous as military leaders, and by their bravery had acquired a traditional right to lead the vanguard of the imperial troops. Until the reign of Farrukh-siyar they seem to have been little distinguished outside the profession of arms, and judging from what we know of their descendants in the present age, they probably had little love of learning. Brave, proud, lavish, they always were; and in our day, when their swords have been perforce beaten into pruning hooks, they have succumbed only too completely before the wily money-lender. In Muzaffarnagar many is the story current of the 'Sayyid Sahib's' reckless improvidence and ignorance of the commonest rule of business. In the 18th century a *Barha ka ahmaq*, or 'Barha blockhead', was a common saying, and there was a rhyme to the effect that all the asses there were Bahadurs, and all the Bahadurs, asses. [S. M. iii. 441.]

The two Sayyid brothers, who now come into such prominence, were not the mere upstarts, men of yesterday, that it was too often the fashion to make them out to be.† Besides the prestige of Sayyid lineage, of descent from the famous Barha branch of that race, and the personal renown acquired by their own valour, they were the sons of a man who had held

* There seems to be no town or village in the Sayyids' country, or connected with them, bearing the name of Barha. Sir H. M. Elliot (*Supp. Glossary*, 110) speaks of the town of Barha as one plundered by Safdar Jang in 1748. On a subject so peculiarly his own, it is dangerous to contest any of that writer's statements, but unless I am much mistaken, the place so plundered was really Marahra (now in the Etah district), which lay in the course of Safdar Jang's march from Dihli to Farrukhabad, and also contains a well-known colony of Sayyids. Elphinstone (4th ed. p. 650) makes the same mistake. The *Siyar-ul-mutakherin*, Calcutta printed text, ii. 32; has, however, *Marahra* plainly enough. The error, no doubt, began with Mustapha, *Siyar*, iii. 83, who reads "Barr."

† For instance, see Khafi Khan's remarks, ii. 730.

in Alamgir's reign first the subahdari of Bijapur in the Dakhin and then that of Ajmer, appointments given in that reign either to Princes of the blood or to the very foremost men in the State. Their father, Sayyid Abdullah Khan, known as Sayyid Miyan, had risen in the service of Ruhullah Khan, Alamgir's *Mir Bakhsbi*, and finally, on receiving an imperial *mansab*, attached himself to the eldest Prince Muhammad Muazzam Shah Alam.

Hasan Ali Khan (afterwards Abdullah Khan Qutb-ul-mulk) and Husain Ali Khan, two of the numerous sons of Abdullah Khan Sayyid Miyan were now men of about forty-six and forty-four years of age respectively.* About 1109 H. (1697-8) the elder brother was *faujdar* of Sultanpur Nazarbar in Baglana, subah Khandesh, after that, of Siuni Hoshangabad also in Khandesh, then again of Nazarbar coupled with Thalner in *sarkar* Asir of the same subah. Subsequently he obtained charge of Aurangabad. The younger brother Husain Ali Khan, who is admitted by every one to have been a man of much greater energy and resolution than his elder brother, had in Alamgir's reign held charge first of Rantambhor, in subah Ajmer, and then of Hindaun Biana, in subah Agra.

After Prince Muizz-ud-din, the eldest of Shah Alam's sons, had been appointed in 1106 H. (1694-5) to the charge of the Multan province, Hasan Ali Khan and his brother followed him there. In an expedition against a refractory Biluch zamin-dar, the Sayyids were of opinion that the honours of the day were theirs. Muizz-ud-din thought otherwise, and assigned them to his then favourite Isa Khan Main. The Sayyids quitted the service in dudgeon and repaired to Lahor, where they lived in comparative poverty, waiting for employment from Munim Khan, the *nazim* of that place.†

* If, as Rien, 783, suggests, two of the portraits in B. M. Add. 18,800 are those of the Sayyid brothers, they were rather short men of a burly build, both with rather large heads and prominent noses, that of H. A. K. being especially beak-like. They have close-cropped beards, that of the elder brother quite white, the other's still a little black at the corners of the mouth.

† *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 130; Khafi Khan, ii. 456; Warid, 90, 91. For Baglana see *Ain*, ii. 208 and *M* 414. Akbar (*Ain* l. c.) placed

When Alamgir died and Shah Alam, Bahadur Shah, reached Lahor on his march to Agra to contest the throne, the Sayyids presented themselves, and their services were gladly accepted. They were (Safar 1119 H. May 1707) promoted to the rank of 3,000 and 2,000 horse, respectively, with a gift of kettle-drums. In the battle of Jajau on the 18th Rabi I. 1119 H. (18th June 1707), they served in the vanguard and fought valiantly on foot, as was the Sayyid habit on an emergency. A third brother, Nur-ud-din Ali Khan, was left dead on the field, and Husain Ali Khan was severely wounded. Though their rank was raised in Zul Qada 1119 H. (Feb. 1708) to 4,000, and the elder brother received his father's title of Abdullah Khan, they were not treated with such favour as their exceptional services seemed to deserve, either by the new Emperor or his Wazir.*

The two Sayyids managed to quarrel with Khanazad Khan, the Wazir's second son, and though the breach was healed by a visit to them from the Wazir in person, there is little doubt that this difference helped to keep them out of employment. Husain Ali Khan is also said to have offended Muizz-ud-din Jahandar Shah. The morning after the battle of Jajau, the Prince visited their quarters to condole with them on the death of their brother, Nur-ud-din Ali Khan, and in so doing launched out into praises of their valour. Husain Ali Khan met these overtures in an aggressive manner, saying that what they had done was nothing, many had done as much, their valour would be known when their lord was deserted and alone, and the strength of their right arm had seated him on the throne. Muizz-ud-din was vexed by this speech, and refrained from

Nazarbar in subah Malwa. It was transferred again to the Khandesh subah about 1609, *Bom. Gaz.* xii. 458, where the name is given Nandurbar. Sultanpur is a town to the n. e. of Nandurbar town, *ibid* 471. Thalner, an ancient town in Khandesh, situated on the Tapti, 28 m. n. e. of Dhulia, *ibid*, 473. Siuni and Hoshangabad are two well-known districts in the Central Provinces, *C. P. Gaz.* 206 and 468. As to Muizz-ud-din's dealings with the Biloch tribes, see *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 432 (year 1112 H.), *ibid*, 470, (year 1114 H.); Khafi Khan, ii. 462, 463; Khush-hal Chand, 392a; Warid, pp. 86-88 (my copy, episodical account introduced in reign of Mhd. Shah). Also *M. U.* i. 825, 826, under Khuda Yar Khan Lethi.

* Khafi Khan, ii. 575; Kamwar Khan, 20; *M. U.* i. 321, iii. 130.

making any recommendation to his father in their favour. Nay, he did his best to prevent their obtaining lucrative employment, and we read of their being obliged to rely upon the Emperor's bounty for their travelling expenses, which were necessarily great, as they were kept in attendance on the Court while it was constantly on the march.*

In Shaban 1120 H. (Oct. 1708) Abdullah Khan had been named to the subah of Ajmer, then in a disturbed state owing to the Rajput rising, a condition of things with which Sayyid Shujaat Khan seemed hardly capable of dealing. Sayyid Abdullah Khan had barely more than reached Dihli, in order to raise new troops and make other preparations, when the Emperor, Bahadur Shah, changed his mind and Shujaat Khan was received again into favour and maintained in his Government. At length, by the favour of Prince Azim-ush-shan, Abdullah Khan on the 21st Zul Qada 1122 H. (10th Jan. 1711) became that Prince's deputy in the province of Allahabad. About two years earlier (11th Muharram 1120 H., 1st April 1708), the same patron had nominated the younger brother Husain Ali Khan, to represent him in another of his Governments, that of Bihar, of which the capital was at Azimabad Patna.

SEC. 9.—HUSAIN ALI KHAN ESPOUSES FARRUKH-SIYAR'S CAUSE.

When Farrukh-siyar first arrived at Azimabad, Husain Ali Khan was away on an expedition, apparently the recapture of Ruhtas fort, which about this time had been seized by one Muhammad Raza, Rayat Khan. The Sayyid had felt annoyed on hearing that Farrukh-siyar had issued coin and caused the *khutba* to be read in his father, Azim-ush-shan's, name, without waiting to learn the result of the impending struggle at Lahor. Thus on his return to his head-quarters his first impulse was to decline altogether that Prince's overtures. In truth, no attempt could well look more hopeless than that upon which Farrukh-siyar wished to enter. The Prince's mother now hazarded a

* *Akhbarat* or news-letters, dated 24th Zul Hijja 1119 H. (16th March 1708); Tod MSS. in Royal Asiatic Society's Library, (Morley, cxxxiii). Warid, 91.

private visit to the Sayyid's mother, taking with her her little grand-daughter.* Her arguments rested on the fact that the Sayyid's position was due to the kindness of the Prince's father. That father, two brothers, and two uncles had been killed, and the Prince's own means were insufficient for any enterprize. Let Husain Ali Khan then choose his own course, either let him aid Farrukh-siyar to recover his rights and revenge his father's death, or else let him place the Prince in chains and send him a prisoner to Jahandar Shah. Here the Prince's mother and daughter bared their heads and wept aloud. Overcome by their tears, the Sayyida called her son within the harem. The little girl fell bare-headed at his feet and implored his aid. His mother told him that whatever was the result he would be a gainer: if defeated, his name would stand recorded as a hero till Judgment Day; if successful, the whole of Hindustan would be at their feet, and above them none but the Emperor. Finally she exclaimed, 'If you adhere to Jahandar Shah, you will have to answer before the Great Judge for disavowing your mother's claim upon you.' At these words Husain Ali Khan took up the women's veils and replaced them on their heads swearing a binding oath that he would espouse the Prince's cause. The next night Farrukh-siyar presented himself at the Khan's house, saying that he had come either to be seized and sent to Jahandar Shah, or to enter into an agreement for the recovery of the throne. The Sayyid bound himself finally to fight on Farrukh-siyar's behalf. He wrote at once to his elder brother, Abdullah Khan, at Allahabad, inviting him to join the same side, and Farrukh-siyar addressed a *farman* to him making many promises, and authorizing him to expend the Bengal treasure, then at Allahabad, on the enlistment of troops. It is quite clear that at this time, or soon afterwards, the two chief places in the Empire, those of chief minister and of first noble (*Amir-ul-umara*) were formally promised to the two brothers as their reward in case of success.†

* Probably this is the girl who, when she grew up, became Mhd. Shah's consort and at his death in 1161 H. (1748) showed considerable judgment and resolution in securing the throne for her husband's son, Ahmad Shah.

† Warid, 136b; Khafi Khan, ii. 708, 710, 711. As to Ruhtas, see Kamwar Khan, entry of 22nd Zul Hijja 1123 H. (30th Jan. 1712.)

SEC. 10. ABDULLAH KHAN, ON BEING SUPERSEDED AT ALLAHABAD,
GIVES IN HIS ADHESION TO FARRUKH-SIYAR.

At first Abdullah Khan's intention was to submit to Jahandar Shah, the *de facto* Emperor, to whom he sent letters professing his loyalty and offering his services. Three months before the death of Bahadur Shah, he had gone out towards Jaunpur to restore order. In this he was not successful and the pay of his soldiers fell into arrears. The men raised a disturbance, and Abdullah Khan's only anxiety was to escape from them and take shelter within the fort of Allahabad. He promised publicly that as soon as he reached the city, all the collections then in the hands of his agents should be made over to the troops. On the return march, word came of Bahadur Shah's death. [Warid, 138b.]

A few days before his arrival at Allahabad, Shuja-ud-din Khan, son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khan, *diwan* of Bengal, had reached that place with one *kror* of Rupees (about £1,000,000),* the annual remittance from that province to the imperial treasury. Hearing of the late Emperor's death, the envoy halted at Allahabad in some perplexity. Abdullah Khan, at his second interview with Shuja-ud-din Khan, impressed on him the danger of keeping such a large amount of treasure in camp outside a turbulent city; it ought to be removed to a place of safety within the fort, and when the succession was settled, it could be made over to the Prince who gained the day. Shuja-ud-din Khan yielded to this specious advice, and Abdullah Khan, as soon as he was master of the coin, used it to pay the arrears of his soldiers. [Warid 138b, K. K. 711.]

While Abdullah Khan was still in expectation of a favourable reply to his letter to Jahandar Shah, he was surprised to learn that his Government had been taken from him, and that the deputy of the new governor was on his way to take possession. The province had been granted to a Gardezi Sayyid of Manikpur,

* Khafi Khan, ii. 715, puts the sum at 28 *lakh*s of Rupees (2280,000). Shuja-ud-daulah, Shuja-ud-din Mhd. Khan, died as subahdar of Bengal on the 17th Muharram 1152 H. (25th April, 1739), aged nearly 80 years (*T-i-Mhdi*).

subah Allahabad, one Raji Muhammad Khan,* who had risen to notice in the recent fighting at Lahor, and through the reputation thereby acquired had been appointed *Mir Atash*, or general of artillery. The new governor nominated as his deputy his relation, one Sayyid Abdul-ghaffar (a descendant of Sayyid Sadar Jahan, *Sadar-us-sadur*, Pihanwi).†

Abdul-ghaffar obtained contingents from one or two zamindars and collected altogether 6,000 to 7,000 men. When he drew near to Karra Manikpur, Abul-hasan Khan, a Sayyid of Bijapur, who was Abdullah Khan's *Bakhshi*, advanced at the head of 3,000 men to bar his progress. In the end of Jamadi II. 1124 H. (29th=2nd August, 1712) they met at a little distance from Sarai Alam Chand,‡ and encamping four or five miles from each other, they passed some days in fruitless negotiations. Then Abdul-ghaffar prepared his men and sent forward his artillery. It so happened that the very same day Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, Siraj-ud-din Ali Khan, and Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, younger brothers of Abdullah Khan, and Ratan Chand, his *diwan* or chief financial agent, arrived with a reinforcement of four hundred horsemen. Although some of the Sayyids rode out to the front, Abdul-ghaffar could not be tempted into attacking them. At length, when the opposing forces were at the distance of a musket shot from each other, Abdul-ghaffar discharged a volley from all his cannon and without an instant's delay ordered his

* *Gardezi*, see Elliot, *Supp. Gloss.*, 447; Gardez is situated in the Bangashat, not far from Kohat, *Ain*, ii. 407 note 2. Raji Mhd. Khan first entered the service through Munim Khan, Khan Khanan. Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, calls him Husam-ud-din, who had been made Sayyid Raji Khan Bahadur Dilawar Jang. Abdul-ghaffar is there called his brother.

† Blochmann, *Ain* i. 208, 468. Pihani, a village near Qanauj or Lakhnau; Sadar Jahan was Akbar's *Sadar* in the 34th year (about 1589). He died in 1020 H. (1611-12) in Jahangir's reign; he was said to be 120 years of age, Beale, 229; *M. U.* iii. 348. Pihani is now in the Hardoi district, *Oudh Gaz.* iii. 160.

‡ Khafi Khan, ii. 712, spells the name Abul-muhsin Khan, and says he was originally from Najaf, the Holy. On the same page the month is Jamadi I. instead of II. Manikpur and Karra are both on the Ganges, the former about 45 and the latter about 39 m. n. w. of Allahabad. Sarai Alam Chand is 20 m. n. w. of the same place.

horsemen to charge. Despite their well-known bravery, the Barha Sayyids gave way, many were killed and wounded, the rest fled. Only the three Barha brothers with Abul-hasan Khan and Ratan Chand stood fast at the head of four hundred men. In a short time many of Abdul-ghaffar's soldiers dispersed in search of plunder, but he kept together enough of them to surround the Sayyids. They now came to close quarters: when Siraj-ud-din Ali Khan with many others was cut down and killed. A high wind blew up the dust and it soon became impossible to distinguish officer from soldier, white from black, friend from foe. Suddenly there arose cries that Sayyid Abdul-ghaffar was slain.* The Barha Sayyid's drums and trumpets striking up a joyful march, the other side lost heart and turned for flight. In vain Abdul-ghaffar shouted, 'I am here! I am alive!' No one listened, and the day so nearly won was irremediably lost. Abdul-ghaffar withdrew his shattered force to Shahzadpur, one march to the rear.†

When it was too late, Jahandar Shah saw his error and endeavoured to propitiate Abdullah Khan. Promotion from 4,000 *zat* to 6,000 *zat* was offered, with confirmation in the Government of Allahabad in his own name. The fulsome heaping-up of titles in the letter addressed to Abdullah Khan is some indication of Jahandar Shah's consternation at the turn affairs had taken. Abdul-ghaffar was thrown overboard, and the letter to him is couched in terms which might have been addressed to a rebel, instead of to a man who had been trying to carry out faithfully the orders that he had received. It was too late, however, and in vain was this humiliating attitude assumed. Abdullah Khan, disgusted at the treatment he had received, had already thrown in his lot with Farrukh-siyar.‡

* It was really his brother who was killed (*Siwanih-i-Khizri*, 24). Khizr Khan was present.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 692, and 712; Khizr Khan, 24; *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 132. Shahzadpur is on the Ganges about 35 miles n. w. of Allahabad.

‡ Khafi Khan, ii. 714. For the letters of Jahandar Shah, see *Inshae Madhu Ram* (lithographed) pp. 85, 86. This compilation was put together in 1136 H. (1723-4).

SEC. II.—FARRUKH-SIYAR LEAVES PATNA AND REACHES ALLAHABAD.

After Husain Ali Khan had declared himself, there were other important adhesions to Farrukh-siyar's cause. From the first Ahmad Beg, a man long attached to the family, had been particularly active and useful in obtaining adherents; he was now made Ghazi-ud-din Khan Ghalib Jang, and as some say received a promise of the wazirship.* One of the most notable of these accessions was that of Sidsiht [=Sudhisht] Narayan, son of Dhir, a powerful zamindar of the Bhojpur country in Shahabad.† The Ujainiya clan to which he belonged had long claimed practical independence and had never paid its revenue unless upon compulsion. In the reign of Alamgir, Rajah Rudar, descended in the fifth generation from the first Ujainiya Rajah of Bhojpur, had risen to notoriety and was joined by most of the neighbouring zamindars. In consequence of his rebellion against constituted authority he was deposed, and the chiefship given to his brother, ancestor of the present Jagdispur and Dumraon houses in that pargana. During Alamgir's long absence in the Dakhin, the governors and faujdars left the zamindars alone. Dhir, a distant cousin of the Rajah, descended in the sixth generation from the same ancestor, used this opportunity, seized many zamindaris, and maintained a force of about 14,000 horse and 30,000 foot. When Prince Azim-ush-shan was governor at Patna, this zamindar attended his Court. A settlement had nearly been effected when Dhir became alarmed and escaped. Rajah Dhir died

* Yahya Khan, 119b, and see biography in *M. U.* ii. 869. A man was introduced by him, whose name I read as Masl (or perhaps Fazl) Khan (Ijad, 41b), who was made Azam Khan and first *Bakhshi*. But he was superseded by the Sayyids and Khwaja Asim (Khan Dauran) almost as soon as appointed; his appointment as *Bakhshi* was taken away on the 15th Zul Qada (13th Dec., 1712) and I know not what became of him.

† Dhir (b. 1655, d. 1712) held as his ancestral fief Baranwa in pargana Piru, sarkar Shahabad (Piru town is about 32 m. s. e. of Arra). On the 11th April 1715 O. S. the English envoys on passing through Arwal (a town about 40 m. s. w. of Patna, in Thana Jahanabad of the Gaya district, and close to the bank of the Son) remark 'this is the place where Sediti Naran has a strong fort and good guard'. Piru is about 20 m. w. of Arwal and on the other side of the Son.

of fever in the year 1712. Sidisht Narayan, his second but eldest surviving son, who had only recently succeeded, had already begun a dispute with Husain Ali Khan's subordinates. To enforce his claims he had come with a large armed force and was encamped at Hajipur, on the further side of the Ganges from Patna city. He talked of plundering the country. Ahmad Beg was sent to him to induce him either to offer his services or retire from the position he had taken up. Ahmad Beg's eloquence persuaded him to accept service, bringing with him 10,000 horse and 30,000 matchlockmen. [Ijad 61a, 63b ; K. K. 712.]

Khwaja Asim, who had escaped in safety from the battlefield at Lahor on the day when Prince Azim-ush-shan lost his life, now joined Farrukh-siyar at Patna after a short time spent at his home in Agra. He was at once received into the old position of favour which he had held before he had been recalled from Bengal by Azim-ush-shan. He received the title of Ashraf Khan, was made superintendent of the privy audience chamber, and for a time held in addition the command of the artillery. Saf Shikan Khan (Hasan Beg), deputy governor of Orissa, also threw in his lot with Farrukh-siyar, and Mir Mushrif, a Lakhnau Sayyid, joined with some four thousand horsemen belonging to his own tribe. Another new adherent was Zain-ud-din Khan, son of Ghairat Khan and grandson of Bahadur Khan Daudzai,* of Shahjahanpur in Rohilkhand, followed by four thousand brother Pathans.† Money was the

* For Bahadur Khan Daudzai, the founder of Shahjahanpur, see *M. U.* i. 415. He left seven sons, of whom only two, Dilawar Khan and Aziz Khan Chaghatai, are there named. In *T-i-Mhdi*, year 1138 H., we have the genealogy stated thus :—

Darya Khan, d. 1040 H. (1630-31).

Bahadur Khan, d. 1059 H. (1649-50).

Ghairat Khan.

Zain-ud-din Khan, killed 1124 H. (1713).

Bahadur Khan, killed 1138 H. (1725-6).

† As to Zain-ud-din Khan, his mad doings and rough mode of forcing money out of Fath Mamur Khan's widow at Shahabad (Oudh), see *Akhbar*.

great want. Partial relief was afforded by the seizure *en route* of a convoy of 25 or 30 *lakhs* of Rupees, which had reached Patna on its way from Bengal to Dihli.* Requisitions in kind were also imposed on the traders in the city. The amount realized was two or three *lakhs* of Rupees. Some money, estimated at from half a *lakh* to five *lakhs* of Rupees, was obtained by the seizure of the Dutch Company's goods, their factor at Patna, Jacob van Hoorn, having died there in July 1712. Even stronger measures were resorted to. There was one Surat Singh Khatri, the chief official of Nasir Khan, deputy governor of Kabul, who had accumulated great wealth. At this time having determined on sending his treasures to Dihli, he had hired fifty or sixty bullock carriages and loaded them with all his property, giving out that the carts were occupied by a party of his women and children with their female servants. They were guarded by a hired force of five hundred matchlock-men, and were halting for the night in a certain mansion. During the night the guard was absent. The house was attacked, the goods were plundered, and distributed among Farrukh-siyar's soldiers.†

At length on the 17th Shaban 1124 H. (18th September 1712), Farrukh-siyar's advance tents were sent off from Patna. Four days later he started himself at the head of 25,000 men. After a halt of six days he reached Danapur on the 28th (29th September). On the 4th Ramzan (4th October) he moved to Sherpur, thence to Matoli; on the 12th (12th October) Husain Ali Khan arrived from Patna. Next day they reached the banks of the Son, which was still much swollen by rain. With the help of Sidisht Narayan and by the special exertions of Ahmad Beg Koka, a boat bridge was thrown across, and on the 17th Ramzan (17th October) they crossed to Sitara. Further stages were Khatoli (20th), Suri (21st), Mahadeo (22nd), Jaipur (23rd), the last two being places in pargana Sahasram, then on the 24th Sahasram itself was reached. Khurramabad

i-Muhabbat, my copy, 274. That work says he joined Farrukh-siyar west of Allahabad.

* Khafi Khan, ii. 715, states the sum as 75 lakhs.

† *Ijad*, 66a, 66b; Khafi Khan, ii. 715; Valentyn, iv. 299.

was arrived at on the 25th, Mohani (26th), Salot (27th), Sarai Said Rajah (28th), Sarai Mughul (29th), and the Ganges bank at Chota Mirzapur, opposite Banaras, on the 30th Ramzan (30th October). There was some talk of levying a contribution on the rich men of that city, but through one Rai Kirpa Nath they were excused, on condition of sending money after a few days. This forced loan, amounting to one *lakh* of Rupees, was received by the Prince when he arrived at Allahabad.

After one day's rest the march was continued through Sarai Mohan, Sarai Babu, Sarai Jagdis to Jhusi. Sayyid Abdullah Khan had pitched a camp at Jhusi a week before, and had been there in person for two or three days. On the 6th Shawwal (5th Nov. 1712) he arrived in the imperial camp and was received in audience. Formal engagements were entered into through Khwaja Asim Ashraf Khan, by which the post of *Wazir* was accorded to Abdullah Khan and that of *Amir-ul-umara* to Husain Ali Khan. Before leaving Jhusi a blessing on their arms was besought at the shrine of the holy man, Shaikh Taqi.* On the 13th Shawwal (12th Nov. 1712) the whole army crossed the Ganges by a bridge of boats and encamped between the old and the new city of Allahabad, and next day moved a little farther on to Sipahdarganj. Here we will leave Farrukh-siyar and turn to the movements of Prince Azz-ud-din.†

SEC. 12.—PRINCE AZZ-UD-DIN'S ADVANCE TO KHAJWA, HIS DEFEAT
AND FLIGHT TO AGRA.

When Jahandar Shah heard of the defeat of Abdul-ghaffar, the defection of Abdullah Khan, and the march westwards of

* Sayyid Sadar-ul-haq, surnamed Taqi-ud-din Muhammad, Abul-Akbar, son of Shaban-ul-millat, was born at Jhusi in 720 H. (1320-1) and died there on the 7th Zul Hijja 785 H. (31st January 1384).—*Mamba-ul-ansab*, B.M. Or. 2014, fols. 70-72.

† Ijad, 66a, 72, 73, 74, 75 ; Khafi Khan, ii. 711, 715. B. M. 1690, fol. 100b, says they reached Allahabad on the 10th Shawwal (9th Nov.). The distances as measured on the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 88, are Sarai Mohan 8½ m., Sarai Babu, 18. m., Sarai Jagdis, 18½ m., Jhusi, 38 m., total 83 miles. Sipahdarganj was probably so named after Sipahdar Khan (see *ante* p. 173, n. 4), who was governor of Allahabad from the 37th to the 41st of Alamgir, 1104 H.—1108 H., 1692-1696, *M.U.*, iii. 591. Possibly the Subahdarganj on

Farrukh-siyar, he sent urgent orders to his son Azz-ud-din to move onwards from Agra, in the neighbourhood of which he had lingered. The Prince was not well pleased at his supercession in the supreme command, and furthermore was far from friendly to his father's favourite, Lal Kunwar. These causes may have led him to conduct the enterprize in the half-hearted way which was so soon to result in disaster. Nor could much reliance be placed on the leaders of his troops, some of whom were found, so early as the 1st Rajab (3rd August 1712) to be in traitorous communication with the enemy. From intercepted letters it was found that seven artillery officers had offered to go over to Farrukh-siyar followed by many other officers and twenty thousand men. The ringleaders were seized and thrown into prison; but disaffection pervaded the entire army, their pay being much in arrear. This force, numbering some 50,000 horsemen,* accompanied by powerful artillery, now set out on the march towards Allahabad. On the day that they reached the Etawa boundary, the faujdar of that place, the Ali Asghar Khan already referred to, appeared, and to gain time entered into negotiations. The imperial leaders demanded from him the revenue of the current year, which owing to the contested succession, had not been collected. They also called for the accounts of previous years. These demands, which in Azz-ud-din's own interests were very inopportune, were evaded by the faujdar with excuses founded on the revenue rules and by pleas about his accounts. This dispute continued from stage to stage until on the 2nd Shawwal 1124 H. (1st November 1712) they arrived near Kora.†

At Kora they were met by Mahta Chabela Ram, faujdar of Chakla Karra Manikpur,‡ and as already noted, a protégé of Farrukh-siyar's house. Pressure was put upon Chabela Ram, but he refused Azz-ud-din's overtures. He was tempted with

plate 44 of Constable's *Hand Atlas* is a corruption of this name. It lies one mile west of the Khusru Bagh and just south of the E. I. Railway.

* Yahya Khan, 120a, asserts that Azz-ud-din's force was really no larger than one sent as an escort.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 715; Ijad, 70b; Valentyn, iv., 299.

‡ Or, as Ijad says, of Kora.

an offer of a *mansab* of 3,000 *zat*, 2,000 horse, the title of Rajah, robes of honour, a standard and kettle-drums (the last three having been brought with the Prince from Dihli). After this offer was refused, they demanded all the treasure which had come from Bengal and all the money in the imperial chest. Chabela Ram prevaricated and ceased his visits. Much disconcerted at this failure, Azz-ud-din continued his route. The faujdars followed with their own troops, march by march, but pitched their camps two miles or more from the main army. It was now quite obvious to the Prince's advisers that Chabela Ram would seize the earliest opportunity to make his escape. Accordingly, when they were at Khajwa, Lutfullah Khan (then known as Sarfaraz Khan) was sent at the head of their best troops with a request that Chabela Ram would move his camp close to theirs, or that, in compliance with a written order from Jahandar Shah, then first produced, he should march into Oudh, to which Government he was thereby appointed. Chabela Ram accepted the second alternative. Next day, giving out that he wished to bathe in the Ganges, and would thence continue his road to Oudh, he moved to the river bank at the Khamsara ferry, some five miles from Khajwa. He was still trying to find out the easiest road to Allahabad, when spies brought word that Farrukh-siyar's camp was not further off than two or three marches, and the news was to him "as a rain cloud to a thirsty man in a desert." At early dawn he made a forced march and soon joined Farrukh-siyar.* Chabela Ram and his nephew, Mahta Girdhar Lal, were received with honour, their offerings accepted, and gifts conferred on them. Ali Asghar Khan, too, who had been watching for a chance of escaping, joined Farrukh-siyar at Kunwarpur a few days after Chabela Ram, and shortly afterwards, on payment of five lakhs of Rupees, was made Khan Zaman.

Chabela Ram's arrival was most opportune, and from the money in his possession, he now began to advance fifteen thousand Rupees a day. Farrukh-siyar also borrowed from

* B. M. 1690, fol. 160b, says he joined at Bindki. According to Ijād, 80a, the camp was there on the 24th Shawwal (23rd Nov. 1712).

some merchants of Bengal and Patna, who joined the camp and travelled with it, the terms being *sawai*, or a return of the principal and 25 per cent., plus promises of titles and rank. The Prince's troops had been in great distress on the march. His leaders, nay he himself, only received every now and then a little *khichri*, (a poor man's dish, made of pulse and spices), and the day that they got this food was counted as a festival (*Id*). The common soldiers lived on what they could pick up in the fields, such as green leaves (*saq*), pumpkins (*kaddu*) and the like. The horses got little or no grass or grain.*

Towards the end of Shawwal (29th-28th November 1712), while Farrukh-siyar was still at a distance of thirteen or fourteen *kos*, Azz-ud-din proceeded to throw up entrenchments at Khajwa. Being the site of Alamgir's victory over Shuja in January, 1659, this place was looked on as one of good omen. The ditch that they dug round their position was some fifteen feet wide and ten feet deep, but without water. The earth dug out was thrown up in the inner side, forming a protection of about the height of a man. On this earthwork guns were placed and one large mortar. The approaches were so defended, that they believed it quite impossible for any enemy to reach those inside. Their intention was to keep within cover, and if an attack were made, to reply by artillery fire alone.†

During this time Farrukh-siyar continued his advance from Allahabad. His force is variously estimated: some putting it at 25,000 horse, some at 50,000 horse and 70,000 foot. He reached Sarai Choli on the 19th Shawwal (18th November 1712), was at Hathganw on the 20th, Amratu on the 21st, Sarai Manda on the 22nd, Cheda Abunagar on the 23rd, Kunwarpur on the 24th, and Roshanabad on the 25th. Here he learnt that the enemy were entrenched at Khajwa, at a distance of about five miles. Next day they advanced to Aqilabad. Here a new adherent appeared in the person of Muhammad Khan Bangash, at the

* Ijad. 71a; Khafi Khan, ii. 716; Khush-hal Chand, 391b; Yahya Khan 120a. The straits for money in which Farrukh-siyar was can be seen from his short private notes to Chabela Ram in *Ajaib-ul-afak* (B. M., Or. 1776) fol. 19b, 29b, etc.

† Ijad. 77a; Khafi Khan, ii. 696, 716; Elphinstone, 530.

head of 4,000 or 5,000 horsemen, chiefly Afghans. For some years this man, a native of Mau on the Ganges, in pargana Shamsabad of the Agra *subah*, had lived as a soldier of fortune in Bundelkhand, hiring out himself and his men, first to one and then to another of the large zamindars, between whom there raged interminable quarrels about their lands and their boundaries. Muhammad Khan changed sides as often as he thought it of advantage to himself. Lately he had presented himself in Prince Azz-ud-din's camp, in the hope of employment and reward. Disgusted with what he saw there, he felt it more prudent to transfer his services, and now joined Farrukh-siyar. He was presented through Sayyid Abdullah Khan and taken into the Prince's service.*

From Roshanabad, on the 25th Shawwal 1124 H. (24th November 1712), Abdullah Khan and Husain Ali Khan were sent on in advance to reconnoitre. If they found a convenient point they were to deliver an assault. The entrenchment was to be surrounded on all sides and a heavy fire of artillery directed on it. Farrukh-siyar was in favour of an immediate attack, Abdullah Khan counselled prudence while, as yet, the respective strength of the two sides had not been tested. The two Sayyids rode on, intending to take note of the position, until they were close to the ditch. No sally was made; they were not even fired upon; and they examined the position at leisure. During the night a disposition of the attacking force was made under the orders of Sayyid Abdullah Khan, Sayyid Husain Ali Khan, Amir Khan, Fath Ali Khan and Bahadur Khan (Zain-ud-din). Their cannon were placed in readiness behind the shelter of the mud walls in the neighbouring villages. On the left of Farrukh-siyar's army, positions were allotted to Ashraf Khan (Khawaja Asim), Mahta Chabela Ram, Afrasyab Khan, and other leaders of the *Wala-shahi* (or household) troops. Four hundred camels belonging to the other side were captured at the outposts and brought in.†

* Khafi Khan, ii. 715; Ijad, 776; Khush-hal Chand, 392a. Hathganw is about 19 m., Sarai Manda about 11½ m. east of Fathpur; Cheda Abunagar I identify (thanks to my friend Mr. C. Rustomjee, c. s.) as a suburb of Fathpur itself. The other places are not traced.

† Ijad, 78b, 79a; Khafi Khan, 699, 716.

On the 26th Shawwal (25th November 1712), Farrukh-siyar's main camp moved on half a mile to Aqilabad. During the day the position of Azz-ud-din was assailed by matchlock and rocket-fire, to which his cannon replied. On the 27th another short move was made and the same distant fight was maintained. Again on the 28th (27th Nov.) there was a march to Bindki, and on this date one Haiya Khan, grandson of Hamid Khan Qureshi, deserted from the other side, and was rewarded with his great-grandfather's title of Daud Khan.*

During the 28th Shawwal the distant attack was kept up and even rendered more severe. Early the next morning, the 29th, was fixed for the final assault. But during the night between the 28th and the 29th Shawwal (28th Nov. 1712), Khwaja Husain Khan Dauran, and Lutfullah Khan took counsel together, and to their timid minds no other idea presented itself except flight. That seemed to them the only way out of the difficulty. The Prince refused to move, and remonstrated in these terms: 'O Nawab! thou art like an uncle to me, and yet givest me advice to flee! How strange this is; for I have never heard until now that any one of Taimur's House has fled without a battle. We are in sight of the enemy: we ought not to retreat without a fight.' Khan Dauran, finding that his proposal was rejected, prepared forged letters, bearing the seals of Imtiyaz Mahal (i.e., Lal Kunwar) and Kokaltash Khan, to the effect that the Emperor was dead, that they had kept the body and allowed no one to know the truth: thus, if the Prince came quickly, he would secure the throne. This device had the desired effect.

A little after midnight, one or two caskets having been filled with the most valuable jewels and some gold coins collected, Azz-ud-din, his wife Sayyid Begam, daughter of Bidar Bakht, and her women, were brought out and placed on elephants in covered canopies. A few special adherents joined them. No baggage was taken with them; even the treasure chests were left behind.† With all the signs of intense fright,

* Ijad, 80a. For Daud Khan Qureshi, see *M. U.* ii. 32, and for Hamid Khan, his son, *ibid* ii. 37.

† Kamwar Khan, 122, asserts that even the women were left behind.

they took their way back to Agra, which they reached in about a week. All their camp equipage and other wealth was left behind to be plundered. When morning dawned, consternation fell upon the abandoned soldiers, flight was their only thought, and many did not even take time to saddle their horses or gather up the most necessary articles.*

When word was brought to Farrukh-siyar's camp, his men streamed out like so many hungry hawks, to plunder and take possession. Men who had not known how to provide for one day's food, became suddenly masters of great wealth. The women's clothes left behind were so many, it is said, as to weary out those who were sent to count them. Farrukh-siyar's camp was now moved close to Khajwa. A pursuit was proposed, but countermanded by Farrukh-siyar. Of the property of the fugitives each man was told to keep what he had been able to seize. Eleven elephants were set aside to be afterwards given as presents. During a two days' halt at Khajwa some more men of note from the opposite side arrived to tender their submission, among them Sayyid Muzaffar Khan, maternal uncle of Abdullah Khan, Sayyid Hasan Khan (son of Sayyid Husain Khan) and Sayyid Mustafa Husain (grandson of Sayyid Qutb Nagori). Lutfullah Khan also seems to have taken advantage of the first opportunity to abandon Azz-ud-din and make his peace with Farrukh-siyar.†

SEC. 13.—JAHANDAR SHAH LEAVES DIHLI FOR AGRA.

On the night of the 4th Zul Qada (2nd December 1712) messengers brought to Jahandar Shah at Dihli unwelcome news of Azz-ud-din's flight from Khajwa. It was at once decided to march from the capital to meet the danger. Many thought it would be wiser to await the enemy at Tughlaqabad, eight miles south of Shahjahanabad, or New Dihli. These views did not, however, prevail and a march to Agra was resolved upon. Strenuous efforts were made to put matters into

* Ijad, 80b; Khafi Khan, 699, 717; Yahya Khan, 120, a, b.

† Khafi Khan, 699, 717; Kamwar Khan, 122; Khush-hal Chand, 392a. Muzaffar Khan afterwards Sayyid Khan Jahan, Barha, d. 1131 H. (1719).

order and to collect an army. But during the preceding eleven months everything had been allowed to fall into confusion, and during the whole of this time the troops had not seen the sight of a coin. An attempt was now made to pay them, and to provide the necessary *matériel* and equipage for a campaign. Most of the treasure, amassed in previous reigns and stored within the fort at Dihli, had been expended in frivolous festivities. As one writer complains, the money had been spent in lamps and oil for a weekly illumination of the fort and river banks. Meanwhile, the zamindars, taking advantage of the disputed succession, had evaded the payment of revenue, and the officials, uncertain of their future position, neglected to coerce them and made many excuses.

Such small amount of money as there was in the treasury was soon spent. Gold vessels collected in the palace from the time of Akbar were next broken up and used, and such fragments of gold and silver as could be found in any of the imperial workshops were appropriated. Warid, the historian, saw the process with his own eyes. All jewelled articles were next taken, and then the jewels themselves; after this, the clothes, carpets, and hangings were removed. As there was still a deficiency, the ceilings of the palace rooms, which were plated with gold, were broken up and distributed to the men. Nothing else now remaining, the store-houses were thrown open and the goods distributed in place of cash.* A crowd assembled and no order was maintained. The soldiers took what they liked and paid no heed to the clerks. In a moment store-houses, full of goods which had been preserved from the time of the Emperor Babar, were emptied. Nothing was left. Still, in spite of all these efforts, the claims of many of the men were

* Khush-hal Chand, 392 a, says that his father, Jiwan Ram, was then a clerk in the Khan-saman's (Lord Steward's) office. In one week jewels, worth three *krors* and fifty *lakhs* of Rupees, were distributed, among them a pot (*matka*) of jasper studded with jewels, said to have belonged to Bhim, brother of Rajah Judishtar (Yudhisthira) and Arjun! It was 11 Shahjahani *dira* (yards ?) long and 7 *dira* wide! Although the dimensions are so precisely stated, I need hardly say that they should be taken *cum grano*.

unsatisfied, and they were told to wait until Agra was reached, when they would be paid from the treasure-house at that place.*

One of the first measures necessary was to provide for the immediate safety of Agra. This was undertaken by Chin Qilich Khan, son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan, and his Mughal troops. In the reign of Bahadur Shah this noble had shown dissatisfaction with the treatment accorded him, and finally had retired into private life at Dihli. In the struggle for the succession he had intended to take Azim-ush-shan's part, but withdrew in time and was saved through Asad Khan's and Abdus-samad Khan's intercession. When danger from Farrukh-siyar threatened, he was too important a man to be neglected, and Zulfiqar Khan, in spite of their old rivalry, found it expedient to make him an offer of employment. He was sent to Agra to join Prince Azz-ud-din, who had then advanced across the Jamuna beyond that place, but being a very cautious man, he thought it wiser to delay any open declaration until affairs had further developed. He therefore found excuses to linger at Agra. The Mughal leader next in importance to Chin Qilich Khan was his cousin, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, who was now recalled from active service, in which he had been engaged in *sarkar* Sarhind against Banda, the leader of the Sikhs.†

At the end of a week arrangements had been completed. Asad Khan, the *Wakil-i-mutlaq*, was put in supreme charge of the city, Muhammad Yar Khan being made governor of the province and Ahl-ullah Khan left in charge of the fortress containing the imprisoned members of the royal house. The captivity of Hamid-ud-din Khan Alamgir-Shahi, and of Mahabat Khan, son of the late *Wazir*, was made more strict; they were now locked up in the cells at the Tripoliya (or triple gate) of the fortress. Other retainers of the Emperor's deceased brothers were sent to prison. The commands in the army were thus distributed. To the vanguard were posted Zulfiqar Khan, Kokaltash Khan (Khan Jahan) and Jani Khan Jahan-Shahi,

* Ijad, 82 b, 83 a; Warid, 140 a; Khush-hal Chand, 392 a.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 698, 716.

with strong artillery and 40,000 horsemen. Raji Muhammad Khan, general of artillery, had under his orders one hundred cannon, large and small, besides swivel-guns (*zamburak*) and camel-guns (*shutarnal*). His orders were to accompany the advanced tents. Islam Khan, Murtaza Khan, and Azam Khan guarded the special artillery, detached to protect the centre, under command of Raza Quli Khan.* Muhammad Amin Khan and Abdus-samad Khan were on the right wing; Jan Nisar Khan and Mukhtar Khan on the left wing. Round the Emperor in the centre were posted Sadullah Khan, Hafizullah Khan and Bahramand Khan. Faizullah Khan Mughal was told off to guard the retinue of Lal Kunwar.†

At the time appointed by the astrologers, near midnight of the 11th Zul Qada 1124 H. (9th December, 1712), Jahandar Shah mounted his elephant and rode to his camp at Talab Kishan Das near Khizrabad, seven miles south of the city. The superstitious were cast down from the first by several accidents, which they treated as omens of coming evil. As the elephant bearing the imperial kettle-drums passed through the Dihli Gate the ropes broke, the drums fell, and were dashed to pieces; and a few days before this sinister event, the imperial umbrella, having caught on the branch of a tree, lost its fringe of pearls. In addition, from the time that Jahandar Shah set out for Agra, there were continuous clouds and rain with cold wind night and day. The cold was so intense that to the native of India to put his head outside his tent was a hardship, his blood felt frozen in his veins, and his feet were hard as if made of stone. The mist was so thick that the country round could not be seen. It need hardly be added, at any rate those acquainted with the country will know well, that these outward circumstances produced the most depressing effect upon the troops. To add to the other bad omens, came the accidental destruction by fire, in spite of the rain and cloud, of some of the imperial tents. At Khizrabad they learnt that Prince Azz-ud-din had reached Agra on the 6th of the month (4th December, 1712). Farrukh-siyar was

* Khafi Khan, ii. 718, adds the name of Sipahdar Khan.

† Nur-ud-din, 97; Kamwar Khan, 123; Khafi Khan, ii. 718.

at the same time reported to be at Etawa, though he was then really at Makhanpur.*

On the 15th Zul Qada (13th December, 1712) a move of six or seven miles was made to Talpat. Here the puerile expedient was hit upon of writing long appeals for aid to Rajah Ajit Singh Rathor, of Jodhpur, and the other Rajput chieftains. There was no time left for any such help; the issue must be decided, one way or the other, long before any of the Rajputs could arrive upon the scene. On the 16th the camp was pitched at Faridabad, about sixteen miles south of the city, and two days were allowed for the arrival of stragglers. Two days were passed at Sikri. On the 21st (19th December, 1712) the army was at Palwal, and there the final muster was made. The force reported was 100,000 men, horsemen, matchlockmen, and bowmen. Their tents covered a circle of about eight miles in circumference.† By daily marches Agra was reached on the 1st Zul Hijja (29th December, 1712), and their first encampment was at Bagh Dahra, three miles south of the city. Prince Azz-ud-din came out of the city and joined his father. Churaman, the Jat, to whom many flattering promises had been made, joined with a large number of men from his own tribe. Efforts were now made to unearth the buried treasure in the fort of Agra. Many doorways were opened but nothing was found, and there was no time to conduct an effective search. Some ingots of copper were discovered, which had been lying there since Akbar began to build the fort and had prepared these copper bricks for use in the walls. These were now sold off in order to pay some of Jahandar Shah's men.‡

* Nur-ud-din, 98, 99; Khafi Khan, 700, 718. K. K. gives the date of starting as the middle of Zul Qada, 25th Azar of the Ilahi era. Etawa is 73 m. south-east of Agra, Thornton, 305; Makhanpur, 34 m. north-west of Cawnpore, *ibid*, 642.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 700, says Zulfiqar Khan had more than 20,000; the total was 80,000 horse, 100,000 foot. In another place, ii. 718, he gives 70,000 to 80,000 horse and innumerable foot. Farrukh-siyar had not one-third of these numbers. Faridabad to Sikri about 10 miles, Sikri to Palwal, 9 miles, *Indian Atlas*, sheet 49 south-east.

‡ This tradition of copper bricks still survived in Agra in 1768, see 'Orme Collections,' Vol. 15, p. 4304, *Mémoire des Jats*, an anonymous

On the 2nd Zul Hijja (30th December, 1712) Jahandar Shah moved to Samugarh, a place close to the Jamuna, to the east of and about eight miles from Agra city. Probably it was chosen as having been the site of Alamgir's victory of the 6th Ramzan 1068 H. (June, 1658), won by him over his brother Dara Shukoh. At first sight, looking to his superiority in numbers and in artillery, no one could have doubted of Jahandar's being victorious. But he was in the power of a mere bazar woman, surrounded by men of low antecedents, and his army under the command of officers, who with the exception of Zulfiqar Khan, were men of no experience or position. The fighting men from beyond the Indus were disgusted with Jahandar Shah's habits and many spoke despairingly of his chance of winning the day. Farrukh-siyar's success was desired even in Jahandar Shah's own ranks. The want of unity among the leaders now began to produce its effects. Zulfiqar Khan was at daggers drawn with Kokaltash Khan (Khan Jahan) and his brother, Muhammad Mah (Azam Khan). Again both of these rival parties were jealous of the Mughal leaders, and fully resolved that they should have as little chance as possible of distinguishing themselves. Indeed, the Mughals were hardly believed in or trusted at all. They were suspected, and as it turned out truly suspected, of intending some treachery. Out of these jarring elements little agreement could be looked for. The first plan, supported by Zulfiqar Khan, was to cross the river at once and occupy the other bank. This idea was given up, from want of concord among the leaders, in spite of their having thrown across a bridge of boats just opposite to their camp. Kokaltash Khan objected to their crossing on the ground that if they fought on the further side, the enemy when defeated would be able to get clear away and renew the struggle. All boats for a distance of eighty or ninety miles were called in, and when Farrukh-siyar

essay in French, written in that year. 'Comme en effet il y'a encore une tradition assez bien établie parmi les habitants d'Agra, qu'Akbar l'a voulu faire de cuivre rouge, et qu'il avait déjà fait faire une quantité de briques de ce métal.' But this author believes the idea is founded on a mistake, and that the copper ingots were made for transmutation into gold by a faqir, in whose powers as alchemist Akbar believed.

arrived, not a boat or a boatman could be found on his side of the river. [K. K. 701, 718, 713.]

The only attempt at a forward movement was one undertaken to drive away the advanced guard of Farrukh-siyar's army. Reports were brought in that Bahadur Khan (Zain-ud-din) Rohela, and Muhammad Khan Bangash, with seven or eight thousand horsemen and some light artillery, had reached the further bank of the Jamuna, intending to effect a crossing. Raji Muhammad Khan was ordered out with his guns to the other side of the river, to prevent them crossing. As soon as Raji Muhammad Khan, accompanied by Islam Khan, reached the river bank, Farrukh-siyar's troops decamped. The guns were taken across the water without difficulty. But on the further side the heavy rain had turned the sandy bed into a quagmire, into which the feet of men and animals sank up to the knee. The guns could not be placed in position, the generals therefore left them and returned. Two days had been wasted in this operation. The rain continued, the river began to rise, and thus on Jahandar Shah's side all fear of the enemy effecting a crossing was dissipated. In this state of false security they continued, and the festival of the sacrifice (10th Zul Hijja=7th December, 1712) was celebrated at Samugarh. One writer, Yahya Khan, says that all action was intentionally postponed until after the festival. [Nur. 100, Yahya 120b.]

SEC. 14.—FARRUKH-SIYAR ARRIVES AT THE JAMUNA.

From Khajwa, where we left him, Farrukh-siyar marched on the 3rd Zul Qada (1st December, 1712) to Qasba Kora. Here he halted for a day, forty horses from Azz-ud-din's fugitive army were brought in, and a visit was paid to the shrine of Shaikh Badi-ud-din. The next marches were Alamnagar (5th), Dohar (7th), Jophra (8th), Sāpoli (10th), Nadhaya (11th), and the town of Makhanpur on the 12th. On the next day visits were paid to the shrine of Shah Madar,* and gifts were distributed

* Makhanpur is 34 m. n. w. of Cawnpore, Thornton, 342. Shaikh Badi-ud-din, known as Shah Madar, died 18th Jamadi I. 840 H. (29th November 1436.)

there and at the tombs of other holy men. On the 15th (13th December, 1712) they moved to Makrandnagar, where Ali Asghar Khan was created Khan Zaman and made a *Bakhshi* in place of Azam Khan. The next three days were spent in reciting prayers at the tombs of holy men at Rajgir and other places round Qanauj. On the 19th they moved to Jalalabad thence to Sikandra (20th), Rangpur (21st), Amipur (22nd), Basantpur (23rd), Kalyanpur (24th), Etawa (25th), Fazilabad (27th), Kharsana (28th), Sarai Murlidhar (29th), Shukohabad (1st Zul Hijja), Firuzabad (2nd), Alinagar (4th), and Itimadpur (5th). This last named place is three miles from the left bank of the Jamuna, and lies five miles north-east of Samugarh. [Ijad, 82b.]

Here they learnt that Jahandar Shah had reached Samugarh and had seized all boats up and down the river for a distance of eighty or ninety miles. But not a sign of his further advance could be detected, nor did there seem any chance of their being able to cross the river themselves in order to force on a decisive battle. Therefore, on the night of the 5th Zul Hijja (2nd January 1713), it was resolved to send a capable messenger to Jahandar Shah. This man was to point out to him that they had come a journey of three months' duration, he, one of seven days only. Why then should he hold back and delay the final battle? Let him cross at once and meet them in the field. An answer was awaited until the following day. The envoy then returned and reported that he had been taken before Jahandar Shah and had repeated his message. The only answer received was 'It is well! it is well!' When he passed the river they cried to him 'You see the bridge, you see the bridge,' but so far as he could find out, they neither meant to cross over themselves nor allow their opponents to cross. [Ibid. 88b.]

On the 7th (4th January 1713) Farrukh-siyar moved his camp some six miles to Sarai Begam.* Here welcome news was received of treachery at work in Jahandar Shah's army. Ubaidullah, Shariyat-ullah Khan (afterwards Mir Jumla), who had been with Azim-ush-shan at Lahor, had intended to return

* Query, the Sarai Hazam of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet 50, nine miles west of Itimadpur.

to Bengal and rejoin his patron's son as soon as possible. On his way down country he had been detained at Agra by the officials on the river bank and had not been allowed to continue his journey. At this time, when Jahandar Shah arrived at Agra, Shariyat-ullah Khan, at the peril of his life, opened secret negotiations with the Mughal leaders, Chin Qilich Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, and by his persuasion these men agreed not to fight when the day of battle between the two claimants to the throne should arrive.*

SEC. 15.—SAYYID ABDULLAH KHAN FINDS A FORD AND CROSSES THE JAMUNA.

At this point things seemed to have come to a deadlock ; Jahandar Shah would not and Farrukh-siyar could not cross the Jamuna. Not a boat could be found anywhere. After three days' delay, the patience of Abdullah Khan was exhausted. Making over charge of the main body to Husain Ali Khan, he marched up the left bank in the hope of finding a ford. When he had gone four or five miles, he came to a place where he saw some villagers wading through very shallow water. Forthwith (9th Zul Hijja 1124 H., 6th Jan. 1713) he crossed with the five hundred horsemen then in his retinue.† Messengers were sent to Farrukh-siyar, and Abdullah Khan's men passed the long winter night shivering from the cold, while they held their bridle reins in their hand and watched for the daylight to appear. The 10th (7th January, 1713) was passed by Farrukh-siyar at Mewatpur, where he sacrificed for the *Id*. During the night of the 11th, the Prince crossed the river on his elephant.‡ The

* Ijad, 88b, 89a; Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 157, 158; Khafi Khan, ii. 700, 719. Lutfullah Khan Sadiq is said to have aided in seducing Jahandar Shah's officers from their allegiance, Khush-hal Chand 392b.

† Iradat Khan (J. Scott, II. Pt. iv. 91) says the counter march was one of twenty miles, and the place of crossing the ford of Gao Ghat, some miles above Agra. Khafi Khan ii. 720, fixes it on the night of the 11th (i.e., the night between the 10th and 11th); the water, he says, was up to a man's chest, and the place, near Sarai Roz Bahani, four *kos* from Agra on the road to Dihli. The *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* 56a, also calls it the ford of Roz Bahan.

‡ Khafi Khan, 720, says this crossing was 3 or 4 *pas*, i.e., 9 to 12 hours after that of Abdullah Khan.

rest of the army preceded or followed him ; and although the night was dark, no lives were lost. Camp was pitched at Sarai Roz Bahani* near Akbar's tomb at Bihishtabad Sikandra, five miles west of Agra fort, with the front facing Agra and the rear towards Dihli. For a time Husain Ali Khan and Chabela Ram Nagar were left behind on the left bank of the river as a rearguard, with the view of protecting the army from any sudden pursuit on the part of Jahandar Shah. They, too, crossed the river twenty-four hours after the rest of Farrukh-siyar's army. The next day, the 12th Zul Hijja (9th January 1713), the rain being less heavy and the mist less thick, was spent in rest and in drying such articles, cannon, muskets, and rockets, as had been wetted in fording the river.†

SEC. 16.—JAHANDAR SHAH MOVES FROM SAMUGARH.

No one in Jahandar Shah's army had dreamt that Farrukh-siyar would be able to cross the Jamuna so easily and expeditiously. The news spread consternation through his camp and threw all his plans into confusion. A retrograde movement was commenced, and although the distance was not great, the whole day was spent on the march and the Emperor did not reach his tents until nightfall. During the next two days, the 12th and 13th, Jahandar Shah failed to take the initiative. Zulfiqar Khan thought that delay would induce many of Farrukh-siyar's soldiers to desert, for they were supposed to be enduring great hardships in various ways.‡

* Yahya Khan, 120b, places the camp near Sikandra. Sarai Roz Bahani (K. K. ii. 720) was 4 kos or about 9 miles west of Agra. There is a tomb of a saint of some repute, Shaikh Roz Bihan, a little to the east of Shiraz town, E. G. Browne, *A year among the Persians*, London, 1893, p. 274. Roz Bahān was the son of Abi Nasar, lived to be 84 years of age, and died 606 H., *Shiraz-nama*, B. M. Addl. 18,185 fol. 136 a. The Roz Bahani who built this Sarai may have been a descendant or disciple of this saint. Roz Bahani is not in Beale, although that author lived at Agra. A Yusuf Khan Roz-Bihani was subahdar of Haidarabad in Bahadur Shah's reign—*M. U.* i. 256. Again *ibid.* iii. 771, a corps of Roz Bahanis was present in the battle against Prince Shuja at Belghatha near Akbar-nagar.

† Ijad, 90; Warid, 141 a; Khafi Khan, 720; Yahya Khan, 120b.

‡ Ijad, 91; Warid, 141 b; Khafi Khan, 719, 720; Nur-ud-din, 101.

SEC. 17.—THE BATTLE OF AGRA (13TH ZUL HIJJA 1124 H.
10TH JANUARY, 1713).

Zulfiqar Khan chose a position resting, to the right or east, upon the gardens and houses of Agra, having to the left and the front, that is, the west and north, cultivated fields, thorny scrub, and many broad, deep ravines. To the south and rear the Emperor's camp was pitched. His troops were disposed in the following order. As the heavy artillery had been abandoned in the Jamuna sands, the light artillery under Raza Quli Khan was removed from the centre and sent to the front, where the guns were drawn up in line and chained together. The vanguard was divided by Zulfiqar Khan into two parts of fifteen thousand men each, one half under Kokaltash Khan (Khan Jahan) and the other under Jani Khan. In support, there were ten thousand men under Sabha Chand, Abdus-samad Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan. The first body was opposed to Abdullah Khan, and the second to Husain Ali Khan, who was on the right of Farrukh-siyar. Raji Muhammad Khan, the *Mir Atash*, was sent off with seven elephants to recover the heavy guns from the sand, and by great exertions he was able to bring forty of them into action.*

By three o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th Zul Hijja or 19th Di (10th January 1713) the rain stopped and the mist lifted: the contending armies as the sun broke out were able to perceive each other's movements. Abdullah Khan mounted his elephant and displayed his war standard. Then he sent

* Nur-ud-din, 102; Ijad, 91 a. Jahandar Shah's disposition is thus given by Khafi Khan, ii. 720, 721; *Right*—Kokaltash Khan, Azam Khan (M. Mah) Jani Khan; *Left*—Zulfiqar Khan, Abdus-samad Khan; *Yaman* (right) of Kokaltash Khan.—Mhd. Amin Khan, Chin Qilich Khan, Jan Nisar Khan; *Yaman* (right) and *Yasar* (left) of the *Iltamsh*—Raji Mhd. Khan, Islam Khan, Murtaza Khan, Hafizullah Khan and Raza Quli Khan. Farrukh-siyar's order of battle is given thus by Kamraj *Ibratnama* 50 a; Vanguard (*harawal*) S. Fath Ali Khan, Mir Atash, S. Husain Ali Khan, Saf Shikan Khan, Ghulam Ali Khan; *Iltamsh* and left (*baranghar*) S. Hasan Ali Khan (i.e., Abdullah Kh.), S. Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, S. Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, Muhammad Khan Bangash; (*baranghar*) Rajah Chabela Ram, Girdhar Bahadur, Ali Aghar Khan; centre (*qal*), Farrukh-siyar, Ahmad Beg, Khwaja Asim, Mhd. Miran-ul-lah, Mir Ghyas-ud-din.

Chabela Ram Nagar, Khan Zaman (Ali Asghar) and Muhammad Khan, at the head of 8,000 horse, to meet Jani Khan, who was advancing in his direction.* Kokaltash Khan (Khan Jahan) who was on Jahandar Shah's left, had been told to attack Husain Ali Khan, who was immediately in front of him. But disobeying Zulfiqar Khan's orders, he turned his attack against Farrukh-siyar's centre. Meanwhile, in the expectation that the guns would soon arrive, there was some hesitation on Jahandar Shah's side in charging home. Husain Ali Khan, provoked that the enemy had assumed the initiative, lost patience and advancing into the field with Saf Shikan Khan (Hasan Beg) Mir Ashraf (of Lakhnau), Saifullah Khan, Fath Ali Khan, commanding Farrukh-siyar's artillery, Bahadur Khan (Zain-ud-din) Rohela and others, delivered an attack on Kokaltash Khan.† They soon came to close quarters, Jahandar Shah's side having the advantage. Seeing this result, Abdullah Khan sent forward reinforcements under Afrasyab Khan‡ and Imtiyaz Khan. Raza Quli Khan, commanding Jahandar Shah's light artillery, poured a fire on them which did much damage. Husain Ali Khan, feeling that the crisis of the battle had come, dismounted from his elephant, as was the custom on an emergency, and continued the fight on foot, sword in hand, surrounded by his relations and tribesmen. At this juncture, Abdus-samad Khan appeared in the Sayyid's rear and his Turani bowmen wounded Husain Ali Khan so severely that he fell to the ground and

* Khafi Khan, 721, says this force was sent against Kokaltash Khan. Iradat Khan (J. Scott, II. Pt. iv., p. 93) appears to be referring to this movement when he says 'After a cannonade, I saw two bodies from the enemy's line charge ours one with a red and the other with a green standard. The former was the corps of Rajah Chabela Ram, and the latter, that of Sayyid Husain Ali Khan.'

† Khafi Khan, 721, says this attack was against Zulfiqar Khan.

‡ Suhrab known as Mirza Ajmeri, entitled A. Kh. Bahadur, Rustam Jang, son of Girshasp, died at Dihli on the night of the 25th Ramzan 1130 (21st August 1718), rank 5,000 (*T-i-Mhdi*). He had been Farrukh-siyar's instructor in wrestling and archery. An anecdote of his strength is given in *Akhbar-i-Muhabbat*, 277. His elder brother was the Rashid Khan (*ante*, p. 173) who had been sent in 1124 H. to eject Jafar Khan (Murshid Quli Kh.) from Bengal, *vide* Gladwin, *Transactions*, 96, *et seq.*

fainted. The Barha Sayyids closed round him and defended his body till they were cut down themselves. Bahadur Khan (Zain-ud-din) Rohela, was felled by a sword cut delivered by Muhammad Mah (Azam Khan), brother of Kokaltash Khan. Mir Ashraf (brother of Mir Mushrif) and Sayyid Fath Ali Khan* flung themselves on the Turanis and slew many before they were themselves slain. No one on Jahandar Shah's side had anticipated that Kokaltash Khan would fight so bravely, and as it turned out, he was the only one of the chief generals who really exerted himself in his master's cause. [K. K. 721, Khush-hal 393a.]

While the contest between Husain Ali Khan and Kokaltash Khan was proceeding, Chabela Ram made a fierce charge on Jani Khan. He was backed up by Khan Zaman (Ali Asghar) and Muhammad Khan Bangash, and both sides made play with their swords. Many a head was severed, many a saddle emptied. It was late in the afternoon and the booming of Jahandar Shah's big guns could now be heard. Farrukh-siyar's men seemed to lose heart ; many left the field and took shelter in neighbouring villages.

When Zulfiqar Khan noticed that Kokaltash Khan had begun to gain the upper hand, he directed Mukhtar Khan to lead a strong reinforcement to their right, to the aid of Jani Khan, and gave orders in person to the artillery to direct their fire against Abdullah Khan. The latter held his ground boldly against this artillery fire, his position being on a mound slightly raised above the plain. But some of his supporters, particularly the new levies, showed signs of giving way. In spite of this Abdullah Khan, surrounded by his Barha Sayyids, then not numbering more than two or three hundred, remained on the mound where he had taken up his place. Availing himself of his opportunity, Churaman Jat, a practised plunderer, fell on the rear of Jahandar Shah and captured many elephants and

* Sister's son of S. Abdullah Khan, Khush-hal Chand, 392b. On fol. 396b there is an incredible story that Abdullah Khan, jealous of his nephew's reputation, sent a European doctor to him at Agra, where he was left behind wounded, with instructions to kill him by poisoned ointments, and it was done accordingly.

camels together with the baggage loaded upon them ; and one of his officers, Girdhar Singh, tried to drive off the oxen, which were used to drag the heavy guns, but was slain by Raji Muhammad Khan in the attempt. [Nur. 106.]

Mukhtar Khan reached Jani Khan's side at a critical moment. By his aid, the ranks of Chabela Ram were thrown into confusion and his men were almost on the point of flight. Then Chabela Ram and Muhammad Khan, taking their lives in their hands, drove their elephants alongside that ridden by Jani Khan, and succeeded in killing him. On the death of their leader Jani Khan's men fled, but Mukhtar Khan with 4,000 men continued the fight until he was severely wounded and forced to withdraw.*

At this stage of the battle Farrukh-siyar's defeat seemed assured. Reports had spread that Husain Ali Khan was dead ; while separated from his standard elephant and from most of his captains, Abdullah Khan had only a few men left around him ; and in the centre, with Farrukh-siyar himself, there were no more than six thousand men. Even these men had no heart left in them and were only waiting for a way of escape. On the other side was Zulfiqar Khan with 25,000 fresh troops, many noted leaders, and powerful artillery. But for some reason, either that he despised the enemy or that he wished Kokaltash Khan to be thoroughly defeated, he refrained from intervening in the fight. Although repeatedly asked for permission, he declined to give the order to attack. At length, learning that Jani Khan was dead, Zulfiqar Khan despatched Chin Qilich Khan to support Kokaltash Khan, with instructions, when free of that duty, to turn his attack against Farrukh-siyar's centre. Zulfiqar Khan then made ready to deal himself with Abdullah Khan, who was still in his former position. Chabela Ram withdrew his men into ambush, while Muhammad Khan succeeded in joining Abdullah Khan. The scattered troops of Husain Ali

* Nur-ud-din, 106. Khafi Khan, 702, says Mukhtar Khan was killed on the spot. Kamwar Khan, 126, however, explains that he was killed by plunderers during the retreat on Dihli. He was the son of Mukhtar Khan Khan Alam Bahadur-Shahi, (d. Safar 1121 H. April 1709). *M. U.* iii. 655. Kamwar Khan spells it Mukhtyar Khan.

Khan re-assembled round the elder Sayyid brother. Farrukh-siyar sent two thousand men from the centre, which he commanded in person. In all Abdullah Khan had now some four thousand men at his disposal.*

Leaving Zulfiqar Khan's division on his right, Abdullah Khan began to work round to the rearguard of Jahandar Shah, at the moment when Kokaltash Khan on his way to Farrukh-siyar's centre, had been met and stopped by Chabela Ram. Abdullah Khan, as soon as he saw the Prince's danger, had detached Muhammad Khan, to protect their centre. Raza Quli Khan, general of Jahandar Shah's light artillery, had just turned his guns on Farrukh-siyar, when Muhammad Khan came up and by a hand to hand encounter silenced his fire, Raza Quli Khan himself losing his life. Chabela Ram, meanwhile, had defeated and killed Kokaltash Khan, whereupon that noble's men fell back upon the main body of Jahandar Shah's army, and threw his centre into confusion. Azam Khan, (Mhd Mah), brother of Kokaltash Khan, who had been severely wounded, succeeded in rejoining Jahandar Shah.†

These events assisted Abdullah Khan in making good his advance. Accompanied now by Chabela Ram, Muhammad Khan, and Ali Asghar Khan, he came out behind the rear of Jahandar Shah. The movement was facilitated, or rather made possible, by the defection of the Turanis under Chin Qilich Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan, who according to the previous agreement, stood aloof and made no effort to interfere. At the rear there was no preparation for defence. Abdullah Khan, without a moment's hesitation, marched straight upon the elephants bearing Jahandar Shah's women. Islam Khan and Murtaza Khan came out and did their best to stem the torrent. But they were soon killed. [Nur. 110-111.]

Zulfiqar Khan, on seeing the enemy opposed to him move away to one side, adopted the erroneous idea that they had abandoned the field and were in full flight. He drew rein and

* Nur-ud-din, 109; Khafi Khan, ii. 702, 722, 723; Khush-hal Chand, 393a.

† Nur-ud-din 110, Khafi Khan ii. 703, 724. K. K. says, 724, that Raza Quli Khan, after being wounded, escaped to Agra and was there poisoned.

countermanded his attack. Many urged that as Husain Ali Khan was dead (as was then thought) and Abdullah Khan had left the field, it would be easy to decide the day by attacking Farrukh-siyar, who could have with him no more than 3,000 or 4,000 disheartened men, already more than half-inclined to take to flight. Zulfiqar Khan objected that the field of battle had been already vacated by the enemy, and that night was coming on. He would cause the drums to beat for the victory and encamp where they stood. The few of the enemy left were unable to cross the river at night, flight was barred to them in every direction. Why then trouble any further? In the morning they could take them alive at their leisure. The drums were beaten, in forgetfulness of Zal's advice to Rustam, 'No enemy can be counted despicable or powerless.'

Abdullah Khan heard Zulfiqar Khan's drums beating. He was perplexed by the sound and feared that some calamity had overtaken Farrukh-siyar. Resolving to sell his life as dearly as possible, he charged the enemy's centre from its rear. Jahandar Shah was still engaged in repelling this onset when his attention was diverted by new assailants. Clouds of arrows had struck the elephants bearing his women and the women singers; the uproar and confusion were increased by the Jat plunderers, who fell at once on the baggage placed in charge of the rearguard. The men defending it were scattered and fled to the centre division. This point became in its turn the object of Abdullah Khan's attack, his force having swollen on the way to some 12,000 men. Jahandar Shah's elephant, on receiving several arrow wounds on its face, got out of its driver's control. The Emperor made an effort to reach Zulfiqar Khan, so that their united forces might turn and face the foe. But the elephant was quite uncontrollable and rushed first in one direction and then in another; any horseman or foot-soldier that it saw it rushed at and killed. The Emperor's bodyguard fled in all directions to save their lives. Jahandar Shah was thus forced to descend from his elephant and mount a horse. [Nur. 112-113, Warid 142a.]

Hardly had the Emperor settled himself in the saddle, when Lal Kunwar arrived in search of him. She forced him

to come into her *howda*, and together they took the road to Akbarabad (Agra). Night was now rapidly approaching and his troops in despair abandoned the field. Zulfiqar Khan sent men to repel the enemy but the movement was ineffectual : in the darkness many were slain by the Barha Sayyids, and some, among them Mukhtar Khan (son of Khan Alam, Bahadur-Shahi) and Wazarat Khan (son of Mir Khan, the elder), were killed by plunderers. The camp-followers of Jahandar Shah's army, who had taken to flight, were trodden under foot by the retreating elephants, of which there were over two hundred present.* When this rout was reported to Zulfiqar Khan, he made no attempt to retreat, but stood where he was for at least three hours after night had fallen. Although on Farrukh-siyar's side they were beating their drums in token of victory, no one, not even Abdullah Khan, ventured to move against Zulfiqar Khan. Meanwhile the latter had sent messengers, to whom he had promised large rewards, to search for Jahandar Shah and Azz-ud-din, and bring one or the other back to the battlefield. If one of them could be found, he intended to make one final charge in the hope of retrieving the day. In spite of all efforts, no trace of either father or son could be found. Uneasy at seeing Zulfiqar Khan still holding the field at the head of his troops, Farrukh-siyar sent him a message asking the reason. If he claimed the crown for himself, his persistence was understood. If on the other hand, he were only a subject, then one heir of the house of Taimur was as much entitled to his allegiance as another. When Azam Shah was defeated, he had submitted himself to Bahadur Shah ; he was bound to adopt the same course now. On this appeal, Zulfiqar Khan withdrew slowly and in good order towards Agra. To all his enquiries for Jahandar Shah the answer was that he must have gone to the city of Agra. Zulfiqar Khan pushed on as fast as possible towards the city, in the hope of finding the Emperor and returning with him to renew the contest. He drew up at Shahganj near the city, where he remained until midnight, then finding no trace of Jahandar

*Nur-ud-din, 113; Khafi Khan, ii. 703, 724; Kamwar Khan, 126.

Shah or his son, he marched off accompanied by Abdus-samad Khan, Raji Muhammad Khan, Shakir Khan and other leaders with their troops. His first march made at night carried him to near Kakrol, he then changed his direction and made for Dihli.*

Some of Zulfiqar Khan's officers, notably Abdus-samad Khan Ahrari, had advised him to attempt the seizure of Farrukh-siyar's person, an easy enterprize, and if in the morning it were found that Jahandar Shah and his son were slain, Farrukh-siyar's gratitude could be assured by placing him on the throne. Zulfiqar Khan declined to entertain this project. Others advised an immediate retreat on the Dakhin, where the Nawab's deputy, Daud Khan, possessed sufficient troops and treasure to renew the struggle. This proposal seemed likely to be accepted. But Sabha Chand interposed with the remark, 'Think of your weak old father! Will you by your own act give him over to be killed?' The bystanders remarked to each other that it was an omen of ill-fortune when, at such a moment, a scribe's opinion was taken and that of soldiers neglected. [Warid 143b, *M.U.* ii. 93.]

SEC. 18.—FLIGHT OF JAHANDAR SHAH TO DIHLI.

At the place where he had taken shelter, Jahandar Shah caused his beard and moustache to be shaved off, and changed his clothes. When the night was nearly spent he, Lal Kunwar, and Mhd. Mah (Azam Khan) mounted a small, two-wheeled bullock-carriage (*bahal*), covered by a canopy, such as women ride in, and started for Dihli. In the morning, about nine o'clock, they reached a village five miles or so west of Mathura. There they sent for food, and until it was found, lay down on the bare earth for a short sleep. They were soon again on their way, and munched as they went the dry bread for which they had begged. Three hours after nightfall on the second night, they reached a village near Sarai Hodal, and here they obtained a little grass for their cattle. Day had hardly risen

* Khafi Khan, ii. 724; Yahya Khan, 121a; Iradat Khan in Scott, II. Pt. iv., 94; B. M. No. 1690, fol. 161b, and *Ahwat-ul-khawaqin*, 57b.

ere they were again on the road. On the 16th Zul Hijja H. (13th Jan. 1713), after dark, they entered Talpat, a village thirteen miles from Dihli, which had been granted in perpetuity (*al taghmah*) by Jahandar Shah to Muhammad Mah, who had built there a house and mosque and planted a garden. His servants were still in possession, and thus they were in comparative safety. As they did not wish to enter Dihli in daylight, and they were worn out by continuous travelling, they went to sleep. At dusk they resumed their journey. Muhammad Mah advised his master to avoid Dihli and continue his flight to Multan, where he had friends. Jahandar Shah answered with idle talk. He still relied on Zulfiqar Khan's oaths and insisted that he must once more see and speak to that nobleman. They reached Dihli in the night of the 18th Zul Hijja (15th Jan., 1713). Lal Kunwar went to her own house in charge of Muhammad Mah, while Jahandar Shah, still covered with the dust from his journey, repaired alone to the house of Asad Khan, Asaf-ud-daulah.*

Zulfiqar Khan with Abdus-samad Khan had arrived at Dihli on the preceding day, the 17th (14th Jan. 1713), still at the head of a large and well-equipped force. The people of the city made certain that after an interview with his father, he would renew the struggle, erecting batteries outside the city. Zulfiqar Khan proceeded to his father's house, but found him strongly opposed to further hostilities. He argued that if with 100,000 men, and all the great nobles, they had failed, they were not likely to succeed with disheartened troops. Nor was there any money left with which to pay any one. By collecting all the rascals and low fellows from the bazars, they might prolong the struggle for two or three days. But their efforts would be only like the final splutter of an expiring candle. [M. M. 153, Warid, 145.]

Jahandar Shah, immediately on reaching Dihli went, as we have said, straight to the house of Asad Khan, in the hope

* Mirza Muhammad, 153, 154; Ijad, 108b to 111a; Khafi Khan, ii. 725. Mathura is 35 m. from Agra, Thornton, 656; Sarai Hodal, *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 50, 32 m. n.w. of Mathura; Talpat, Elliot, *Supp. Glossary*, 340, 13 m. south of Dihli, *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 49 S. E.

of securing the renewed co-operation of Zulfiqar Khan. When his arrival, alone, without a single attendant, was announced, Zulfiqar Khan directed that he should not be admitted beyond the gate. The short delay was devoted to consultation with his father. The wily old man, regardless of the infamy of the act, saw that Jahandar Shah could be converted into a ransom for themselves. Fortune had turned its face away from the man, he had made himself odious by his acts and words. It were best to make him a prisoner. They could then use this act as a means for reconciliation with Farrukh-siyar. Asad Khan had long held the highest office in the State, and five years before had been very gently treated by Bahadur Shah. As is not altogether unusual with the old, he had come to believe that he was indispensable, that no Government could be carried on without him. He imagined that Farrukh-siyar, surrounded as he was by new and comparatively untried advisers, would only be too glad to secure the services of two such experienced persons as himself and his son. If not employed at Court, Zulfiqar Khan was still sure to obtain the government of a province, or at any rate, would be allowed to retain his rank and titles. [M. M. 154, Ijad 110a.]

Zulfiqar Khan, whose judgment rarely erred, did not share his father's opinion. He wished to carry off Jahandar Shah to Multan, or even to Kabul, and there collect an army; or he could take him to the Dakhin, where Daud Khan with all his troops was at their sole disposal. Nay, even if Jahandar Shah were abandoned to his fate, why should he not hasten to the Dakhin himself, where without much exertion he could found an independent principality. Anything was better than submission to Farrukh-siyar—who was there who knew not of his enmity with the late Azim-ush-shan? Was not the alliance of the three Princes his work? Furthermore, was it right for them to deliver to an enemy a man who had taken refuge at their house? His father replied that, when Bahadur Shah died, every noble took one side or another, and they happened to join that of Jahandar Shah. What crime had they thereby committed? Besides, if such a captive were made over by them to Farrukh-siyar, what could he do but receive

them into favour. Doubtless it was opposed to the rules of friendship to deliver up Jahandar Shah. But everybody detested him ; if they espoused his cause, not a soul would join them ; and they would only risk their own heads along with his. Let them rather seek in him an instrument for saving their own lives and property. Zulfiqar Khan after some time yielded a reluctant consent. They sent out to Jahandar Shah misleading messages of friendship, and on the pretence of his taking repose, inveigled him into a small detached building, round which they drew some tent-screens, and thus made him a prisoner. A joint letter was then despatched by father and son to Farrukh-siyar, claiming recognition for the signal service that they had just performed.*

Having thus decided on their course of action, Asad Khan thought it advisable to eject Ahl-ullah Khan (Saifullah) from the fort, to the charge of which he had been appointed when Jahandar Shah started for Agra. He was replaced by Muhammad Yar Khan, who had been subahdar of Dihli and commandant of the fort from the time of Alamgir. Information had reached the partisans of Farrukh-siyar that Jahandar Shah was hiding in Asad Khan's house. These men assembled and demanded with threats that the fugitive should be delivered up. By daybreak there was a large crowd, and it looked as if an insurrection would break out. Then to appease the rioters, Jahandar Shah was sent a prisoner to the fort, and at his earnest entreaty, Lal Kunwar was allowed to join him. On seeing her, he is said to have exclaimed joyfully, 'Let the past be forgotten, and in all things let us praise the Lord!' A few days afterwards, on the 23rd Zul Hijja by Abdullah Khan's orders, harshness was carried to the point of placing the fallen Emperor's feet in fetters. Already, on the 22nd Zul Hijja (19th January, 1713), before any of the victorious Prince's officers had appeared in Dihli, the *khutba* was read at the

* M. Mhd, 155. Yahya Khan, 121a, who had a personal grudge against the Sayyid brothers, puts Zulfiqar Khan's objection on the ground that the Sayyids were in power, and that they had no tenderness or good feeling for them (Asad Khan and his son). He could not tell how they would act towards him and his father.

Jama Masjid, or great mosque, in the name of the new Emperor, Farrukh-siyar.*

SEC. 19.—END OF JAHANDAR SHAH'S REIGN.

Although Jahandar Shah lived a few days longer, and we shall recount his actual death in the next chapter, still his reign being ended, it will be convenient to interpose in this place the few details about him which remain to be noted.

Dates of Birth and Death. His life was taken on the 16th Muharram 1125 H. (11th February, 1713). As he was born on the 10th Ramzan 1071 H. (10th May, 1661), his age at death was 53 (lunar) years, four months, and six days.

Length of Reign. His reign, counting from the 21st Safar 1124 H., the day on which he was crowned, to the 16th Muharram 1125 H., the day on which he died, lasted ten months and twenty-five days. (1125 y. 0 m. 16 d.—1124 y. 1 m. 21 d.)

Coins. The verses on his coins were—

(1) *Zad sikka bar jar chun mihr sahib-i-qiran.*

Jahandar Shah, padshah-i-jahan.

'Jahandar Shah, Emperor of the World, Lord of the Conjunctions, struck sun-like money of gold.'

2. *Dar afaq zad sikka chun mihr o mah.*

Abul-fath-i-ghazi, Jahandar Shah.

'In the horizons struck money like sun and moon, Abul-fath, the champion, Jahandar Shah.' In the first line there is a variant, *bar* (upon) appearing instead of *chun* (like).

3. *Zad sikka dar mulk chun mihr o mah.*

Shahan Shah-i-ghazi, Jahandar Shah.

'Jahandar Shah, king of kings, the champion, struck

* M. Mhd., 156; Warid, 143b; Kamwar Khan, 128; Ijad, 110a. Mhd. Qasim Aurangabadi, *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 58, has different details. According to him Jahandar Shah put up at a way-side cook-shop, where he wrote a note, and by urgent entreaty prevailed on the man to get it into Asaf-ud-daulah's hands, and if Fate were propitious he would reward him with a *mansab* and money. One Muhsin, a servant of Asaf-ud-daulah's, was a customer of the cook-shopman. This servant took the note and gave it to his superior, the Nawab's *nazir*, and from him it passed to the Nawab. On getting the note, Asaf-ud-daulah sent men to seize Jahandar Shah.

money in the realm like sun and moon.' There is also the following variant of the first line, *Ba zad sikkā-i-nuqra chun mihr o mah*, 'Struck silver money, like sun and moon.'

Mint Towns. In the three collections at the British Museum, the India Museum, Calcutta, and the Panjab Museum, Lahor, I count up twenty-eight coins of this sovereign. On three the place of coining is absent or illegible. The rest belong to the following mints; Lahor (1), Shahjahanabad (5), Akbarabad (5), Lakhnau (2), Patna (2), Cambay (1), Surat (3), Burhanpur (2), Aurangabad (4). I am very much surprised at finding Patna in the list, a place where he never had any authority. The other names represent fairly enough the local limits of his brief authority.

Title after Death. His special title after his death was *Khuld aramgah*, 'Peaceful in Paradise.'

Character. His character has been perhaps sufficiently disclosed in the course of our story, and it hardly needs further elucidation. In his earlier years, in the Dakhin and during his government of Multan, he seems to have been a fairly active soldier. It is said that, during the struggle for the throne after Alamgir's death, the only thing that Azam Shah feared was Muizz-ud-din's soldierly qualities. But Jahandar Shah's acquisition of the crown was more due to happy accidents than to his own exertions; and his conduct during his few months of power showed him to be quite unfitted to hold rule over others, being unable, even according to the somewhat lax Eastern standard, to govern himself. He was the first sovereign of the house of Taimur who proved himself absolutely unfitted to rule. The only good quality left to him, in popular estimation, was his liking for and liberality to religious mendicants. In company with Lal Kunwar, he visited them and 'kissed their feet'. He was also fond of watching the fighting of elephants. He delighted in illuminations and fire-works, himself setting fire to the *Lanka*, the mimic fortress of Ravan, the ravisher of Sita. The cause of his fall is likened by Warid truly enough to the case of the exiled monarch, who attributed his ruin to morning slumbering and midnight carousing. [Warid 140b, Yahya 119a.]

Wives.—Jahandar Shah was married on the 5th Shaban 1087 H. (14th October, 1676) to the daughter of Mirza Murad Kam, Mukarram Khan Safawi, and then, on the 18th Ramzan 1095 H. (30th August, 1684) to that lady's niece, Sayyid-un-nissa Begam, daughter of Mirza Rustam, son of Mukarram Khan. Another wife was Anup Bai, who died at Dihli on the 25th Zul Qada 1147 H. (17th April 1735). She was the mother of Aziz-ud-din (Alamgir II). One wife, or rather concubine, was the woman we have so often mentioned, Lal Kunwar, a dancing girl, created Imtiyaz Mahal after Jahandar Shah's accession.*

Children. The children of Jahandar Shah are shown in the following table :—

Muizz-ud-din, Jahandar Shah

Azz-ud-din (1)	Izz-ud-din (2)	Aziz-ud-din (3)	Rabi Begam (4)	Daughter (5)
----------------	----------------	-----------------	----------------	--------------

Yahya Khan, 119a, calls the younger sons Izz-ud-daulah and Muin-ud-daulah.

(1) *Azz-ud-din.* The date of his birth is not recorded, but it must have been before 1103 H. (1691-2), in which year he is mentioned. He was married in 1118 H. (1706-7) to the daughter of Amir Khan deceased, and again on the 24th Ramzan 1121 H. (23rd November, 1709) to a Sayyid Begam, daughter of Bidar Bakht, son of Azam Shah. Azz-ud-din was blinded on the 6th Muharram 1126 H. (21st January 1714), and died at Dihli on the 8th Zul Hijja 1157 H. (12th December, 1744).

(2) *Izz-ud-din.* This Prince's year of birth has not been traced, but he, too, is mentioned in 1103 H. (1691-2). He died in confinement at Dihli on the 8th Rabi II. 1151 H. (25th July, 1738).

(3) *Aziz-ud-din.* He was born at Multan in 1099 H. (1687-8), his mother being Anup Bai. He succeeded to the throne in 1167 H. (1754) under the title of Alamgir the second, and he will be dealt with when we reach the end of his reign.

(4) *Rabi Begam.* She was betrothed to Bidar Dil, son of Bidar Bakht, on the 22nd Rabi I. 1122 H. (20th May 1710), and died on the 14th Rajab of the same year, (7th September, 1710).

There must have been another daughter, since Jahandar Shah had another son-in-law, Khwaja Musa Sarbuland Khan, son of Khwaja Yaqub Surbuland Khan Naqshbandi Bukhari, who died on the 4th Jamadi I. 1152 H. (8th July 1739) at Shahjahanabad, aged nearly seventy. This man's father died in 1096 H. (1684-5), *T-i-Mhdi*.

CHAPTER IV

FARRUKH-SIYAR

SEC. I.—THE MARCH FROM AGRA TO DIHLI.

In the confusion and the darkness the Jats plundered impartially the baggage of both armies. No fitting resting-place for the Prince could be found, nothing but a dirty screen, all black from the smoke of cooking, and a small wooden platform. On this latter Farrukh-siyar seated himself and received the homage of his officers. It was not till three days afterwards that Sadullah Khan (son of Inayatullah Khan), who had been Jahandar Shah's Lord Steward, produced the late sovereign's duplicate set of tents, which owing to their erection within a walled garden, had escaped the plunderers. These were put up for Farrukh-siyar on the site of Jahandar Shah's encampment. [Warid, 148b.]

Having spent the night of the battle (14th Zul Hijja, 11th January, 1713), in the small tent erected on the field, the next morning, after a formal enthronement, Farrukh-siyar offered up his thanksgiving at the shrine of Shah Mushtaq, and then marched one and a half kos to his camp. The Turani leaders, Chin Qilich Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, with many others who had served in the army of Jahandar Shah, tendered their submission. Shariyat-ullah Khan (Uba'idullah) was also presented by Sayyid Abdullah Khan. Written orders were issued to Asad Khan and Muhammad Yar Khan at Dihli, and to many other subahdars, enjoining them to seize the fugitive Jahandar Shah wherever he might be found. At the end of the day His Majesty paid a visit to Husain Ali Khan who was confined to his tents by his wounds. After the battle was over, he had been found about midnight lying naked and insensible under a heap of the slain. When informed of the victory, new life was breathed into him. The following day, the 15th (12th January), the Emperor attended at the large mosque attached to Akbar's tomb at Bihishtabad Sikandra, and there heard the *khutba*

read in his own name. More nobles and leaders now presented themselves. On this date Abdullah Khan brought in as a prisoner Azz-ud-din, who had been found hiding in the underground chambers of the mansion at Agra known as Dara Shukoh's.* Public rumour asserted that Jahandar Shah and Zulfiqar Khan had gone to Dihli; the latter had been seen at Mathura on the way to that place.†

On the 17th (14th January), a move was made to the neighbourhood of Bagh Nur Manzil, also known as Bagh Dahra.‡ The stream of officers lately serving under Jahandar Shah continued to flow into the camp. As there was still great uncertainty about the future movements of Jahandar Shah, and a renewal of the struggle by Zulfiqar Khan was feared, it was thought advisable to take steps to secure possession of the capital as quickly as possible. Abdullah Khan was therefore invested with the usual dress of honour and despatched on this day (14th January, 1713), upon that service. With him went Chin Qilich Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, Hamid Khan, Jan Nisar Khan, Khwajam Quli Khan, Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, Turktaz Khan, and others. His orders were to attach all the property of the men belonging to the other side. An imperial rescript was also sent to Asad Khan by the hand of Ikhlas Khan. It was then Farrukh-siyar's intention to follow as speedily as possible with the rest of his troops.§

On the 18th (15th January, 1713), another visit was paid to Husain Ali Khan. The 19th was passed at the Taj, where the

* Yahya Khan, 121a, says that Azz-ud-din and his wife were captured in a grove near Agra, and that Farrukh-siyar ordered them to be kept prisoners. Kamraj's story, 52a, is that they were found in a milk-seller's house.

† Kamwar 126, Ijad 100b, Warid 148a, Khafi Khan 724, 727.

‡ Of this grove the only thing now left is a large well, which from its size is known as the well of the 52 water-bags (*bawan lao ki kua*)—*Tarikh-i-Agra*, Husaini Press, Fathgarh, p. 28. The site is three miles south of the fort, it is now within the cantonments, and is called Khawaspura (private letter from Mirza Wiqar Ali Beg, dated 20th February, 1893). The epithet Nur Manzil was given with reference to the Emperor Jahangir's name, Nur-ud-din Muhammad, *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 79.

§ Mirza Muhammad 150, 151; Kamwar 127; Ijad 104b; Khafi Khan, 727.

tombs of Shah Jahan and his queen, Mumtaz-i-Mahal, were visited. The Government of Akbarabad was confirmed to Sayyid Amir Khan Tatthawi or Sindhi, (grandson of Qasim Khan Namakin).^{*} The *jizya*, or poll-tax, was abolished after it had been levied for thirty-four years. On the 20th submissive letters were received from Asad Khan at Dihli, reporting the imprisonment of Jahandar Shah and the restraint placed on Zulfiqar Khan. As Farrukh-siyar could not trust Asad Khan, it was decided to await full reports from Abdullah Khan before any further action was taken. On the 22nd the Emperor attended the public prayers at the Great Mosque near the *Chauk*, or market-place, in the city of Agra, gold and silver coins being scattered on the way. The next day Abdullah Khan sent the good news from Dihli that Jahandar Shah had been made a prisoner and Zulfiqar Khan dissuaded from continuing his resistance. As there was no longer the same pressing necessity for haste, re-assuring letters were sent to Asad Khan, and a leisurely advance to Dihli was ordered by the usual stages.[†]

On the 25th (22nd January, 1713), a start was made for Dihli, the first camp being near Sikandra. The other marches were, 27th Sarai Godraya, 1st Muharram Iradatnagar, 3rd a place near Sarai Azimabad, between Mathura (Islamabad) and Bindraban, 5th Siyai, 6th Shergarh, 8th Shahpur 9th Sultanpur, 11th near Fathpur, 12th near Qabulpur, 13th Ismailpur, 15th (10th February, 1713), a grove in Khizrabad, five miles south of Dihli city.[‡]

^{*} For this man, see Blochmann, *Ain*, 470, and *Masir-ul-umara*, iii, 74. The rock-salt plates and bottles from which he got his nickname are described in Anand Ram's *Mirat-ul-istilah*. For Amir Khan himself, see *M. U.*, i, 303.

[†] For abolition of *jizya*, see B. M. No. 1690, fol. 163.

[‡] Kamwar Khan 127, 128; Ijad 105a; Khafi Khan, 728 and *M. U.* i, 318, say the army arrived on the 14th Muharram at Barahpula, which is 13½ miles nearer the city (Carr Stephen, plate I). Sarai Godraya, Iradatnagar and Shergarh, I have not traced. Mathura and Bindraban are well known. Siyai (Seyee) and Shahpur are on sheet No. 50, Sultanpur, Fathpur (F. Biloch), Qabulpur, and Ismailpur on sheet No. 49 of the *Indian Atlas*.

SEC. 2.—ABDULLAH KHAN AT DIHLI.

We now return to Dihli. The first news of Jahandar Shah's defeat at Agra was received at Dihli after midday on the 15th Zul Hijja (12th January, 1713). We have already described the subsequent arrival there of Zulfiqar Khan and Jahandar Shah, and the measures adopted by Asad Khan. Sayyid Abdullah Khan, who started from Agra on the 17th arrived at Barahpula near Dihli on the 25th Zul Hijja. The principal men of the city came out to pay their respects,* and on the same day Zulfiqar Khan, to whom Ikhlas Khan had been sent, rode out to the camp. His interview with the new Wazir lasted over an hour. The Sayyids never doubted for a moment that Asad Khan and his son, as soon as they presented themselves, would be admitted to favour and high office. Thus they thought it wisest for their own future benefit, to put the two men under an obligation by acting as their introducers. Sayyid Abdullah Khan promised his predecessor that, if he would entrust himself to his and his brother's care, they would arrange that he and his father should not only be presented to the new Emperor, but that not a hair of their heads should be injured.† Visitors returning from the Nawab's camp met at the Turkman gate of the city‡ the retinue of Mahabat Khan, son of Munim Khan, who had just been released from prison along with Jahandar Shah's other prisoners. Amin-ud-din Khan, who was one of them, found his way to Mathura and was presented there to Farrukh-siyar on the 3rd Muharram (29th January).§

On the 26th Zul Hijja, Abdullah Khan entered the city

* Among others Mirza Muhammad, the historian, with his brother and a cousin, was presented to the Nawab by Lutfullah Khan Sadiq. Barahpula is $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles south of the Dihli Gate of the modern city (Carr Stephen, plate I and p. 209).

† Yahya Khan, 121b, calls the overtures made by Sayyid Abdullah Khan to Asad Khan his "deceit" (*fareb*).

‡ This gate is on the south side of the city, having the Dihli Gate between it and the river. See Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 47, and Carr Stephen, 244.

§ Mirza Muhammad 153, 157; Kamwar Khan 129; Yar Muhammad 26. Khafi Khan, ii. 732; *M. U.* i. 317.

and occupied the mansion known as Jafar Khan's.* He busied himself in restoring order in the capital and the rest of the country. Khwaja Husain (Khan Dauran), Hifz-ullah Khan (son of Murtaza Khan), Murid Khan and other partisans of the late Emperor were seized and their property confiscated. The same course was adopted with the estate of the late Kokaltash Khan (Ali Murad). Sabha Chand, Zulfiqar Khan's chief man of business, who had been promoted by him to the office of *diwan* of the Khalsa, or imperial revenue office, with the title of Rajah, was summoned by Abdullah Khan. Finding that this man was sent for, Zulfiqar Khan began to fear for himself, and he told Sabha Chand not to obey the order. Abdullah Khan sent reassuring messages and advised the ex-wazir not to interfere. Zulfiqar Khan was not satisfied, until in a few days *farmans* arrived, addressed to himself and his father, promising them the new Emperor's favour. Some of these letters went so far as to promise his restoration to the office of Wazir. As there was no other way out of the difficulty, Sabha Chand was now sent in charge of Dawar Dad Khan to Sayyid Abdullah Khan. Sabha Chand was put into prison and his house confiscated. [M. M. 158.]

SEC. 3.—DEATH OF ZULFIQAR KHAN.

Although one month had barely elapsed since Farrukh-siyar had won an Empire almost entirely by the exertions of the two Sayyid brothers, a party adverse to them had already been formed in the imperial camp. At its head was Ubaidullah, Shariyat-ullah Khan,† a Turani, who when Qazi of Dacca had acquired great influence over Farrukh-siyar. Allied with him were other personal friends and dependents of the new Emperor, the principal man being Khwaja Asim (Ashraf

*It had belonged to Kokaltash Khan and was sometimes called Ali Mardan Khan's. Azam Shah had owned it in Alamgir's reign—(B. M. 1690, fol. 162a). It was afterwards granted to Abdullah Khan.

† Afterwards Mir Jumla. To give him a status in the Court he had been made *darogha* of the pages (*khawas*) on the 20th Zul Hijja (17th January, 1713) and the title of Ibadullah Khan was conferred on the 26th of that month.

Khan),* a native of Agra. Shariyat-ullah Khan, although possessing little capacity for high office, was a bold ambitious man, whose chief object was to clear his own road to power by destroying as many as possible of the old nobility, and sowing in Farrukh-siyar's heart the seeds of suspicion against the Sayyids, whom he hoped soon to supplant. [M. M. 158-159.]

When it was known in Farrukh-siyar's entourage that Zulfiqar Khan had visited Abdullah Khan and that some kind of friendly proposals had been interchanged, it was resolved to interfere at once.† The man selected as their envoy was one Muhammad Jafar, who had long been steward to Farrukh-siyar and had lately been raised to the title of Taqarrub Khan. As he was a native of Iran, it was thought that he would be more trusted than any one else by Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan, who were also from that country. Taqarrub Khan swore the most solemn oaths on the *Quran* that no harm should happen to Asad Khan or his son. He hinted to them that it was dangerous to accept an introduction through the Sayyid brothers, as in secret Farrukh-siyar was already displeased with them, and was not likely to turn a gracious ear to any representation from them. Persuaded by these arguments, Asad Khan proposed that he and Zulfiqar Khan should set out together. His son preferred that, in the first instance, Asad Khan should go alone, that they might see what sort of fate was in store for them. Asad Khan would not listen to any such proposal. He was convinced that, as their services could not be dispensed with, no harm could come to them. Finally on the 15th Muharram the two nobles accompanied Taqarrub Khan to the camp at Khizrabad and passed the night in their own tents, it

* Afterwards Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, who was made *darogha* of the audience-hall on the 1st Muharram (27th January, 1713).

† Yahya Khan, 121b, makes out that Farrukh-siyar asked the Sayyids for advice as to the conduct to be pursued towards Jahandar Shah, Asad Khan, and Zulfiqar Khan. Abdullah Khan, Husain Ali Khan and Lachin Beg held that on no account could they be allowed to live. Thereupon Farrukh-siyar decided that Asad Khan was innocent; but they were at liberty to kill the other two.

being arranged that they should be received in the morning. Their too ready acquiescence bears out the truth of the proverb, "When Death arrives, the physician becomes a simpleton."*

We are told by Warid, I know not with what amount of truth, that after Zulfiqar Khan's death the hand which Taqarrub Khan had employed in taking the false oath on the *Quran* began at once to wither. He could not move it, and it grew continually worse. He lived on asses' milk, he tried every remedy, nothing was of the least use. Thus the hand remained a witness to his false oath until three years afterwards his end came.†

On the 16th Muharram the presentation of Asad Khan and his son took place. Zulfiqar Khan, as he entered the imperial enclosure, felt a presentiment of his impending doom. He said to his father that he would withdraw and greet the Emperor the next day, when on his march into the city. Asad Khan lost his temper and gave a sharp answer. Zulfiqar Khan was silenced, and they entered the enclosure together.‡ Asad Khan went into the Justice Hall and sat down. His presence was announced to the Emperor. Farrukh-siyar came from the chaplet tent (*tasbih-khana*) and Asad Khan rose, made his bow, and pronounced his salutation. The Emperor advanced quickly, embraced him, took his two hands, and seated him close to himself. Many flattering remarks were pronounced and robes

* Yahya Khan, 121b. *chun qaza ayad, tabib ablah shawad*. Mirza Muhammad 159, Kamwar Khan 129, Warid 113, Khafi Khan, ii. 732, 733.

† T. Kh. died on the 9th Rabi II. 1128, 1st April, 1716, *Tariqh-i-Mhdi*. Mirza Mhd., 261, says he died of *diqq* (hectic fever, consumption, atrophy), of which he had been seriously ill for one year. He left sons, one of whom, Tahir Khan, was on the 7th Jamadi II. 1128 H. created Taqarrub Khan, see Kamwar Khan, 163, 164.

‡ Mirza Muhammad's account of Zulfiqar Khan's death was obtained from a friend, whose truthfulness he fully believed in. This gentleman had gone that morning, in Indian fashion, with a *dali* or basket of fruit and vegetables from his own garden, to be laid at the new Emperor's feet. By this means he had been admitted into the privy chamber and justice hall. Before he could come out, the approach of Asad Khan and his son was announced. When he tried to make his exit, he found that of those inside no one was allowed to leave the place. He was thus a witness of all that happened (M. Mhd., 161, 162).

and jewels were brought, with which he was then and there invested. Asad Khan now said, "I have brought a culprit with me, may I hope for the pardon of his offences?" The Emperor replied, "Brother, let him be brought in." Zulfiqar Khan came in, unarmed, his two hands tied together, and stood before the sovereign. Farrukh-siyar, making a gesture of repugnance at seeing his hands tied, ordered them in an agitated voice to be untied. The Khan was then told to approach. He came and fell at the Emperor's feet, but he was raised up and embraced and kindly spoken to. A robe of honour and jewels were brought for him. Farrukh-siyar then, addressing Asad Khan, said that he was just on the point of starting for a visit to the shrine of Nizam-ud-din Auliya,* he (Asad Khan) had better go home and "Brother," that is, Zulfiqar Khan, would remain. Before their arrival, the orders for the visit to the shrine had been given, and the imperial retinue and the men of the *haft chauki* (personal guard) had all assembled.†

Asad Khan returned to his tents and Zulfiqar Khan remained in the Emperor's camp. Farrukh-siyar rose and went out, saying to Zulfiqar Khan, "I am going now; I must get something to eat and see to my equipage; I will send some food for you, you can eat it here." He then went inside, leaving Zulfiqar Khan seated with Khwaja Asim.‡ In a few moments trays from the imperial table were brought. Fearing that the food might be poisoned, Zulfiqar Khan hesitated to eat. Khwaja Asim, penetrating his thoughts, said: "If his lordship permit, this slave, too, will take a share." Thus reassured Zulfiqar Khan began to eat. The Khwaja then remarked that to eat food in the tent used as Hall of Justice was not fitting, had they not better move to the screens outside and eat there? It so happened that two canvas screens had been put up in the space before the Hall of Justice, an entrance having been left at one end only. The two nobles came out. As soon as

* Kamwar Khan, 130, says "the Qutb-ul-aqtab," i.e., the shrine of Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyari.

† M. Mhd. 160-2, Ijad 119b, Warid 114.

‡ He had just been made Khan Dauran Bahadur. Ijad. 119a. His titles were afterwards added to, and he became Samsam-ud-daulah Mansur Jang.

Zulfiqar Khan had entered within the screens, and while Khwaja Asim was still outside them, the tent-pitchers with the greatest expedition brought the screens together and closed the entrance. In an instant about two hundred men, each armed with sword and shield, sprang from their place of concealment and drew up round the screen, shoulder to shoulder, leaving no space whatever between them. When the capture was reported to Farrukh-siyar who was seated in the chaplet tent (*tasbih-khana*), Ibadullah Khan, *darogha* of the pages,* was sent out. Entering between the screens, he said loudly, "His Majesty asks what reason there was for you to imprison Muhammad Kam Bakhsh and inflict injury on his followers. Does it accord with the rules of loyalty and of submission to a gracious master to act thus to his sons?" Zulfiqar Khan answered:—

"The imprisonment of Kam Bakhsh was by his father's order; I was Alamgir's servant and Kam Bakhsh, his son. If he had told me to make my father a prisoner, I should have obeyed."

After each answer Ibadullah Khan returned to Farrukh-siyar and came back with a new demand. The questions and answers continued on this wise as follows:

"You were generalissimo and chief adviser of Muhammad Azam Shah. Was it fitting for a general to flee, as you did, and leave his Prince all alone?"

"As long as he was alive, I remained with him; when he was slain, what right had I to continue a contest in the field?"

"What was your quarrel with the martyred Prince, (i.e. Azim-ush-shan, Farrukh-siyar's father)?"

"He did not look on me with favour, thus I was not in a position to join his side. All the officers of the State took one side or another. I, too, took a side; nor did I thereby commit any crime."

"Why did you kill Mukhlis Khan and Rustam Dil Khan?"

"I had nothing to do with that matter. These things were done on the advice and by the instigation of Kokaltash Khan."

* Afterwards Mir Jumla, Muazzam Khan, Khan Khanan, Bahadur, Muzaffar Jang.

"All the other Princes survive: what was Muhammad Karim's offence that you should seize him, bring him to your house, and slay him? Are you not aware that he was our brother, and that his blood cannot go unavenged?" [M. M. 163-166.]

Zulfiqar Khan, by this time, knew that his death was resolved on, and that any further display of meekness would avail him nothing. He changed his tone and returning taunt for taunt, cursed Farrukh-siyar and said, "If you want to kill me, kill me in any way you like, what is the use of all this talk." Upon this Lachin Beg and several Qalmaq slaves* fell upon him, threw him to the ground, twisted the strap from a shield round his throat and strangled him. The others stamped upon his chest till the breath left him. But to make quite sure a dagger was plunged into his body several times. Ropes were tied to his feet and he was dragged to the outside of the railing in front of the public audience-hall. There the body was left exposed. Officials were deputed to confiscate the houses and property of both father and son. Zulfiqar Khan's retinue, which was drawn up outside the artillery park at the entrance of the camp, dispersed on hearing what had happened, and the men sought safety wherever they could find it. All this took place at the time of afternoon prayer. [M. M. 166, K. K. 734.]

The official statement of the case against Zulfiqar Khan, as found in Ijad, whose narrative was corrected weekly by Farrukh-siyar himself, follows the lines of the conversation reproduced above. The misleading letters and messages sent to him through Taqarrub Khan are exultingly referred to as an exhibition of consummate policy and statesmanship. [Ijad 116a.]

* The name is sometimes given as Ilachin Beg and Dilachin Beg. Ijad, 119b, and Kamwar Khan, 130, say "Nur Beg and other Qalmaqs of the brotherhood of Ilachin Beg." Khafi Khan, ii. 734, has Lachin Beg (Bahadur Dil Khan) "or as some say, one of the chelas." Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 172, describes the man as a servant of Khwaja Qutb-ud-din, son of Maulana Sharf Husain Kajkiyah (?) He received the title of Bahadur Dil Khan at the request of Mir Jumla.

SEC. 4.—DEATH OF JAHANDAR SHAH.

On the same day that saw the end of Zulfiqar Khan (16th Muharram, 1125 H., 11th Feb., 1713), Saifullah Khan* was sent to the citadel with a letter in Farrukh-siyar's own hand-writing addressed to Muhammad Yar Khan. The *nazim*, although sorrowful at Jahandar Shah's fate, complied with the order and admitted the messengers. When the group of men entered the prison room, Lal Kunwar shrieked, clasped her lover round the neck, and refused to let go. Violently forcing them apart, the men dragged her down the stairs. Then laying hands on Jahandar Shah, they tried to strangle him. As he did not die at once, a Mughal, with his heavy-heeled shoes, kicked him several times in a vulnerable place and finished him off. Word was sent to the *nazim* that life was extinct, that an executioner was needed to cut off the head. Muhammad Yar Khan, who was standing down below, bathed in cold perspiration, answered "What is left for an executioner to do? Cut off his head, and carry it to His Majesty." They cut it off. The body was then thrown into an open litter (*miyana*) and the head placed on a tray (*khwān*). Half an hour after nightfall, they reached the camp with the lifeless head and trunk and laid them at the entrance to the Emperor's tents, alongside the body of Zulfiqar Khan. Lal Kunwar was sent to the settlement of Suhagpura, where the widows and families of deceased Emperors lived in retirement.†

SEC. 5.—PROCESSION INTO DIHLI.

Next morning, the 17th Muharram (12th February, 1713), Farrukh-siyar left Khizrabad and marching in state into Dihli

* B. M. No. 1690, fol. 162a says Taqarrub Khan (*alias* Nusrat Khan), Yahya Beg, was the messenger.

† Kamwar Khan 130, Ijad 122a, Khafi Khan 734, Khush-hal Chand 395a, Rustam Ali 225b. Suhagpura (Hamlet of Happy Wives) or the *Bewa-khana* (Widow-house) was one of the establishments (*karkhanajat*) attached to the Court "where in the practice of resignation they pass their lives, receiving rations and a monthly allowance," *Dastur-ul-aml*, B. M. No. 6598, fol. 55a. The name, Suhagpura, may have been due to delicacy for the feelings of the ladies, or it was perhaps given in derision.

took possession of the palace and its citadel. The artillery of all sorts went in front. Behind the guns came the new Emperor mounted on an elephant, and at his back sat Ibadullah Khan (Mir Jumla) waving a peacock fan over his master's head. Largesse was scattered among the crowd as he went by. The head of Jahandar Shah was carried on the point of a long bamboo held by an executioner seated on an elephant; his body was laid across the back of another elephant. The corpse of Zulfiqar Khan, with head and feet bare, was tied by the feet to the tail of a third elephant. These followed about one hundred yards behind the elephant on which the Emperor rode. The procession was met by Sayyid Abdullah Khan (now Qutb-ul-mulk) near the city wall, at the inside of the Dihli Gate. The crowd in the streets was immense, a greater had rarely been seen. Some of the spectators were unable to restrain their grief, their eyes filled with tears, lumps formed in their throats, and they muttered to each other, under their breath, "Glory be to God! Yesterday lords over thousands, to-day fallen into this calamity."*

The bodies of the unfortunate Jahandar Shah and of his Wazir were thrown down on the sandy waste before the Dihli Gate of the palace. Asad Khan's family, taking with them nothing but the clothes they had on, were removed in palkis from their house to one known as the *peshkhana* of Khan Jahan where they were kept under surveillance; and Taqarrub Khan, the new *Khan-saman* or Lord Steward, brought in two elephants loaded with the jewels and jewelled vessels from Asad Khan's house, and also sixty-two of his horses. The fallen vice-gerent himself had been forced to appear in the triumphal procession into Dihli, seated in a *palki* and accompanied by a few men

* Mirza Mhd. 168, Ijad 123, Khush-hal Chand 395b. The Dihli Gate is on the south side of the city, it is the one nearest the Jamuna. Mirza Muhammad and his brother witnessed the entry into Dihli from the roof of the Akbarabadi mosque, which is in the Faiz Bazar, the street running north and south from the Dihli Gate of the city to the Dihli Gate of the fort. (*Asar-us-sanadid*, 70; Carr Stephen, 246, 248). Khush-hal Chand, also, was one of the onlookers and "into the skirt of this humble one, too, fell a silver rose, weighing seven *mashas*."

on foot, all that was left of his former grandeur. At the Akbarabadi mosque he was halted, and there he sat in his *palki* unheeded for four or five hours, until Farrukh-siyar ordered his removal with his women to the office rooms of the diwan above referred to. Some temporary screens were put up, and there he and his family sought shelter. Food was sent to them at night by Husain Ali Khan.*

It was not till the 19th (14th February, 1713), that Arslan Khan received orders to bury the bodies of the murdered Jahandar Shah and Zulfiqar Khan. The Prince was laid in the vault of the Emperor Humayun's tomb, at the side of other members of the family. Zulfiqar Khan's remains were interred close to the shrine of Shaikh Ata-ullah, which is situated at the gateway of the same tomb. Zulfiqar Khan was a little over fifty-nine (lunar) years of age at the time of his death; he left no sons. No memorial was erected over him for several years. At length some of his eunuchs, who had been transferred to Sayyid Husain Ali Khan, mentioned this fact to their new master. The Sayyid ordered a tomb to be built, and on a tablet were inscribed the following lines, composed by Asad Khan:—

"A hidden voice, lamenting with blood suffused eyes, said,
'Ibrahim made of Ismail a sacrifice' " (1125 H.).†

In connection with these lines, Warid tells a story in praise of Asad Khan's strength of mind and vigour of intellect, even at the extreme age that he had then reached, which, if true, would seem rather to prove his want of common feeling. At the moment that his son's death was announced to him, he hung his head for a little while, and then said to the bystanders, "My thoughts repeatedly recur to the words 'Ibrahim made of Ismail a sacrifice.' " As the numerical value of the letters in these words accords with the year of Zulfiqar's death, the coincidence, if the words came spontaneously into his mind, was very wonderful. If not, this excogitating of a numerical puzzle was a curious use of the first moments following the news of an eldest son's violent death. As there was no member

* Kamwar 131, Ijad 124b, Khafi Khan 734, B. M. No. 1690, 162b.

† The father's original name was Ibrahim and the son's Ismail, Ijad 127b, Warid 147a, Khush-hal Chand 395a.

of the family left to support its name and fame, and Asad Khan now disappears from our history, it will be sufficient to note that he survived until the 25th Jamadi II. 1128 H. (15th June, 1716), when he passed away at the great age of eighty-eight lunar years.*

Zulfiqar Khan had obtained great renown as a soldier in the Dakhin, and there can be no question that he was a man of great experience in matters of State. But during the period that we are treating, commencing with the battle between Azam Shah and Bahadur Shah in 1707, his generalship was prudently displayed more in furthering his own interests than in winning battles for the master that he might be serving at the moment. Danishmand Khan (Ali) has a passage, taunting him with his conduct in the battle of Jajau, and accusing him of acting on the maxim that discretion is the better part of valour. An anecdotist [*Chamanistan*, 22] states that Zulfiqar Khan offered the poet and historian a large sum if he would erase this passage from his work, but to Ali's credit be it said, the words still stand in the copies which have come down to us.†

The greatest blot on the life of Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan is, however, the base ingratitude displayed towards Jahandar Shah. Even native historians do not defend this act

* Warid 146b, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* year 1128 H., Kamwar Khan 165. *M. U.* ii. 319, says 94 years; also Khafi Khan, ii. 771, where the year is 1129 H. Kamraj makes the age 98 years. An allowance of Rs. 50,000 a year had been given to him by Farrukh-siyar, *B. M. Or.* 1690, fol., 164a.

† *Bahadur-Shah-nama*, *B. M. Or.* 24, fol. 37b. "The first to show his back was Muhammad Ismail, entitled Zulfiqar Khan. To Azam Shah's face he made great protestations, but instead of sacrificing his life, he made off at the earliest moment. Receiving from an arrow a skin wound near the mouth, he cast away his honour through excessive love of life. If he is abhorrent (*malun*) to the people, his excuse is notorious (*malum*). He had risen to fame and place in the Dakhin; from his youth up, his training in valour had been in running after the traces of the Mahrattas, a tribe of cats, whose occupation is robbing and running away. He had never seen a battle between kings; had never met in battlefield with tigers from the forest of valour. In brief, to stand firm in such violent contests you must be a hero."

of treachery. Jahandar Shah had many claims upon them for favours conferred ; and he had placed his life in their hands. If Asad Khan had thought fit to excuse himself from joining any further in the Prince's fortunes, he should have left it open for the fugitive to seek some other refuge. But he should not have seized him or delivered him over to his mortal enemy to be killed with indignity. Apart from this harsh and fruitless act, Asad Khan was superior in character to the other nobles of his time. He did little oppression, was long-suffering, full of dignity and of a handsome presence. He was of a correct disposition, which means, we are told, the showing of benevolence and sympathy to the lowly, and of ostentation and hauteur to your equals. His rise was rapid and unchecked, or as it is put, "he threw without intermission double-six from the dice-box of desire." [M. U. ii. 317—318.]

SEC. 6.—NEW OFFICIALS AND NEW APPOINTMENTS.

On the way from Agra to Dihli, and after arrival at Dihli, many new appointments were made and new titles conferred. Sayyid Abdullah Khan (now made Nawab Qutb-ul-mulk, Yamin-ud-daulah, Sayyid Abdullah Khan, Bahadur, Zafar Jang, Sipah-salar, Yar-i-wafadar) became chief minister. The *diwan-i-khalsa*, or Exchequer Office, was given to Muhammad Baqir Mutamid Khan, who had been for a time Prince Muhammad Azam Shah's Lord Steward, and then *diwan*, or comptroller of the household, to Prince Jahan Shah ; the *diwan-i-tan* went to Lutfullah Khan Bahadur Sadiq, who in Bahadur Shah's reign was agent at Court of Prince Jahan Shah, and in Jahandar Shah's was comptroller (*diwan*) to that sovereign's eldest son, Azz-ud-din. Sayyid Husain Ali Khan was appointed first Bakhshi with the titles of Umdat-ul-mulk, Amir-ul-umara, Bahadur, Firuz Jang, Sipah-sardar. As the reward for the Turani betrayal of Jahandar Shah, the place of second Bakhshi was conferred on Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur, who now became Itimad-ud-daulah Nusrat Jang. The third Bakhshi was Afrasyab Khan Bahadur, a *Wala-shahi*, or personal follower of Farrukh-siyar, with whom he had been in Bengal and had

there taught him wrestling.* The pay-mastership of the Ahadiat was given to Qamar-ud-din Khan Bahadur, son of the above-named Muhammad Amin Khan. Islam Khan (grandson of the late Islam Khan), formerly *Mir Atash* to Bahadur Shah, who had retired from Court, was restored to his rank of 5,000 (3,000 horse), and appointed to be first *Mir Tuzak*, or quarter-master-general.† For the period of one month from the victory at Agra Sadullah Khan§ (son of Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri) was continued in the office of *Khan-saman*, or Lord High Steward; but at the camp in Khizrabad, this office was transferred to Taqarrub Khan (Muhammad Jafar Shirazi), who already held the place of private secretary.**

Some smaller Court offices were conferred on Farrukh-siyar's personal favourites. Although these offices were of the second rank, their holders exercised, as we shall soon see, as much if not more power than the nobles who were nominally their superiors. For instance, against the opinion of Mir Jumla,

* Afraayab Khan Bahadur, Rustam Jang, was Suhrab, known as Mirza Ajmeri son of Garshasp. He died at Dihli on the night of the 25th Ramzan, 1130 H., 21st August, 1718, *Tariqh-i-Mhdi*. His elder brother was the Rashid Khan sent in 1124 H., 1712, to oust Jafar Khan, nazim of Bengal, Gladwin, *Transactions*, 96. Mirza Ajmeri was of such strength that once he lifted a small gun and its carriage out of the mud on the road from Akbarnagar to Rajmahal, *Akhbar-i-Muhabbat*, 277.

† *Ahadi* (one, single) means a gentleman trooper serving under no chief or noble, but directly under the Emperor.

‡ This Islam Khan (d. 1144 H., 1731-2), was one Mir Ahmad, first Barkhurdar Khan, then Islam Khan, son of Safi Khan (d. 1105 H., 1693-4), the second son of Abdus-salam, first Ikhtisas Khan, then Islam Khan, Mashhadi, (d. 1057 H., 1647-8), *M. U.*, i. 162, ii. 740.

§ His former titles were Hidayatullah Khan, and then for a time, after the death of Munim Khan, Bahadur Shah's Wazir, he was Wazarat Khan. We shall speak of this man again presently.

** Mirza Muhammad 169; Kamwar Khan 121, 143; Khafi Khan, ii. 728; Warid 149b; Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 53b. Khafi Khan says the third *Bakhshi* was Ghazi-ud-din Khan (Ahmad Beg). Yahya Khan, 122a, on the contrary, says that this man was made *Mir Atash*. This latter statement is confirmed by Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 170, the date being 12th Shaban, 1125 H., (2nd September, 1713), *vice* Zulfiqar Khan (Ghulam Ali Khan)

who was officially no more than head of the pages and messengers, the chief minister himself found it impossible to act. The office of Confiscations and Escheats (*buyutati*) was given to Saifullah Khan Bahadur, a *Wala-shahi*; Khwaja Asim, now created Samsam-ud-daulah, Khan Dauran, Bahadur, Mansur Jang, was superintendent of the audience-hall and Bakhshi of the personal troops, or *Wala-shahi*; Ibadullah (Shariyat-ullah Khan) created Mutamid-ul-mulk, Mir Jumla, Muazzam Khan, Khan Khanan, Bahadur, Muzaffar Jang, held the office of superintendent of the *khawas*, or attendants and of the *ghusal-khana*, or privy council room. Ghulam Ali Khan, a *Wala-shahi*, received the title of Zulfiqar Khan, Bahadur, and the command of the artillery; being soon supplanted, however, (12th Shaban 1125 H., 2nd September, 1713), by Ghazi-ud-din Khan (Ahmad Beg). This latter had already obtained charge of the retinue (*jalau*), *vice* Islam Khan, who had held it in addition to his principal office of *Mir Tuzak*. The command of the *chauki-khas*, or bodyguard, was made over to Faizullah Khan, a *Wala-shahi*. Amin-ud-din Khan Sambhali became head of the *arz mukarrar*, or office for the examination and confirmation of appointments. The department of Branding and Mustering (*dagh-o-tashiha*) was given to Sayyid Shujaat-ullah Khan Barha, sister's son of Qutb-ul-mulk, the Wazir. At first Fida Khan* was retained, as in Bahadur Shah's and Jahandar Shah's time, as *qur-begi*, or head of the armoury; but the place was shortly afterwards transferred to Amir Khan (Muhammad Ishaq)† son of the late Amir Khan; then in a few months he gave way in favour of Khwaja Muzaffar Panipati, created Zafar Khan Bahadur, who was known by the nickname of Turra-i-baz.‡

* Formerly Tahavvur Khan, then Fida Khan, son of Salabat Khan. Khwaja Mir, Khwafi, (d. early in 1104 H., 1693-4), *M. U.* ii. 742, 745.

† Afterwards Umdat-ul-mulk, A. K., assassinated 1159 H., 1746-7.

‡ *Turra*, waving ringlets, or the hanging end of a turban; *Turra-i-baz*, a falcon's crest. Zafar Khan and all his men wore their turbans in the same way, with an end sticking out, and from this peculiarity the nickname arose. Khush-hal Chand, 403b, explains that the *turra* were of gold and silk brocade (*badalah*), and were used extensively as ornaments to Zafar Khan's equipage. In lot No. 698 in B. Quaritch's catalogue, No. 161,

The *sadarat-i-kul*, or superintendence of charitable and religious grants, was given to Sayyid Afzal, who had taught Farrukh-siyar to read the *Quran*, with the title of Sayyid Afzal Khan Bahadur, Sadar Jahan.*

The provincial Governments were next provided for. Kabul was left in the hands of Nasir Khan, Bahadur, Nasir Jang. Kashmir was taken from Inayatullah Khan, whose *mansab* even was cancelled, and he was replaced by Sadat Khan,† the new Emperor's father-in-law, to whom permission to govern by deputy was accorded. Zabardast Khan entitled Ali Mardan Khan (III), son of Ibrahim Khan, Ali Mardan Khan (II), son of Amir-ul-umara, Ali Mardan Khan (I)‡ died at Lahor before he could be removed; he was replaced by Abdus-samad Khan Bahadur, (subsequently made Diler Jang, after his victories over the Sikhs). Multan was conferred on Qutb-ul-mulk, the Wazir, but Sher Afkan Khan Bahadur, (brother of Lutfullah Khan Sadiq), who had been in charge on behalf of Kokaltash Khan (Ali Murad) remained on as the deputy of the new governor. For the preceding fifteen or sixteen years Dihli had been held by Muhammad Yar Khan, and he was left undisturbed. Ajmer was made over to Sayyid Muzaffar Khan Barha (recently created Sayyid Khan Jahan Bahadur), maternal uncle of Qutb-ul-mulk. Shahamat Khan (son-in-law of Inayatullah Khan

of July 1896, there was a portrait of Roshan-ud-daulah (i.e., Zafar Khan) which I inspected. It showed a rather stout and not very tall man, with a broad and slightly heavy face, white beard and moustache, the latter slightly black still at the corners of the mouth. To the band or ribbon round the centre of the turban was attached an ornament (*sarpech*) and from it hung a long feather, falling backwards and ending in two small points. Perhaps this feather represents the *Turra-i-baz*?

* Mirza Muhammad, 169.

† Mir Muhammad Takki, Husaini, Mazandarani, Isfahani, son of Sadat Khan, wounded on the day of Farrukh-siyar's deposition, in Rabi 1131 H., February 1719, and died a few days afterwards aged over eighty years—*Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*.

‡ Md. Khalil, entitled first Zabardast Khan, then Ali Mardan Khan Zik, died a little before the 9th Jamadi I. 1125 H., 2nd June, 1713, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* and *Kamwar Khan*. For this family, see *M. U.* i. 295-300, ii. 795, and iii. 155.

Kashmiri) who had been governor of Gujarat in Bahadur Shah's reign, received the new title of Mubariz Khan and was confirmed in his old appointment. Rajah Chabela Ram, a personal adherent of Farrukh-siyar's family and a brave soldier, whose welfare was dear to the heart of the Emperor, was sent at first to Agra, his birthplace, but on the pretext that he was unable to cope with Churaman Jat, he was soon replaced by Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, also a native of Agra. Oudh was given to Sarbuland Khan, the Emperor's uncle by marriage, and Allahabad to Khan Jahan (son of the late Khan Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash Alamgiri). The latter had been recently removed from the Government of Bengal. His titles were now increased to Azz-ud-daulah Khan Bahadur. Shahamat Khan (Mubariz Khan) had lately held Malwa in addition to Gujarat. Malwa was now taken from him and given over to Rajah Jai Singh of Amber. To conciliate the Rajah, he was told that he need not come to Court, but might march straight from his own country to his new Government. 'Azimabad Patna (Bihar) was confirmed, as before' to Husain Ali Khan, Amir-ul-umara; his sister's son, Ghairat Khan, who had been left behind in charge, continuing to act as his deputy. Bengal was conferred on the infant Prince, the Emperor's son, Farkhunda Bakht, entitled Jahangir Shah, with the former *diwan*, Murshid Quli Khan, as his deputy. The latter's titles were increased to Jafar Khan Nasiri. In a few months' time, when the infant died of small-pox, the *subah* was granted to Mir Jumla, with the same deputy. To Orissa, Murshid Quli Khan (Jafar Khan) was appointed *subahdar* in his own name. [M.M. 174.]

For the six provinces making up the Dakkhin special arrangements were made. The supreme control of the whole country was confided to Chin Qilich Khan (son of the late Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang), who on this occasion was created Nizam-ul-mulk, Bahadur Fath Jang. He was empowered to select the lands to be held in jagir for furnishing the pay of himself and his followers, and to suggest the rank (*mansab*) to be granted to the chief landholders. His head-quarters were fixed at Aurangabad. In Burhanpur his deputy was to be Sukr-ullah Khan, to make room for whom Daud Khan Panni was removed

as deputy-governor to Ahmadabad in Gujarat; in the two Karnatak, Sadat-ullah Khan; in Berar, Iwaz Khan, who was married to the late Ghazi-ud-din Khan's sister, and was, therefore, Nizam-ul-mulk's uncle by marriage. Bidar, Bijapur, and Haidarabad were to remain as before under Amin Khan (son of Khan Zaman Bahadur Fath Jang, deceased), Mansur Khan and Yusuf Khan respectively. Haidar Quli Khan Isfaraini, a protégé of Mir Jumla, was sent as *diwan* of the whole Dakhin, with authority over every department, except those of the nazim, of the report writers, and of the deciding of suits.*

The Sayyid brothers are generally accused of grasping all power and office for themselves and friends to the exclusion of everybody else. It is curious to note, after going through the chief appointments, that this accusation should have so little foundation. Besides the two offices which were the price of their services, they received the government of two *subahs* for themselves and one for an uncle. They seem to have obtained very little else, while the Emperor's friends and the Turani chiefs obtained the lion's share. A crowd of new men were thus brought on the stage, and it is necessary for the sake of clearness that we should say something about the most prominent of them, their origin and antecedents.

SEC. 7.—İTİMAD-UD-DAULAH MUHAMMAD AMIN KHAN BAHADUR
NUSRAT JANG.

Muhammad Amin Khan was a native of Samarqand in the kingdom of Bukhara. His grandfather, Alam Shaikh, a learned man and a descendant of the Shaikh Shahab-ud-din Quraishi, Tarmani, Sadiqi, of Sahrward, had two sons, Khwaja Abid and Mir Baha-ud-din. The elder son came to India and was the father of Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang; the second son,

* Mirza Muhammad 177, Khafi Khan 740. Biographies of some of the above men will be found as follows. Daud Khan Panni, d. 1127 H., 1715-16, (*Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 63). Sadat-ullah Khan, a Nawayat (see Wilks, i. 242), died 1145 H., 1732-33, (*M. U.* ii. 513). Iwaz Khan, d. 1143 H., 1730-31, (*M. U.* ii. 832). Amin Khan, d. 1137 H. 1724-25, (*M. U.* i. 352), fourth son of Shaikh Nizam Khan Zaman, d. 1108 H., 1696-97, (*ibid.* i. 794), captor of Shambhaji Mahratta. Mansur Khan was a Roz Bahani.

Mir Baha-ud-din, Muhammad Amin's father, entered the employ of the ruler of Bukhara, and was by him executed on suspicion of complicity with his rebellious son. This event happened about the year 1098 H. (1686-7), when Mir Muhammad Amin must have been about twenty-five years of age. He escaped to India and was favourably received by Alamgir, then in the Dakhin, by whom he was sent to serve with his cousin, Firuz Jang. In the forty-second year, 1109-10 H., 1697-8, when Alamgir was anxious to find in the Turanis a counterpoise to Asad Khan, the Wazir, and his son, Zulfiqar Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan was brought to Court and made *Sadar*, or head of the charitable and religious endowments. In 1115-16 H., 1704-5, and again in 1116-17 H., his rank was raised in reward for military services, and in the very last year of Alamgir's reign (1118 H.), after defeating the Mahrattas, he received the special addition of *Chin Bahadur* to his other titles. Although the Turanis had not shown any great zeal for his rival, Azam Shah, still Bahadur Shah did not receive them into the same favour as before. Muhammad Amin Khan was sent to Muradabad as *faujdar*; but towards the end of the reign, he was brought back to head-quarters, and took a leading part in the campaign against the Sikhs. When Jahandar Shah decided to march against Farrukh-siyar, Muhammad Amin Khan was recalled from Sarhind. He was present in Jahandar Shah's ranks at Agra, but as we have related, took no serious part in the fighting. This betrayal was now rewarded by his appointment to be second Bakhshi of the Empire. At this time he was about fifty-two years of age, and since the death of Firuz Jang in 1122 H., 1710-11, he had become the acknowledged leader of the Turani soldiery, his cousin, Chin Qilich Khan (Nizam-ul-mulk), son of Firuz Jang, being about ten years his junior. [M. U. i. 346.]

SEC. 8.—SAMSAM-UD-DAULAH, KHAN DAURAN, BAHADUR,
MANSUR JANG.

Khawaja Asim's ancestors, emigrating from a village in Badakhshan, took up their residence in Agra. Some followed the profession of soldiering, others gained reputation as men of

learning and holiness, living secluded from the world. They were of the Naqshbandi sect. His father's name was Khwaja Qasim: and as his birth took place about 1083 H., 1672-3, he was now about forty-two (lunar) years of age. He began life as a trooper of Prince Azim-ush-shan's regiment, and when that Prince, at the time of Alamgir's death, left Bengal for Agra, Khwaja Asim remained with Farrukh-siyar in the former province. One author asserts that he had been a play-fellow of Farrukh-siyar's, but as he was at least eleven years older, this can hardly be correct. His intimacy with the Prince was founded, however, on his joining him in wrestling, archery, riding, polo playing and other war-like exercises, of which Farrukh-siyar was passionately fond. He soon obtained such great influence with the young Prince that the other courtiers complained to Azim-ush-shan. The Khwaja was accordingly sent for to head-quarters at Lahor. Soon after this, Bahadur Shah died and Khwaja Asim (now become Ashraf Khan) upon the death of his master, Azim-ush-shan, fled to Agra. Here Khwaja Jafar, his elder brother, tried to make him renounce the world and thus save his soul. For a time he stopped at home and occupied himself with Shirazi pigeon-fancying and archery. When Farrukh-siyar became next heir to the throne, Khwaja Asim "felt like a falcon newly moulted." He began to collect some men, but his doings were reported to the governor. Being warned by a disciple of a resolve to seize him, he fled at midnight in the disguise of a faqir. On reaching Patna, he was introduced by the two Sayyids to the Prince, his former intimacy with whom he is said to have concealed. From this point the part he took has already appeared in our history.*

Khan Dauran was the perfect type of the Indian courtier, and from this time until his death in 1151 H. 1738, he retained his position at Court, whoever was in power. He is described as a man of smooth plausible speech, with no learning and little knowledge of Persian, prefixing to every sentence the catch word *mera sahib*! (my good sir). To conceal his limited

* M. U. i. 817. *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* 49b, *Tariḥ-i-Muhammadi* (year 1151 H.)

acquaintance with Persian, he used to begin by speaking in elegant Urdu, so that he might charm his hearers at the outset and prevent their noticing his defective scholarship. He used to say that for a man born in India to attempt to speak Persian was to make himself ridiculous by his own act. But he could quote occasionally with good effect Persian couplets or proverbs. An elder brother had been formerly in the service of Azim-ush-shan and was killed in the campaign in Bengal against Rahim Khan Afghan. Much of Khan Dauran's prestige may have been derived from his commanding presence. A contemporary tells us that when he walked up the audience-hall with a group of followers, his head would be seen towering far above the others. From all accounts he and his brother, Muzaffar Khan, were boasters of a most extravagant order, while their courage was more than doubtful. At any rate, they rarely put it to the test. Khan Dauran might, indeed, have qualified as a member of the Peace Society, for whenever the subject was broached, he would ask, "What is to be gained by going to war?" He was one of those men, never absent from Eastern Courts, who do absolutely nothing, either in war or in peace, as a return for the rank and wealth which have been showered upon them. His hand was in every intrigue, and never without profit to himself. Throughout his career, he was the favourite of the Hindustani party in the State, the person through whom Jat or Rajput chiefs put forward any claim they might wish to advance. Especially was this the case with Rajah Jai Singh, for whom as we shall see, Khan Dauran obtained many favours. [M. U. i. 819, Yahya 119b, Ashob 73.]

SEC. 9.—GHAZI-UD-DIN KHAN GHALIB JANG, (AHMAD BEG).

When Farrukh-siyar first reached Azimabad Patna, Shariyat-ullah Khan (Mir Jumla) and Khwaja Asim (Khan Dauran) not being present, Ahmad Beg became for a time his most active assistant and principal confidant. He was one of the foster brothers of Jahandar Shah,* but having quarrelled with that

* Yahya Khan, 119a, says he was the *nawasah* (daughter's son) of Qaim Beg Shahjahani.

Prince on account of the preference shown for Ali Murad Kokaltash Khan, he sought a refuge in Bengal. When Farrukh-siyar's more particular favourites returned, they supplanted Ahmad Beg in the Prince's good graces, and from that time he seems to have fallen a good deal into the back ground. Ahmad Beg, a man of Turani race, was born about 1076 H. 1665-6. From the scantiness of his beard, he bore the nickname of *Kosa*, or Goatbeard.* His further part in history is confined to two occasions, the day of Farrukh-siyar's deposition, when he fought in the streets on his master's behalf, and again at the time when he took the side of Qutb-ul-mulk, after the murder of Husain Ali Khan. When Muhammad Shah pardoned him, it was proposed to take away his title of Ghalib Jang, as it had been granted to a brother of Lutfullah Khan Sadiq. Ghazi-uddin Khan made loud objection, and claimed that, as both he and the new "Conqueror in War" were present, they should fight it out in single combat, the victor becoming in both senses *Ghalib-i-jang*. The Emperor smiled and left him in undisturbed possession. He died on the 12th Safar, 1139 H., (8th October, 1726), at the age of sixty-three (lunar) years. [M. U. ii. 879, T. M. year 1139.]

SEC. 10.—MIR JUMLA.

The name of this man, a native of Samarqand in Turan, was Ubaidullah, son of Mir Muhammad Wafa, and he was born about the year 1081 H., 1670-1. Early in life he abandoned his native country and repaired to Hindustan, where he arrived in the reign of Alamgir. He obtained in time the post of *Qazi* at Jahangirnagar Dacca in *subah* Bengal, and finally the same office at Azimabad Patna in *subah* Bihar. He seems to have wormed himself into the confidence of Prince Azim-ush-shan, then governor of Bengal and Bihar, and to have obtained complete control over the mind of his second son, Farrukh-siyar.

* The epithet is borne out by a portrait that I saw lately at Mr. Quaritch's (one of the drawings mentioned on the cover of his catalogue No. 155, December 1895). Ghalib Jang is shown seated, and is dressed in a pale mauve coat of thin muslin. His beard consists of four or five short, straight hairs.

He was with Prince Azim-ush-shan at Lahor, and as we have already stated, was making his way eastwards to Farrukh-siyar when he met and joined that Prince at Agra. He had secured himself a very favourable reception by his successful negotiations with the Turani leaders in Jahandar Shah's army. From this time his name will recur frequently in our narrative. His titles were first Shariyat-ullah Khan, then Ibadullah Khan, Bahadur, Muzaffar Jang, and finally Mutamid-ul-mulk, Muazzam Khan, Khan Khanan, Bahadur, Muzaffar Jang, Mir Jumla, Tarkhani, Sultani. He is described by one writer as a man who, in spite of his great learning, was blind to the essential meaning of things. [*M. U.* iii. 711, *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 61a.]

SEC. II.—NIZAM-UL-MULK.

Perhaps the most important person in the group of men that rose into the very first rank upon Farrukh-siyar's accession, was Nizam-ul-mulk, now a man of nearly forty-three (lunar) years of age, who was already a distinguished soldier and provincial governor, even in Alamgir's reign. Hitherto, however, he had been overshadowed by his father, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, who had died only two years before this time, and by his cousin, a much older man, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur. But on Nizam-ul-mulk's appointment in 1125 H. (1713) to the six *subahs* of the Dakhin, he rose to a position of pre-eminence, which he never for one moment lost till his death in 1161 H. (1748), thirty-five years afterwards.

As stated a few pages back, when speaking of Muhammad Amin Khan, the family of Nizam-ul-mulk came from Samarqand. His great grand-father was Alam Shaikh, son of Allahdad, son of Abdur-rahman Shaikh Azizan. They are said to have come originally from Sahrward. Khwaja Abid, son of Alam Shaikh, moved to Bukhara, where he was first of all *Qazi*, then Shaikh-ul-islam. A year or two before Alamgir ascended the throne (1066-67 H., 1655-56), he passed through India on his way to Mecca. He returned at the time when Alamgir was about to start from the Dakhin to seize his father's throne. Alamgir accepted his services and gave him a high command. He filled various offices, such as that of *Sadar-i-kul*, or superintendent of

endowments, governor of Ajmer, then of Multan. In the twenty-fourth year (1091-2 H., 1680-1) he fell into disgrace, but was soon pardoned and again given the *Sadarat-i-kul*. A year afterwards he was sent to the Dakhin, and then in the twenty-ninth year (1096-7 H., 1685-6), he became governor of Zafarabad Bidar. He continued to serve with distinction in the Dakhin, until on the 24th Rabi I. 1098 H. (30th January, 1687), at the siege of Golkonda, he was shot in the arm and died of the wound. In the twenty-third year (1090-1) he had received the title of Qilich Khan. He had five sons, the two youngest of whom died comparatively early in life without rising very high. The second and third sons, Muizz-ud-daulah Hamid Khan, and Nasir-ud-daulah Abdur-rahim Khan, were men of some fame and distinction. But the greatest of all was the eldest son, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, and to him we now turn.

Mir Shahab-ud-din was born at Samarqand about the year 1060 H. (1649-50); and followed his father to India in the twelfth year of Alamgir (1079-80 H., 1668-69), when he was in his nineteenth or twentieth year. He received the rank of 300 zat, 70 horse. His special favour with Alamgir began ten years later when, at the peril of his life, he brought speedy information from a general who had been sent in pursuit of the Rana into the hills of Udaipur, and of whose safety no tidings could be obtained. For this service he obtained the title of Khan and from that time rose rapidly, especially after he had proved his loyalty by rejecting all advances from the Emperor's rebel son, Prince Akbar. He accompanied the Emperor into the Dakhin and took part in all the campaigns there for the succeeding five and twenty years. He conquered Ibrahimgarh-Yadgiri (also called Firuzgarh); was conspicuous in the taking of Haidarabad; Adoni (Imtiyaz-garh) also fell before him. He was sent against Shambhaji, son of Shivaji, in 1099-1100 H. (1687-88), and served against Deogarh (Islamgarh), which he captured. In the forty-eighth year, 1115-16 H., 1703-4, he pursued the Mahrattas into Malwa. At the time of Alamgir's death in 1118 H., 1707, he was at Elichpur, in charge of the subah of Berar. As we have already recounted (under Bahadur Shah's reign), he took no part in the war of succession between

Azam Shah and Bahadur Shah. The Turanis were not in favour with the victor, Bahadur Shah, and thus Firuz Jang was moved out of the Dakhin, where he was dangerous, to the Government of Ahmadabad in Gujarat. There he died on the 17th Shawwal 1122 H. (8th December, 1710) at the age of sixty-two (lunar) years. He held the rank of 7,000 *zat*. Following the usual Mughal system, his estate was confiscated on his death. It consisted of 1½ lakhs of Rupees in bills on bankers, 133,000 gold *muhars* 25,000 *hun* (gold) and *nim-paoli* (gold), 17,000 gold *paoli*, 400 *adheli* (half) and 8,000 whole silver *paoli*, 140 horses, 300 camels, 400 oxen and 38 elephants.

Ghazi-ud-din Khan is described as the most exceptionally gifted among the Turani nobles, good-natured, dignified, fortunate in war and an excellent administrator. His first wife was the daughter of Sadullah Khan,* Wazir of Shah Jahan; after her death he married in succession two of her nieces, daughters of her brother, Hifz-ullah Khan (Miyan Khan), but by these two wives he had no children. For the last twenty years of his life he was totally blind, his sight having been destroyed by an epidemic which raged in the army under his command. In spite of this privation, his active career continued as before; such a case having been until then unknown in India, of a blind man continuing to command an army in the field or govern a province.

Mir Qamar-ud-din, son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan by the daughter of Shah Jahan's Wazir, Sadullah Khan, was born on the 14th Rabi II. 1082 H., (11th August, 1671).† In 1095 H. (1683-4) when in his thirteenth year, he received as his first appointment in the service of the State, the rank of 400 *zat*,

* S. K. died 1066 H., 1655-56, see *M. U.* ii. 441 and *T. M.* year 1066 H.

† In many works there is a curious mistake as to Nizam-ul-mulk's age. He is said to have died in 1161 H., (1748), at the age of one hundred and four years. (Orme, *Military Transactions*, Madras reprint, i. 122). Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, Bombay reprint, 265, repeats the statement, probably copying from Orme. Nizam-ul-mulk's birth year was 1082 H.; and therefore, in 1161 H., when he died, he could have been no more than 79 lunar or 77 solar years of age.

100 horse. In the following year the title of Khan was added to his name. In 1101 or 1102 H., (1690-1), he received the title of Chin Qilich Khan, and at Alamgir's death in 1118 H., 1707, he was governor of Bijapur. His father and he took no part in the contest for the throne between the sons of Alamgir : and when Bahadur Shah had succeeded in defeating his rival, he removed the Turanis from the Dakhin, possibly on the advice of Zulfiqar Khan, who looked on them as his personal enemies. Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang was sent to Ahmadabad in Gujarat, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin went to Muradabad as *faujdar* and Chin Qilich Khan was appointed subahadar of Oudh and *faujdar* of Gorakhpur (15th Ramzan, 1119 H., 9th December, 1707). At the same time the title of the last-named was changed to that of Khan Dauran Bahadur, and he was raised to 6000 *zat*, 6000 horse. A few weeks afterwards (5th Zul Qada, 27th January, 1708), he resigned all his titles and appointments ; but at the desire of Munim Khan, the Wazir, he withdrew his resignation and was promoted to 7,000 *zat*, 7,000 horse. When his father died and the deceased's property was confiscated, Chin Qilich Khan (Khan Dauran as he then was) sent in his resignation afresh, 18th Zul Hijja 1122 H., 6th February, 1711 ; this time it was accepted, and 4,000 Rupees a year were granted for his support. Quite at the end of Bahadur Shah's reign he returned to the active list with the titles of Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang. On Bahadur Shah's death, he attempted to espouse the cause of Azim-ush-shan, who long before had promised him high office, and he had made one march from Dihli at the head of 3,000 or 4,000 men, when he heard of the Prince's death. Thereupon he discharged his men and retired into private life. Abdus-samad Khan was the brother-in-law of his cousin, Muhammad Amin Khan, and this man's services to Zulfiqar Khan had been so great, that on his account Chin Qilich Khan's hostile attitude was overlooked. Towards the end of Jahandar Shah's short reign, he was appointed to the defence of Agra. There he and his cousin were brought over to Farrukh-siyar's interest, as already related, through Shariyat-ullah Khan (Mir Jumla), and as a reward for his neutrality he was now made governor of the whole Dakhin,

with the new titles first of Khan Khanan, and then of Nizam-ul-mulk, Bahadur, Fath Jang.*

SEC. 12.—THE STATE OF PARTIES AT COURT.

The names, Mughal, Turani, and Irani, appear so frequently in our narrative, and so much turns upon the relation to each other of the various groups into which the army and officials were divided, that a few words of explanation will be necessary for a clear understanding of what follows. Ever since the Muhammadan conquest of India, adventurers from the countries to the west and north-west flocked into it as to a Promised Land, a land flowing with milk and honey. The establishment of a dynasty, of which the founder, Babar, was a native of Trans-Oxiana, gave a further stimulus to this exodus into India, where fighting men from the fatherland of the imperial house were always welcome. They formed the backbone of the army of occupation. Their numbers were increased still further during the twenty-five years or more, from 1680 to 1707, during which Alamgir waged incessant war in the Dakhin, first with the local Muhammadan States and then with the Mahrattas.

These foreigners, at least the greater number of them, were either Afghans or Mughals; if the latter, they were known as either Turani or Irani Mughals. In using this term Mughal, I vouch in no way for its accurate application, ethnographically or otherwise. It must be understood to be an unquestioning acceptance of the term as employed by Indian writers of the period. Every man from beyond the Oxus or from any of the provinces of the Persian kingdom was to them a Mughal. If his home was in Turan, north of the Oxus, he was a Turani; if south of it, in the region of Iran, he was an Irani Mughal. The Turanis were of the Sunni sect, the prevalent belief of Muhammadan India, and came from the old home of the reigning

* Fath Jang is the title by which he is most commonly referred to by Khafi Khan. Mirza Muhammad, 399, is the authority for Khan Khanan. For the rest of the above paragraphs, see *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 120 (Qilich Khan), ii. 872, (Firuz Jang), iii. 837 and 875-883 (Nizam-ul-mulk), also *Tarikh-i-Khushid-Jahi*, p. 372 (lithographed, Haidarabad, 1287 H.), *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 242, 249, 259, 340, and Kamwar Khan.

dynasty. For these reasons, they were highly favoured by the Indian Emperors, and owing to their great numbers and the ability, military and civil, of their leaders, formed a very powerful body both in the army and the State generally. The Iranis were Shias and were not so numerous as the Turanis ; yet they included among them men of good birth and great ability, who attained to the highest positions, many of the chief posts in the State having been filled by them. Shiraz, in the Persian province of Fars, furnished much the largest number of these Persians ; most of the best physicians, poets, and men learned in the law came from that town. Owing to the difference of religion, principally, there was a strong feeling of animosity, ever ready to spring into active operation, between the Turanis and the Iranis ; but as against the Hindustanis the two sections were always ready to combine.

Men from the region between the Indus on the east, and Kabul and Qandahar on the west, were called Afghans. Those from the nearer hills, south-west of Peshawar, are sometimes distinguished by the epithet *Rohela*, or hill-man. But Indian writers of the eighteenth century never use the word Pathan, nor in their writings is there anything to bear out the theory that the Afghan and the Pathan are two different races.* The part of the Afghan country lying nearest the Indus furnished the majority of the Afghan soldiers who resorted to India ; and, as might be expected from their comparative nearness to India, they probably outnumbered the Mughals. In any case, they seem to have had a talent for forming permanent settlements in India, which neither the Mughal nor the Persian has displayed. All over Northern India, Pathan villages are numerous to this day. As instances, Qasur near Lahor, numerous villages between Dihli and Ambala, the town of Jalalabad, the city of Farrukhabad, and other places in the Jamuna-Ganges *Duaba*, also many villages and towns in Rohilkhand, come to mind at once. But the Afghans, in spite of their numbers and their hold on the land, hardly played any part in the political history of the day until Ali Muhammad Khan Daudzai established himself

* H. W. Bellew, *Inquiry* (1891), p. 206.

as a ruler in Bareli and Anwalah, and Muhammad Khan Bangash did the same in Farrukhabad. But, after the fifteen years' rule of Sher Shah and his successors (1540-1555), the Afghans were much prized as valiant soldiers. Their weakness was too great love of money, and too great a readiness to desert one employer for another, if he made a higher bid. They were too rough and illiterate to obtain much distinction in civil life. It is said that during Shah Jahan's reign (1627-1658), Afghans were discouraged and employed as seldom as possible. It was not until Alamgir began his campaign in the Dakhin (1681-1707) that they again found favour, those nobles who had Afghan soldiers receiving the most consideration. [Dil. 173b.]

Other foreigners, serving in small numbers in the Mughal service, were the Arabs, Habshis, Rumis, and Farangis. As soldiers these men were found almost entirely in the artillery. Arabs were, of course, from Arabia itself; Habshis* came from Africa, mostly negroes; Rumis were Muhammadans from Constantinople or elsewhere in the Turkish Empire; Farangi, that is Frank, was the name of any European. Eunuchs were generally of Habshi race, and the chief police officer of Dihli was frequently a Habshi. There were some Frank, or Farangi, physicians; one of the name of Martin, or Martin Khan, probably a Frenchman, died at Dihli about the middle of the eighteenth century, after living there for many years.

In opposition to the Mughal or foreign, was the home-born or Hindustani party. It was made up of Muhammadans born in India, many of them descended in the second or third generation from foreign immigrants. Men like the Sayyids of Barha, for instance, whose ancestors had settled in India many generations before, came, of course, under the description of Hindustani or *Hindustan-za* (Indian-born). To this 'class also belonged all the Rajput and Jat chiefs, and other powerful Hindu landowners. Naturally, too, the very numerous and industrious body of Hindus, who filled all the subordinate offices of a civil nature, attached themselves to the same side. Panjab Khattris were very numerous in this official class; most of the

* Habsh is the name for Abyssinia, but the name Habshi was used in a more general sense for all Africans.

rest were Agarwal Baniyas or Kayaths. It also comprised many Muhammadans from Kashmir, who seem to have rivalled the Hindus as secretaries and men of business.

Nor, in speaking of the India-born party, must we forget the sub-division among them due to the repugnance, even to this day so strongly shown, of Western Hindustanis or Panjabis to men from Eastern Hindustan or Bengal. Crowds of men from Bengal had followed in Farrukh-siyar's train. Khush-hal Chand, in an amusing outburst, [406] declares that "God created the Purbiyah (man from the East) without shame, without faith, without kindness, without heart, malevolent, niggardly, beggarly, cruel ; ready to sell his children in the *bazar* on the smallest provocation ; but to spend a penny, he thinks that a crime equal to matricide." When they entered the imperial service, they required a signet-ring, but many tried to talk over the seal-cutters and get these for nothing. He admits that there were a few notable exceptions, but then as the saying is, "Neither is every woman a woman, nor every man, a man ; God has not made all five fingers the same."

A cross-division, to which we must draw attention, as it is a most important one, was that into Emperor's friends and Wazir's friends. In the reign of Farrukh-siyar this was the most decisive of all distinctions. From almost the first day of the reign till the very last, we shall find the whole situation to turn upon it. A small number of private favourites, such as Mir Jumla, Khan Dauran, and at a later stage, Itiqad Khan (Mhd. Murad), formed a centre to which the other great nobles, each in turn, rallied, only to retire in disgust after a short experience of Farrukh-siyar's shiftiness and want of resolution.

SEC. 13.—SEVERITIES INFLICTED AT THE INSTIGATION OF MIR JUMLA
(MARCH 1713—APRIL 1714).

The opening of the reign was marked by many executions and other severities to men belonging to the defeated party, and such terror of strangulation spread among the nobles who had held office during the reigns of Alamgir and Bahadur Shah, that every time they started for the audience, they took a formal farewell of their wives and children. The whole of these

severities are attributed, and apparently with truth, to the influence of Mir Jumla.* Although it involves a slight break in the chronological order, these events will be grouped together

The first of these executions took place by Farrukh-siyar's orders during the night of the 2nd Rabi I. 1125 H. (28th March, 1713). Sadullah Khan, son of Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri, Hidayat Kesh Khan, a Hindu convert, who had been central news-writer (*waqia-nigar-i-ku*)† and Sidi Qasim Habshi, late kotwal or police officer of Dihli, were the victims. They were strangled by the Qalmaq slaves (Sadullah Khan struggling with them till he was overpowered), and their bodies were exposed for three days on the sandy space below the citadel. It is difficult to decide what Sadullah Khan's crime had been. In the last year of Bahadur Shah's reign he was deputy Wazir with the title of Wazarat Khan, and his temporary adhesion to Jahandar Shah was no worse crime in him than in many others who were pardoned. At first, Farrukh-siyar had received him with favour. But on the 21st Muharram 1125 H. (16th February, 1713), immediately after the Emperor had visited Padshah Begam, the daughter of Alamgir, Sadullah Khan was sent to prison and his property confiscated. As to the reason for his disgrace, there are two versions, with both of which the name of Padshah Begam is mixed up. As told by Khafi Khan, it would appear that a forged letter had been sent to Farrukh-siyar in the name of Padshah Begam asking for the removal of Sadullah Khan. The Begam is represented as having repudiated this letter, when Farrukh-siyar visited her *after* the execution of Sadullah Khan. But the only visit that is recorded took place a month *before* his execution.

The other version is that Farrukh-siyar had consulted Padshah Begam as to his conduct towards Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan. She wrote a reply counselling him not to deal severely with them, but to admit them to favour and maintain

* Khafi Khan, ii. 732. Yahya Khan, 121b, puts all these executions to the account of the two Sayyids. The *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 62a, names one Ashur Khan as head of the executioners.

† His original name was Bhola Nath, and he succeeded to the office on his father, Chatar Mal's, death in 1109 H., *M-i-A.*, 396.

them in office. She made over the letter to Sadullah Khan, who was her *Mir-i-saman*, or steward. As he was strongly opposed to Zulfiqar Khan, owing to the quarrel about the appointment of a successor to Munim Khan, Bahadur Shah's Wazir, and also hoped that a rival's removal would increase his own chance of becoming Wazir he extracted the real letter and substituted one of an entirely contrary effect, or, as one version says, altered the words "should not kill" (*na bayad kusht*) into "should kill" (*bayad kusht*). Padshah Begam reproached Farrukh-siyar for having taken Zulfiqar Khan's life. The Emperor pulled her letter out of his pocket and the substitution of the forged letter was thus discovered. Sadullah Khan was immediately arrested. This second story certainly appears the more probable of the two.*

Hidayat Kesh Khan's crime was that he had denounced to Jahandar Shah the hiding-place of Muhammad Karim, the new Emperor's brother, and thus indirectly led to that Prince's life being taken. Some say that, in addition, he behaved in a harsh and insolent manner to him when he was made prisoner. No one knows what Sidi Qasim had done to deserve death, unless it be attributed to private revenge. As *faujdar* of some of the parganas near Dihli he had executed the son of a tradesman named Udhu. This man, thirsting for the *kotwal's* blood, levied a contribution of ten or twelve Rupees on each shop in the quarters of Shahganj and Shahdara. Having collected a very large sum, he paid it over to Mir Jumla, and secured in exchange the arrest and execution of Sidi Qasim.†

The next cruelty was done on Sabha Chand, the Hindu confidant of the late Zulfiqar Khan. On the 11th Jamadi II. 1125 H. (4th July 1713), he was made over to Mir Jumla. The next day it was intimated to the Emperor that Sabha Chand's tongue had been cut out, as a punishment for the foul language that he had constantly used. The strange thing was that after this

* *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, p. 155, Khush-hal Chand 397b. There is a separate biography in *M. U.* ii. 504. Sadullah Khan was the second son of Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri. It is said in the *Makhzan-ul-gharaib* that he wrote under the name of Hidayat. (Ethé, Bodleian Catalogue, No. 395).

† Khush-hal Chand 398a, Kamwar Khan 134, Khafi Khan ii. 735.

deprivation* he was still able to talk and make himself understood. [K. K. 735.]

After Sabha Chand, came the turn of Shah Qudrat-ullah of Allahabad. His father, Shaikh Abdul-Jalil, was a man of learning of the Sufi sect, who lived in Allahabad. On his death, Qudrat-ullah succeeded to his influence and position, being himself a man of learning and considerable eloquence. Prince Azim-ush-shan chanced to make Qudrat-ullah's acquaintance, and took such a fancy to him that he could not bear him to be away from his side. Wherever the Prince went, the Shaikh accompanied him; and in the end, the Shaikh became all-powerful. In the last years of Bahadur Shah's reign all business passed through his second son's hands, and Qudrat-ullah was that Prince's right hand. It was as if the whole Empire had fallen under his rule, even the Wazir and his sons asking him to plead for them. The refusal to appoint Zulfiqar Khan to succeed Munim Khan and the appointment instead of a deputy, Hidayatullah Khan (Sadullah Khan), were due to Shaikh Qudrat-ullah, although he had no official rank whatever. In the struggle for the throne his advice prevailed over that of all others. After Azim-ush-shan's death, the Shaikh, fearing the resentment of Zulfiqar Khan, hid himself and escaped secretly to his home at Allahabad. When Farrukh-siyar started for Agra to confront Jahandar Shah, the Shaikh, believing success to be utterly impossible stayed quietly at home, not even coming to present his respects. After the victory had been won, the Shaikh still hesitated to return to Court, since in his day of power he had conciliated no one, not even the sons of his patron. Then one Mulla Shadman, a holy man of Patna Azimabad, passed through on his way to Dihli. It is commonly asserted that this man had prophesied that Farrukh-siyar would gain the throne, and from this cause the Prince had acquired the greatest confidence in his powers. Qudrat-ullah, thinking the Mulla's

* B. M. Or. 1690, fol. 165a, gives the 13th as the date. He was released on the 17th Jamadi II. 1126 H., at the request of Qutb-ul-mulk, after paying a fine of Rs. 1,00,000 (Kamwar Khan, 147). Rai Sabha (or Sambha) Chand Khatri died at Dihli in the end of Jamadi I. 1137 H. (Jan.-Feb., 1725), aged nearly 70 years (*T-i-Mhdi*).

protection would be certain to secure him a favourable reception, joined his party and they travelled together to Dihli.*

On reaching Dihli, the Mulla was admitted to an audience and received with great cordiality. Assured of his own favour with the new Emperor, the Mulla arranged that at his second interview Qudrat-ullah should accompany him. The Mulla passed on into the *tasbih-khana* (chaplet-room or oratory), where the Emperor was, intending to mention Qudrat-ullah's name and obtain leave to produce him. Mir Jumla, who was with Farrukh-siyar, heard what the Mulla said. He had seen the extent of Qudrat-ullah's power and influence in Azim-ush-shan's time, and he feared that this might be renewed in the case of the son. His own position would thus be destroyed. Taking hurried leave of the Emperor, he came to the door of the privy audience-hall, where the Shaikh was seated, and gave him a most effusive greeting. He added that, just at that moment, His Majesty being deep in some very important business, a full audience, as such a friend was entitled to, would be impossible; it would be far better for the Shaikh to accept for that night the hospitality of his old friend. Next day or the day after, a proper interview could be arranged. As Mr. Jumla at that time had the entire power of the realm in his own hands, the Shaikh thought these blandishments of good augury, and fell in with his proposal. Forgetting all about his companion, Mulla Shadman, he set off with Mir Jumla, who put him in one of his own *palkis* and carried him off to his house. That night and the next day Mir Jumla was profuse in his attentions.

At the end of the day Mir Jumla went to the Emperor. He said to him that it would be wrong to pardon the Shaikh. The gentleman was a necromancer and by his incantations and jugglery had inveigled Azim-ush-shan into his net. By his rise all the nobles had been put out of heart, hence when Zulfikar Khan took the field, many would not bear a part, and the rest although pressed made no proper efforts. Qudrat-ullah gained the same acceptance here, he would cause mischief in every business. Since Farrukh-siyar looked on Mir Jumla as Wisdom and Prudence personified, he gave a nod of assent. Mir Jumla

* Mirza Muhammad 181-186, Kamwar Khan 142, *T-i-Mhdi*, year 1125 H.

left the *darbar* at the usual time ; and at midnight he gave orders to his men to hang the Shaikh, in his presence, to a *maulsari* tree growing in the courtyard of his mansion.* Next morning, the 13th Zul Qada 1125 H. (30th November 1713), the Shaikh's dead body was made over to his servants for burial. It is said that Mulla Shadman remonstrated with Farrukh-siyar, saying that the man had done nothing to deserve death. Even if such acts were proved, Qudrat-ullah and he having come to Court together, the Shaikh's death would bring disgrace on him and throw doubt on his character. Farrukh-siyar was ready to admit all this, but as the deed was done, he made some excuses and tried to talk the Mulla over. But the Mulla declined to remain longer at Court, and returned to his home.†

Shortly after this time, Farrukh-siyar having quarrelled with the Sayyids, was afraid that they might bring forward some other Prince of the house of Taimur to take his place. But a Prince once deprived of eyesight could not be raised to the throne. The Emperor resolved, therefore, to deprive of their eyesight the more prominent and more energetic of the many scions of the house of Taimur held in captivity in the palace. On the 6th Muharram 1126 H. (21st January, 1714), three of the Princes, Azz-ud-din, eldest son of Jahandar Shah, Wala Tabar, son of Azam Shah, and Farrukh-siyar's own younger brother, Humayun Bakht (then only ten or twelve years old), were removed from the palace to the prison at the Tirpoliya or Triple gate. It was the place where Jahandar Shah's life had been taken, and where in a few years' time Farrukh-siyar himself was to suffer the same fate. A needle was passed through the eyes of the three Princes, and they were thus rendered incapable of ever becoming rivals for the throne. Mir Jumla is credited with having

* *Maulsari*, a tree (*Mimusops elengi*), the flowers of which are highly fragrant. (Shakespeare's *Dictionary*).

† Kamwar Khan, 142, entry of 11th Zul Qada 1125 H. (2nd year) gives the facts with a slight variation. He says that Qudrat-ullah, a *darvesh*, son of Abdul-Jalil Allahabadi, having reached Court presented an offering of one musk bag (*bakhura*). An order issued that he should be put up in the house of Mir Jumla. On the 12th it was reported that Mir Jumla had hung the man.

been the man who urged Farrukh-siyar to carry out this harsh act. [Warid 150b, Kamwar 144, K. K. 740.]

Finally, on the 2nd Rabi II. 1126 H. (16th April, 1714), the Qalmaq woman, Shadman, entitled Rai Man, a servant in the palace, was made over to Sarbarah Khan, the *kotwal* or chief of the police, and her head was cut off at the *chabutra*,* or central police-station. Her crime was that, during the reign of Jahandar Shah, one of her relatives had drawn his sword on Mir Jumla. Rai Man is the woman who gave the alarm when an attempt was made to assassinate Jahandar Shah; she bravely attacked the assailants and slew one of them with her own hand. For this good service she had received the titles of Raza Bahadur Rustam-i-Hind, and the rank of 5,000 *zat*. [Kamwar 146, M. M. 187.]

Although not mentioned in the general histories, the humoristic poet, Sayyid Muhammad Jafar of Narnol, poetically Zatali, is said to have been one of the victims. His crime is said to have been a satirical parody of the distich on Farrukh-siyar's coinage. The details will be given when we come to speak of the coinage of the reign.†

SEC. 14.—FIRST QUARREL WITH THE SAYYIDS (APRIL 1713).

The story as told by Yahya Khan, Farrukh-siyar's Mir Munshi, is that at the enthronement Abdullah Khan demanded the post of *Wazir* for himself. Farrukh-siyar made the objection that he had given his word to Ghazi-ud-din Khan (i.e., Ahmad Beg Ghalib Jang), a promise which he could not break. Abdullah

* *Chabutra* means a platform of earth or masonry raised slightly above the surface of the ground. This name was given to the office of the head police officer of Dihli; it was situated in the Chandni Chauk, the main street leading from the Lahor Gate of the city to the Lahor Gate of the citadel.

† *Malahat-i-maqal*, fol. 74a. Beale, p. 186, says Ezad Bakhsh Raza was also executed, but as he died in 1119 H. (Rieu, Index, p. 1157), this must be a mistake. The *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, a very accurate work, gives Ezad Bakhsh's death at Akbarabad under 1119 H., and says he was son of Aqa Mulla, son of Zain-ul-abidain, son of Asaf Khan, Jafar, the Sadiqi, the Qazwini, *alias* the Akbarabadi. An account of this Asaf Khan is in *Masir-ul-umara* i. 113.

Khan might retain all power under the name of *Wakil-i-mutlaq* or Vice-gerent. Abdullah Khan said there had been no *Wakil-i-mutlaq* since Jahangir's reign, except when Bahadur Shah gave that office to Asad Khan. But the two cases were not parallel ; he had won the crown for Farrukh-siyar by his own sword and his own right hand, therefore his title to be *Wazir* was indisputable. Farrukh-siyar thought it best to give way, as he had only newly succeeded and was not yet secure on the throne. In this version of the facts, the only certain point is the supersession of Ghazi-ud-din Khan Ghalib Jang : but there is no sufficient reason to believe that Farrukh-siyar was, in any way, a reluctant participator in the new arrangement, although as soon as he had appointed Abdullah Khan, he appears to have repented of it. [Yahya, 122a.]

As we have seen, a few days after the victory at Agra, Qutb-ul-mulk was detached to seize Dihli ; and, for the moment, the second brother, Husain Ali Khan, was incapacitated by severe wounds from taking any active part in affairs. The opportunity was too good to be lost. Farrukh-siyar was never long of the same mind and fell always under the influence of the last speaker. Mir Jumla, Khan Dauran, Taqarrub Khan, and other personal friends and favourites found thus a splendid opening for intrigue, of which they at once availed themselves. Between the departure of Qutb-ul-mulk for Dihli and Farrukh-siyar's own arrival at the capital barely a month elapsed ; but this short interval was sufficient to implant in Farrukh-siyar's mind the seeds of suspicion, and he arrived at Dihli already estranged from the two Sayyids. We have told how the Court party interfered between the Sayyids and Zulfiqar Khan, beguiling the latter to his destruction. These intrigues had not remained altogether concealed from Husain Ali Khan, and in the most secret manner he communicated his suspicions to his brother. He wrote, we are told, that on his brother's leaving the camp it was clear, from the Prince's talk and the nature of his acts, that he was a man who paid no regard to claims for service performed, one void of faith, a breaker of his word, and altogether without shame. Thus it was necessary for them to act in their own interests without regard to the plans of the

new sovereign. If Husain Ali Khan really wrote these words at such an early stage of his acquaintance with Farrukh-siyar, it proves him to have possessed wonderful penetration and great insight into character. The remainder of our story yields abundant evidence of the fact that the character of Farrukh-siyar could hardly be delineated with greater accuracy than in the above words. Acting on his brother's hint, Abdullah Khan, as a precaution, assumed possession of the house lately occupied by Kokaltash Khan, Jahandar Shah's foster-brother, and with it all the cash and property contained therein.

For a couple of weeks after Farrukh-siyar's entry into Dihli, the appearance of amity was preserved. But the weapons of discord lay in abundance ready to hand. The disputes that now began raged round two things: The nominations to office, and the appropriation of the confiscated wealth of the Jahandar-Shahi nobles. A third lever for persuading Farrukh-siyar to get rid of the two Sayyids was found in his superstitious fears.

When Abdullah Khan reached Dilhi in advance of the Emperor, he took upon himself to promise the post of *diwan* of the *Khalsa*, or exchequer office, to Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, and that of *Sadar-us-sadur*, or Head of the Religious Endowments, to the former holder, Sayyid Amjad Khan.* On the march from Agra, Farrukh-siyar gave these offices to his own followers; Chabela Ram Nagar, receiving the *diwani* of the *Khalsa*,† and Afzal Khan, who had taught Farrukh-siyar to read the Quran, being made *Sadar*. Over these conflicting orders a quarrel broke out directly the Emperor reached Dihli. Abdullah Khan Qutb-ul-mulk, fell into a passion, and said that if his very first exercise of power was contested, what was the object of being Wazir? Mir Jumla and other favourites did their best to inflame the wound by remarking that when a sovereign deputed power to a minister, it was for the minister to recognize the limits of that power, and not make appointments to high office

* Amjad Khan's original name was Bu Ali; he was Bakhshi and *waqia-nigar* of Dihli at the time of Alamgir's death and was made *Sadar* by Bahadur Shah—Khush-hal Chand, 376a.

† Chabela Ram's appointment was made on the 17th Zul Hijja, Kamwar Khan, 127.

without sanction. A compromise was at last arrived at; Lutfullah Khan retained the *diwani* and Afzal Khan the *Sadarat* with the title of Sadar Jahan. Chabela Ram was consoled with the Government of Agra.*

Owing to the violent change of Government, there were naturally many confiscated mansions at the disposal of the crown. Two of these with their contents were conferred on Qutb-ul-mulk and his brother. One known as Jafar Khan's, which Kokaltash Khan, Khan Jahan, had held, was given to Qutb-ul-mulk; and another called Shaista Khan's, recently in the possession of Zulfiqar Khan, was made over to Husain Ali Khan. As soon as the distribution had been made, Farrukh-siyar's private circle of friends poured into his ear suggestions that these two mansions contained untold treasures, the accumulated wealth of many generations. In them was stored, they said, the property which had belonged to the four sons of Bahadur Shah, and the whole revenues of Hindustan for a year past. All this had now fallen into the possession of the two Sayyids. On the other hand, the imperial treasury had been emptied and the palace denuded of everything to pay Jahandar Shah's soldiers. [Kamwar 132, Warid 149a.]

Superstition was even more powerfully brought into play. It was a superstitious country and a superstitious age; and Farrukh-siyar was as much subject to these influences as any of his contemporaries. A prophecy had been made, which met with the widest acceptance, that after Bahadur Shah's death his youngest descendant would reign. He would, in his turn, be followed by a Sayyid. Talk about this became so common that soon everyone had heard it. Of course, it was at once urged on the Emperor that the Sayyid who was to reign could be no other than one of the two brothers. Acting on the principle that dropping water wears away a stone, they repeated this story over and over again to Farrukh-siyar, till it had the effect of making him openly show ill-feeling to the two Sayyid brothers. [Warid 149a.]

* Mhd. Qasim, 171. Afzal Khan died at Dihli in the end of Rabi II. or early in Jamadi I. 1138 H. (January 1726). Rank 5000—*T-i-Mhdi.*, Khafi Khan ii. 729, 731.

The quarrel had proceeded so far by the beginning of Rabi I. (27th March 1713), that Qutb-ul-mulk ceased to attend the daily audience, an infallible sign that a noble had a grievance or was out of humour. Farrukh-siyar was always ready to take any step, however humiliating, which might for the moment postpone decisive action and give him time to plan some fresh treachery. Accordingly, on the 9th Rabi I. (4th April 1713), on his way back from Wazirabad, a place on the banks of the Jamuna, where he had gone to hunt, he paid a visit to Qutb-ul-mulk's house and embraced him affectionately. He deigned to eat his breakfast and take his midday sleep there before returning to the palace. Qutb-ul-mulk, in return for so much condescension, made many costly gifts to His Majesty, receiving others in return. This is noted as the first public disclosure of the ill-feeling between the Emperor and his minister, which went on increasing year by year till it ended in catastrophe. [Kamwar 134, Warid 149b.]

SEC. 15.—CAMPAIGN AGAINST RAJAH AJIT SINGH RATHOR
(Nov. 1713—JULY 1714).

As we have already explained, the Rajput States had been for fifty years in veiled revolt from the imperial authority. Bahadur Shah had been unable, owing to more pressing affairs, to reduce the Rajahs effectually. During the confusion which arose on that monarch's death, Ajit Singh, after forbidding cow-killing and the call for prayer from the Alamgiri mosque, besides ejecting the imperial officers from Jodhpur and destroying their houses, had entered the imperial territory and taken possession of Ajmer. Early in Farrukh-siyar's reign it was determined that this encroachment must be put an end to; and as the Rajah's replies to the imperial orders were not satisfactory, it was necessary to march against him.*

At first it was intended that the Emperor in person should

* Khafi Khan ii. 738. *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 69b. According to Tod, ii. 82, the Rajah had been called on to send in his son, Abhai Singh, but had refused. Instead, he sent men to Dihli to assassinate one Mukand, his enemy. This outrage produced the invasion of Jodhpur. Probably this Mukand is the same as Mulkan of Mairtha on p. 75 of the same volume.

take the field, but he was dissuaded on the ground that his dignity would suffer if the rebel fled into the desert, where there was nothing but sand to feed upon. Nor does the Emperor appear to have been in particularly good health.* Husain Ali Khan was therefore appointed, Samsam-ud-daulah receiving charge of his seal as his deputy at Court. The plots against the Sayyids were still being carried on in Farrukh-siyar's entourage, and the plotters hoped that by separating the brothers the task of overthrowing them would be rendered easier. There were also the chances and dangers of a campaign to be counted on in their favour. On this occasion we hear for the first time of a plan which was adopted very frequently in this reign and afterwards. Official orders were given in one sense, and the opposing side received secret letters of a different purport, assuring them of future favour if they made a vigorous defence and defeated the imperial general sent against them. Letters were despatched to Rajah Ajit Singh urging him to make away with Husain Ali Khan in any way he could, whereupon the whole of the Bakhshi's property and treasure would become his ; and he would, in addition, receive other rewards.†

Husain Ali Khan's audience of leave-taking was granted on the 29th Zul Qada (16th December 1713), and his advance tents left Dihli on the 20th Zul Hijja 1125 H. (6th January 1714). The generals under him were Sarbuland Khan, Afrasyab Khan, Itiqad Khan (grandson of Shaista Khan, deceased), Dildaler Khan, Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, Asadullah Khan, Sayyid Shujaat-ullah Khan, Sayyid Husain Khan, Sayyid Khan, Aziz Khan Rohela, Chaghta Bahadur, Shakir Khan, Ghulam Ali Khan, Rajah Udwant Singh Bundela, Raja Gopal Singh Bhadauriya, Rajah Raj Bahadur of Rupnagar and others. From the imperial magazines there were

* Farrukh-siyar was ill from the 1st Zul Hijja 1125 H. (18th December 1713), but was better on the 9th (26th December), and to stop rumours, he appeared at the Jama Masjid on the 1d i.e., the 10th. His bathing after recovery took place on the 22nd (8th January 1714).—Kamwar Khan, 143.

† Kamwar Khan, 142, entry of 13th Zul Qada 1125 H. (2nd December, 1713) *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* 70a, Shiu Das p. 36.

delivered to him 500 *mans* of powder and lead, 200 rockets, 100 *mahtab*, and five cannon. Although a letter had been received from the Rajah on the 15th Zul Hijja 1125 H. (1st January 1714), the contents not being of a satisfactory nature, the preparations were not suspended and the advance began. Then Raghunath, a *munshi* in the service of Ajit Singh, came to Sarai Sahal, escorted by one thousand horsemen, with a view to negotiation.* Husain Ali Khan was then at Sarai Allahwirdi Khan. He rejected the terms offered and sent on his tents from Sarai Sahal. [Kamwar 142, B. M. 1690, f. 166a.]

On the march thieves gave much trouble. The general caused a ditch to be dug round the camp each time a halt was made, and Mewati watchmen were placed outside it on guard. Once two Mina thieves were caught, and next morning were blown from guns. This severity scared the marauders away. In pargana Riware and the villages on the road there were splendid standing crops. At first these were destroyed by the camp-followers. But to prevent this plundering, petty officers were placed on duty; next day several men were caught red-handed and brought in bound. They were paraded through the camp, seated on donkeys with their faces to the tail and arrows in their ears and noses. By this means the injury to the crops was put an end to. [Kamraj, 55a.]

The Rathor army was reported to be twelve *kos* south of Sambhar; rumour said they were hiding in ambush and intended to molest the imperialists while on the march. Not a trace of them, however, was seen between the capital and Ajmer; and as the imperial army passed through pargana Sambhar it destroyed Sanamgarh, a place of worship which had been erected at great cost. The march was conducted under great difficulties, the army suffering much in those sandy deserts from the want of water, in spite of the fact that they carried a provision of it along with them. On reaching Ajmer the camp was pitched for some days on the banks of the lake Anasagar, whence messengers were sent to the Rajah, on the principle that "Peace is better than War." After a time the

* The *Tuhfat-ul-Hind* of Lal Ram, B. M. Nos. 6583, 6584, folio 88b, gives the date 14th Muharram (1126)=29th January, 1714.

Sayyid moved on to Puhkar, five miles north-west of Ajmer and thence to Mairtha, about forty miles further on, in Jodhpur territory ; but Ajit Singh still fled before him further into the sandy desert. An armed post (*thana*) of two thousand men was placed in the town of Mairtha. [Kamraj 55a, Qasim 197, *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 71.]

In the country round Ajmer and between that place and Mairtha, the villages of Rajah Ajit Singh and those of Jai Singh of Amber are intermingled. The inhabitants of the Jodhpur villages were afraid and took to flight. Thereupon orders were issued to plunder and burn down all villages found uninhabited, but to leave all others unmolested. When this became known, the Jodhpur villages interceded through their Jaipur neighbours ; their plundered goods were then restored, the only loss being of the houses that had been burned. The country was thus settled and brought under imperial rule, step by step, as the army moved forward. Abdus-samad Khan, who had been recalled from the Panjab, joined at Puhkar, but at the very first interview he and the Sayyid disagreed. [*M. U.* i. 321, *Ahwal* 71b.]

On the way to Mairtha, Husain Ali Khan called a council of war, and proposed that in spite of the approach of the hot weather, stores of water should be collected and the advance continued. Ajit Singh, he asserted, must either be taken and his head sent to Court, or his son surrendered as a hostage and his daughter offered as a bride to the Emperor. Others advised delay, and much apprehension prevailed. The difficulties were many, the great heat of the sun, the deficiency of water, the high prices, the want of grain and grass for the cattle. In spite of all these, Husain Ali Khan resolved to leave most of his baggage behind and make a forced march on Jodhpur.*

The conclusion of the campaign was soon announced at Court by a report received on the 14th Rabi I. 1126 H. (29th March 1714). It appeared that Ajit Singh had retreated in one night from his position south of Sambhar and had fallen back

* Kamraj 55b, *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* 72a.

on Mairtha, and without making any stand there had gone on to Jodhpur, where he had hoped to be safe, surrounded by the desert. Finding that the Sayyid was still pressing onwards and seemed determined to strike a blow at him in spite of the inaccessibility of his capital, he sent his women and children into places of safety in the hill country, and himself sought refuge in the deserts of Bikaner.* Evidently he felt himself too weak to meet the imperialists in the open field, and during the time that Sayyid Miyan, the Bakhshi's father, was governor of Ajmer, the Rajputs had learned respect for Husain Ali Khan's qualities as a general. When Husain Ali Khan was within 30 miles of Mairtha, an embassy arrived from the Rajah, escorted by fifteen hundred horsemen.† It was believed that their arrival was a mere subterfuge, devised in order to gain time for the Rajah to escape. In order to make sure of them, Husain Ali Khan told them that if they were in earnest, they must agree to be put in fetters. After objecting to this proposal, as involving infamy and disgrace, they consented. Four of the principal men were put in chains. Directly they made their appearance from the audience tent in this condition, the loose characters of the imperial camp assumed that the envoys' overtures had been rejected. A body of them rushed at once to the Rajput tents, attacked their guards, and plundered all their property. There was great difficulty in suppressing this disorder. The envoys were sent for, their chains removed, and full apologies made. The envoys themselves were satisfied and continued the negotiation, but news of the outbreak having

* Tod, ii. 82, says Ajit Singh sent off the men of wealth to Sewanah and his son and family to the desert of Razdarroh, west of the Loni river. This Razdarroh may be the Raus or Rass of Thornton, 820, a town on the n. w. declivity of the Aravalli range, 38 m. w. of Nasirabad, Lat. 26° 17'. Long. 74° 16'. Sewana is 27 m. s. w. by s. of Jodhpur, 42 m. n. of Disa, Lat. 24° 50', Long. 72°.

† Khush-hal Chand, 401b, says that Ajit Singh asked Jai Singh of Amber for advice, and was recommended to make terms. Is this at all likely? According to Tod, ii. 82, the terms were asked for by the advice of Ajit Singh's *diwans*, and still more of Kesar, the bard, who adduced a precedent of the time when Daulat Khan Lodi had invaded Marwar.

reached the Rajah, he fled. Husain Ali Khan was thus forced to advance to Mairtha, where he halted until the terms of peace had been arranged.*

The terms were that the Rajah should give one of his daughters in marriage to the Emperor, in the mode which they styled *Dola*,† that the Rajah's son, Abhai Singh, should accompany Husain Ali Khan to Court, and that the Rajah in person should attend when summoned.‡ Zafar Khan (Roshan-ud-daulah) arrived at Court on the 5th Jamadi I. 1126 H. (18th May, 1714), with the news. Husain Ali Khan sent the greater part of his army back to Dihli, and remained for two months in Ajmer, restoring the country to order. On the 26th Jamadi II. 1126 H. (8th June, 1714), it had been reported that he was at Puhkar, west of Ajmer, on his way back from Mairtha. On the return march, owing to the great heat, they moved at night and halted in the day. On the 2nd Rajab (13th July, 1714), he arrived at Sarai Allahwirdi Khan. On the 5th he was presented to the Emperor, being received with great outward cordiality, and the commanders who had served under him were richly rewarded. Zafar Khan was honoured with the special title of *Fidwi-i-farmanbardar*, "the loyal and order-obeying servant." Kunwar Abhai Singh's audience took place three days afterwards (19th July, 1714), with all fitting ceremony.§

SEC. 16.—RENEWAL OF OPEN QUARREL WITH THE SAYYIDS.

During Husain Ali Khan's absence, Mir Jumla's power had gone on increasing. Farrukh-siyar had made over his seal to

* Kamwar Khan 195, Khafi Khan ii. 738, *M. U.* i. 321, Muhammad Qasim 190.

† *Dola*, a Hindi word for an informal marriage. *Tawarikh-i-Marwar* of Murari Das, vol. 2, fol. 80b, states that the girl's Hindu name was Bai Indar Kunwar.

‡ Tod ii. 82, Abhai Singh was recalled from Razdarroh and marched to Dihli with Husain Ali Khan at the end of Asarh 1710. The last day of that month equals 28th June, 1713, or if the southern reckoning be followed, it then falls in 1714 (17th June, 1714).

§ Tod ii. 82, says Abhai Singh was made a *Panj Hazari* (5,000): Kamwar Khan 146, Warid fol. 150b, Kamraj 56a.

this favourite, and was often heard to say openly: "the word and seal of Mir Jumla are the word and seal of Farrukh-siyar." On his side, Qutb-ul-mulk was immersed in pleasure and found little or no leisure to devote to State affairs. Nor, being a soldier who had come into office without much preparation for civil affairs, was he very competent to deal with the details of administration, for which, moreover, he had no natural taste. Everything was left to his man of business, Ratan Chand, a Hindu of the Baniya caste, and a native of a village near the Sayyids' home at Jansath.* He had been recently created a Rajah with the rank of 2,000 *zat*. The chief dispute centred upon the question of appointments to office, the fees paid by those receiving appointments being a recognized and most substantial source of emolument. Ratan Chand, in addition to these customary fees, exacted large sums, which were practically bribes or payments for the grant of the appointment. By Mir Jumla's independent action in bringing forward candidates and affixing the seal to their warrants of appointment, without following the usual routine of passing them through the Wazir's office, the emoluments of both the chief minister and of his head officer were considerably curtailed. It is a matter of little wonder, therefore, that Qutb-ul-mulk felt aggrieved at the unusual powers placed in the hands of a rival such as Mir Jumla. This noble was much more accessible than the Wazir, and was not given to the extortionate practices of Ratan Chand. Naturally, men in search of employment or promotion sought his audience-hall rather than that of Qutb-ul-mulk. The Wazir suffered, in this way, both in influence and in income. Moreover, Mir Jumla allowed no

* My old acquaintance, Rai Bahadur Nihal Chand Agarwal, an Honorary Magistrate of Muzaffarnagar, in a letter of the 1st Dec., 1893, informs me that Ratan Chand was a native of Jansath town, where he had built a handsome house, now in a ruined state, but still in the hands of his impoverished descendants. He belonged to a sub-caste of the Agarwals called *Rajah-ki-baradari* (i.e., the Rajah's relations), the reference being to Rajah Agar Sen, the reputed founder of the caste, their ancestor having been that Rajah's son by a concubine. The epithet of *baqqal* (shop-keeper) attached to Ratan Chand's name, is the Persian version of the vernacular caste name *baniya* or *mahajan* (trader).

opportunity to pass without depreciating the Sayyid brothers, and brought forward arguments of every sort to prove that they were unfitted for the offices that they held. [K. K. 739, Khush-hal 399a.]

The quarrel which had broken out in the first weeks of the reign was patched up in the manner already recounted. But no thorough reconciliation had been effected ; nor, considering the character of Farrukh-siyar, was any such reconciliation to be expected. The Sayyid brothers could never be certain from day to day that some new plot was not being hatched for their destruction. The Rajputana campaign was the means of unmasking one of these schemes. Secret letters had been, as we have already mentioned, despatched to Rajah Ajit Singh, urging him to strenuous resistance, and inviting him, if he could, to make away with Husain Ali Khan. These letters came into Husain Ali Khan's possession and through them he acquired proof of Farrukh-siyar's double-faced dealings. There are two stories of the manner in which this happened. One, told by Warid, is that when Rajah Ajit Singh was hard-pressed and saw no other way out of the danger, he sent in the original letters for the perusal of the Sayyid. Husain Ali Khan at once entered into negotiations for a peace, in order that he might return to Court without delay to defend his own and his brother's interests. The other version is, that the Rajah made the letters over to his daughter when she started for Court, and that either on the journey or after her arrival at Dihli, when staying in the mansion of the Sayyid, the documents were in some way got at and their contents ascertained. In the interval of Husain Ali Khan's absence, Qutb-ul-mulk had found the greatest difficulty in maintaining his position at Court. All the power was in the hands of Mir Jumla. Every day messages came from Farrukh-siyar, couched in various forms, but all urging him to resign the office of Wazir. Qutb-ul-mulk now wrote letters to his brother enjoining him to return to Dihli with all possible speed. In response to these calls, Husain Ali Khan, as we have seen, reached the capital again on the 5th Rajab 1126 H. (16th July, 1714).*

* Warid fol. 150a, 150b ; *Siyar* text, 23.

For the next two or three months the breach between the Emperor and the minister, although far from closed, was not sensibly widened. The Sayyids, as was natural, looked on Farrukh-siyar's accession to the throne as the work of their hands, and resented the grant of any share of power to other persons. On the other hand, the small group of Farrukh-siyar's intimates, men who had known him from his childhood and stood on the most familiar terms with him, were aggrieved at their exclusion from a share in the spoil. They felt that they themselves were not strong enough to attack the Sayyids openly; and recourse to other nobles of wealth or experience would do no more than substitute one set of masters for another. Their plan, therefore, was to work upon the weak-minded Farrukh-siyar. "The Sayyids," they said to him, "look upon you as their creation, and think nothing of you or your power. They hold the two chief civil and military offices, their relations and friends have the principal other offices, and the most profitable land assignments (*jagirs*). Their power will go on increasing, until, should they enter on treasonable projects, there will be no one able to resist them. It would be better to reduce their strength in time. For this purpose, two nobles of position should be brought to the front and placed on an equality with them." If the Sayyids gave way, all would be well; the object sought would have been accomplished. But should they, with the rashness (*jahalat*) for which the Barha Sayyids were famous, resist the undermining of their power, then the two nobles could oppose force to force. But open fighting should be resorted to only in the last extremity. The two brothers should be caught when unattended and made prisoners, as had been done with Zulfiqar Khan, and if necessary, despatched as he had been. [M. M. 189.]

Farrukh-siyar, a man of no wisdom, accepted this advice as the perfection of right reasoning, the acme of loyalty to his person. The two men selected to confront the Sayyids were Khan Dauran and Mir Jumla. They were both promoted to the rank of 7,000 horse: they were placed, the former at the head of 5,000 *Wala-shahi*, and the latter of 5,000 Mughal troopers. Many of their relations were pushed forward into

high rank, and counting these men's troops, each of the two nobles had at his command over ten thousand men. Among the signs of this favouritism was the order passed on the 12th Shaban (2nd Sept., 1713), permitting Mir Jumla to entertain 6,000 horsemen, who were to be specially paid from the imperial treasury. These were raised by Amanat Khan, his adopted son, from Mughals born in India, and some seventy lakhs of Rupees for their pay were disbursed from the treasury, the rules as to descriptive rolls of the men and branding of the horses being set aside. No order was issued by Farrukh-siyar without the advice and approval of the above two men. In this exercise of authority Mir Jumla assumed the lead, till at length Qutb-ul-mulk was only the nominal, while he was the real Wazir. The two Sayyids bowed for the time to the Emperor's will, and made no opposition to these usurpations. At length, through the indiscretion of some palace servants, the Sayyids learnt of the plots against their life.* They ceased to appear in darbar and shut themselves up in their houses, taking every possible precaution against a surprise. The Emperor's desire to ruin them became a matter of public rumour, although, when appealed to, the nobles and confidants of the Emperor strenuously denied its truth. [M. M. 190, Kamwar 139.]

At length, in Zul Qada 1126 H. (7th Nov.-6th Dec. 1714), a son having been born to Husain Ali Khan, he resolved, as the custom was, to present a gift to His Majesty and ask him to name the child. At this time Farrukh-siyar was out on a hunting expedition and his camp was in a grove not far from

* Or as some say, they were informed by a message from Farrukh-siyar's mother, who considered herself bound by the promises made to the Sayyids at Patna. (Khafi Khan ii. 740). One authority (*Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 77b) makes Lutfullah Khan Sadiq the informant. He is described as "unrivalled in deceit, professing devotion to the sovereign, and yet as thick as could be with the Sayyids." He sent word to the latter privately that he had been present one night in Farrukh-siyar's audience-chamber, when, at the instigation of Mir Jumla and Khan Dauran, the Emperor had spoken harshly of them. There was no time for writing at length; one word was as good as a volume. Let them refrain from attending Court; or if they did attend, let them be very cautious.

the city. When the Nawab reached the privy audience-hall, finding the Emperor still in the chapel tent, he took a seat. While he was waiting, a number of his friends confided to him the secret that on that day it was intended to lay violent hands upon him. A number of men were hid in ambush. The Nawab felt his last hour had come and prepared to meet his fate. When his arrival was reported to Farrukh-siyar, an order was sent out for him to come to the oratory. The Nawab betrayed no fear, but walked towards the tent. When the door-keeper, following the rules of the palace, requested him to lay aside his arms, he became inwardly apprehensive and said: "Very well, as it is not convenient to receive me just now, I will make my bow another time." Report of this hesitation was taken to Farrukh-siyar, who came out, staff in hand, and stood outside the chapel tent, and received the Nawab's obeisance there, and replying with some silly, unmeaning compliments, dismissed him to his home. But the countenance of Farrukh-siyar betrayed the real anger and vexation under which he was labouring from the non-success of his plans to seize the Nawab. [M. M. 191, Warid 150b.]

When he reached his house, Husain Ali Khan wrote to the Emperor to the following effect. It was quite clear that distrust of his brother and himself had found entrance into the Emperor's mind, and he was resolved on their overthrow. In that case, what could they do but submit to orders? But honour was a thing dearer than life; they might fall, but in so doing, they would take care not to sacrifice their honour. Let them be removed from rank and office, with leave to return to their homes and there offer their prayers for His Majesty's welfare. On reading the letter Farrukh-siyar took fright and returned to the city at once, in the hope of procuring some reconciliation. It so happened that soon after he reached the palace, a letter arrived from Qutb-ul-mulk to the same effect. Farrukh-siyar's equanimity was still further upset. From this time, the two Sayyids gave up attendance at darbar, and persisted in demanding the acceptance of their resignation of rank and office. Meanwhile they fortified their houses, and after Farrukh-siyar's return to the palace, negotiations went on for nine days. Among

the messages they sent was one asking for a grant of several lakhs of dams, payable from the country round their home, to which they would retire ; or they offered to recover Balkh and Badakhshan, which might be given them in *jagir* if they were successful. On the other hand, if they failed they would have earned a name which would survive until the Day of Judgment. If this request, too, was refused, let the plotters against them appear and fight them on the sands of the Jamuna below the palace windows (*jharoka*), the Emperor becoming spectator and umpire. Power would belong to the survivors. To all these importunities the Emperor's answer was that no plot against them was in existence. [Kamraj 53b, M. M. 193.]

The conspirators told the Emperor that as the Sayyids were strongly supported by a large army and a numerous following of relations and adherents, their only object in offering to resign was to secure an unopposed withdrawal from the city, where they saw that it was impossible to carry out a successful revolt. Once in their home country, they would be certain to break out into rebellion. From this stage, the quarrel having become public, concealment was no longer possible and the principal nobles were called into consultation by Farrukh-siyar. Finally it was resolved not to interfere openly with the Sayyids, but to appoint a new Wazir, in the hope that their adherents would fall away from them. Most of these had resorted to them with the object of obtaining assignments on the land revenue. Deserted, as they probably would be, by these men, their party would be weakened and their consequence would gradually diminish.

It is said that the leader in giving this advice was Muhammad Amin Khan, Itimad-ud-daulah. His idea was that, since in length of service, nobility of family, fertility of resource, and ability as a soldier, there was in his opinion no one his equal or rival, the Emperor's choice must fall upon him. And it is quite likely that, if he had been supported and given authority to act, he could have carried the affair to a successful termination. But the Emperor's advisers foresaw that if the present danger were overcome through his aid, and their first enemies removed out of their way, to get rid afterwards of the

victor would be a still more arduous enterprize than the one at present before them. They preferred that Mir Jumla should receive the robes of *diwan* and assume the office of chief minister. Now, as a contemporary writer remarks, Mir Jumla and Khan Dauran, "were only carpet knights (*sher-i-qalin*) and not true fighters (*mard-i-maidan*). They talked well, but evaded dealing with the kernel (*maghz*) of the matter." Mir Jumla, having no real strength of character, knew that he was not fitted to enter the lists as a champion to fight the Sayyids. He therefore made excuses and drew to one side. Who, then, was "to bell the cat"? There remained Khan Dauran. He was in reality a mere braggadocio, a big talker of the kind supposed to be the peculiar product of Hindustan ; and he was frightened lest he should ever be called on to take the lead, and lose his life in the attempt to destroy the Sayyids. Therefore he went secretly to Farrukh-siyar and suggested as the best course that Muhammad Amin Khan should be propitiated in every way, and the control of the affair confided to him. When it had been concluded and the Sayyids destroyed, he could be removed from office before he had time to consolidate his power. Overtures ought to be made to him. [M. M. 194, *Ahwal* 77b.]

Muhammad Amin Khan, who had learnt the inmost secrets of the plot, and was also disheartened by the shifting moods of Farrukh-siyar, was far from ready to accept the office. He said that he had no wish to be Wazir ; he was a plain soldier unaccustomed to such duties. If fighting men were wanted and the Emperor would head the troops in person, he would perform the obligations of a loyal servant and give his life for his master. But in the absence of His Majesty, his own troops and those of his relations were unequal to an attack on the Sayyids. The imperial and *Wala-shahi* troops had been warned for service under him ; but he had no proof of their fighting quality. How could he feel any confidence in them? Besides, they were all of them near death's door from poverty and hunger, having neither good horses nor effective arms. In the *Wala-shahi* corps they had enlisted many townsmen, who neither respected others nor were themselves respected. Indeed, many low-caste men and mere artisans held commands. He

could not rely on such troops. Finding this lack of zeal among his partisans, Farrukh-siyar began to lose heart. The men of the *haft chauki*, or personal guard, were ordered into the palace ; and the unity and firm resolve of the Sayyids having been fully ascertained, it was decided to resume friendly relations with them.

While all these schemes were in progress, the Sayyids stopped at home and were never seen at *darbar*. Crowds of their dependents and flatterers continued to attend their audiences. But soon it became known that the Emperor had made up his mind to destroy them, and had transferred the office of Wazir to another. By slow degrees the daily crowd of suppliants grew less and less. Nay, some of the very Barha Sayyids absented themselves, and the two brothers and their adherents fell into great perplexity. If things had gone on like this for three or four days longer, they would have been much reduced in strength : in another week or ten days, the Emperor's end would have been gained. But it was not long before the truth leaked out, as to the differences among his advisers, the want of heart in his troops, and the state of alarm into which he had himself fallen. Once more the Sayyids' mart resumed its former briskness, and the throng at their doors became greater than before.

The Emperor ordered Islam Khan Mashhadi, formerly head of the artillery, to point some cannon at Husain Ali Khan's mansion, and kill him if possible. This order was not obeyed ; and on Mir Jumla's complaint, Islam Khan was sent for. That officer excused himself on the plea of the risk to innocent neighbours, and asked what fault the Sayyid had committed. Farrukh-siyar began to complain of them. Islam Khan then offered his services as intermediary. Having visited them and expressed to them the Emperor's grievances, Husain Ali Khan began with a denial of having thwarted the Emperor in the least. He continued : "The words of the truthful, though somewhat bitter, yield pleasant fruit. As Sadi of Shiraz says : 'Each good deed has its reward, each fault its penalty.' " "If they were in fault, let the Emperor himself say so ; why should a multitude suffer for the crimes of two men :

their heads were there, ready for His Majesty's sword. By God Most High! since they were real Sayyids, no word of reproach would escape their lips:—

We turn not our heads from the sword of the enemy,
Whatever falls on our head is our Destiny."

This talk frightened Islam Khan so much that he soon asked for leave to go. He hurried back to Farrukh-siyar, and worked on the Emperor's mind till his views were changed. Islam Khan then suggested: "Why not send for them?" and he offered to bring them. Farrukh-siyar said: "Good, I also wish it." Islam Khan reported to the Sayyids that the Emperor had turned round and would like to see them. Husain Ali Khan met this by the objection that though they were loyal, they could not go to Court while Mir Jumla was there; but they were willing to go on active service. Why should they remain at Court when there was no real but only apparent friendship. "Service and submission are from the heart, not from the tongue." [*Ahwal* 88a-91b.]

Farrukh-siyar, who was much cast down at the refusal of his friends to act, followed up this negotiation with further attempts to conciliate the Sayyids and offers of doing their will, swearing many oaths that he would never attempt to injure them again. Khwaja Jafar, the holy man, an elder brother of Khan Dauran, Sayyid Husain Khan Barha, Sayyid Shujaat Khan and others, went to and fro repeatedly. At these interviews the Sayyids expatiated, as usual, on their good services and the devotion they had shown, diversified by loud complaints of the Emperor's ingratitude. At length they said that they were convinced that the flames of ill-will had been set alight by the efforts of Mir Jumla and Khan Dauran. So long as those two gentlemen were left at Court they did not feel justified in presenting themselves there, for they would still be afraid of renewed attack. But Khwaja Jafar succeeded in overcoming their objection to Khan Dauran. He entered into a solemn covenant on his brother's behalf, that he would never again act towards the Sayyids contrary to the rules of true friendship. Should the Emperor entertain any such project, he would hinder its execution to the best of his ability.

If unsuccessful, he would at once warn the Sayyids. On these terms Khan Dauran was forgiven. Mir Jumla was thus left to meet the brunt of their displeasure, and they insisted on his dismissal from Court. [M. M. 198.] It was about this time that two of the Sayyids' uncles, Sayyid Khan Jahan and Asad-ullah Khan, counselled them to retire from Court. Qutb-ul-mulk objected that they were unfit for a saintly, recluse life. Khan Jahan explained that he did not counsel retirement from the world, but retirement from Court. "Say to the Emperor that you do not wish to remain at Court, that soldiers such as you are cannot manage the duties of a *Wazir* or a *Bakhshi*; let him send one of you to Bengal, the other to the Dakhin." The brothers thought the proposal a good one, but feared that it would be misrepresented by their enemies. Sayyid Khan Jahan asked, "How so?" They replied that they would be accused of meditating independence. Then another idea was brought forward. Why should they not, in order to obtain the removal of Mir Jumla, propose that one of the two brothers leave Court at the same time as Mir Jumla. All present approved, and a request to this effect was sent to the Emperor through Itibar Khan, a eunuch. Strangely enough Farrukh-siyar had conceived a similar plan, and therefore the offer was at once accepted. [*Ahwal* 93b.]

As Farrukh-siyar was by this time in a great fright and held it of the first importance to come to some settlement, he now consented gladly to all their demands. On the 22nd Zul Qada 1126 H. (28th November, 1714), the Emperor's mother visited the house of Qutb-ul-mulk and on her son's behalf renewed his promises, binding herself by oaths in the most solemn form. On the next day Qutb-ul-mulk with all his retinue repaired to the palace. Mir Jumla and Khan Dauran advanced as far as the door of the public audience-hall to receive him. The Nawab reproached them to their faces in the severest language. But the two cowards swallowed the bitter draught as if it had been composed of sugar and honey. Not a word of answer issued from their lips. The Emperor was seated at the window in the Hall of Justice, when Qutb-ul-mulk came in, followed by forty to fifty of his most trusty

veterans. His Majesty embraced him affectionately and entered into many excuses for his own doings, the tears standing in his eyes the while. Qutb-ul-mulk also wept, and recounted at length his own and his brother's many acts of loyalty and self-sacrifice, ending with asseverations of their unalterable devotion. Then, in accordance with the demands of the Sayyids, it was agreed that Mir Jumla should be despatched to *subah* Bihar; while Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, who furnished all the brains that Mir Jumla had, and was believed by the brothers to be at the root of all the mischief, was deprived of his rank. His mansion and gardens were confiscated, but on the request of Qutb-ul-mulk, the rest of his property was left to him. On the 5th Zul Hijja 1126 H. (11th December, 1714), Mir Jumla was conducted to Lahor in the charge of two mace-bearers.*

On the day appointed for their attendance, just before the Sayyids were received in audience, Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, with effusive signs of joy, had met them in the middle of the great court in front of the public audience chamber, and begun to sound their praises like a hired flatterer. "During their absence the Court, even at noon-tide, had been plunged in the darkness of a long winter night, it seemed as if with them the sun and moon had disappeared" and more in the same strain. Qutb-ul-mulk retorted roughly: "What is the use of all this fulsome talk; if you meant it in your heart, why did you not show it in acts and try to heal the breach?" Lutfullah Khan then informed them that he had noticed a change in the Emperor's purpose, and believed that mischief was intended, for this reason only had he now troubled them. Having planted the seeds of distrust in their hearts, he hurried back to the Emperor and said that from what he had seen, he expected the Sayyids would use force. Farrukh-siyar broke out into anger: "The better I treat these men, the worse they oppose me." Additional guards were posted at the doors. After the usual ceremonies, Qutb-ul-mulk stepped forward and protested their loyalty, and prayed that tale-bearers

* Mirza Muhammad 199; Kamwar Khan, 151, has 23rd—Warid. 151a.

might no longer be listened to. For instance, a person trusted by His Majesty had just met them in the open court of the audience-hall, and professing to be their friend, had told them that His Majesty meant to treat them harshly. If His Majesty thought them worthy of punishment, let him execute them with his own hand ; and they would be happy to become a sacrifice. Farrukh-siyar retorted that a man had just told him the Sayyids intended to use force. The Sayyids rejoined that till one of these men was punished, things would never resume their proper course. The Emperor demanded the same. Explanations followed ; this double treachery was brought home to the culprit, and the incident was the principal cause of Lutfullah Khan's sudden disgrace. [*Ahwal* 72a.]

As Nawab Husain Ali Khan would not come to Court until Mir Jumla had left, the latter received his audience of dismissal on the *Id-uz-zuha* (16th December, 1714). Four days afterwards (20th December, 1714), Husain Ali Khan entered the palace with his men, observing the same precautions as in the case of Qutb-ul-mulk. The Emperor and the Mir Bakhshi exchanged compliments, under which their real sentiments were easily perceived. Some months before this time (12th Ramzan, 1126 H.—20th September, 1714) Husain Ali Khan had obtained in his own favour a grant of the *Dakhin subahs*, in supersession of Nizam-ul-mulk. He had then no intention of proceeding there in person, but meant to exercise the government through a deputy, Daud Khan, as had been done by Zulfiqar Khan, after fixing the amount of profit to be remitted to him every year. It was now proposed that he should leave Court and take over charge of the *Dakhin* himself. Owing to fears for his brother's safety and other reasons, he had been very reluctant to leave Dihli. At length, under pressure of circumstances, he consented to take his departure to the South, Khan Dauran Samsam-ud-daulah being appointed his deputy at Court. One writer [M. M. 202] ascribes this change of plan to Husain Ali Khan's disgust with recent events. It should rather be looked on as part of the agreement under which Mir Jumla was sent away. [K. K. 741.]

On the 17th Zul Hijja (3rd December, 1714), after his own

troops had taken charge of the palace gates, Husain Ali Khan's audience of leave-taking took place ; but his first march to Nizam-ud-din Auliya's tomb was postponed till the 29th Safar (5th March), and his actual departure was not reported till the 30th Rabi I. 1127 H. (4th April, 1715), when he set out by way of Ajmer. At this last audience he had made the significant remark that if in his absence, Mir Jumla were recalled, or his brother were subjected to annoyance, his return to Court might be looked for within twenty days from the occurrence of either event. He took with him power to appoint and remove all officials and exchange the commanders of all forts in the Dakhin. Nay, a common story is that, under compulsion, Farrukh-siyar made over to him the great seal, in order that the warrants of appointment to the forts should not require imperial confirmation. The settlement of these various matters had caused a delay of three or four months, which were spent by Husain Ali Khan at Barahpula.* Hardly was Husain Ali Khan's back turned before new schemes were contrived, and on the 29th Jamadi I. (3rd May, 1715), Daud Khan, then governor at Ahmadabad in Gujarat, was reappointed to Burhanpur, one of the *subahs* under charge of Husain Ali Khan. Daud Khan received secret instructions from the Court to resist the Mir Bakhshi to the best of his ability, and if possible to kill him. The reward promised him was succession to the six *subahs* of the Dakhin. When we come to relate events in the various provinces during this reign, we shall return to the subject. Suffice it to say here that, much to the chagrin of the Court party, Daud Khan was killed in battle near Burhanpur on the 8th Ramzan 1127 H. (6th September, 1715), and Husain Ali Khan was victorious. In the same way, Mir Jumla's doings at Patna will be told hereafter.†

SEC. 17.—FARRUKH-SIYAR'S MARRIAGE TO AJIT SINGH'S
DAUGHTER (MAY-DECEMBER 1715).

Owing to his anxiety to return at once to Court, Husain Ali Khan had not been able to wait in Rajputana, until Rajah Ajit

* Mirza Muhammad, India Office Library MS. No. 50, fol. 128b, Khafi Khan, ii. 742.

† Kamwar Khan.—Report of battle received 10th Shawwal, 1127 H. (8th October, 1715).

Singh had finished the necessary preparations for the despatch of his daughter to Dihli. When the dispute with the Sayyids had been allayed and Husain Ali Khan had taken his departure to the Dakhin, Shaista Khan, the Emperor's maternal uncle, was sent on the 12th Jamadi I. 1127 H. (15th May, 1715) to bring the bride from her home at Jodhpur. He arrived with her at Dihli on the 25th Ramzan 1127 H. (23rd September, 1715), and tents were erected within the palace for her reception. She was then sent to the mansion of Amir-ul-umara, and the preparations for the wedding were made over to Qutb-ul-mulk. Four days afterwards the Emperor repaired to the mansion of Amir-ul-umara, and there on repetition of the creed, the lady was admitted into the Muhammadan faith. The same night the marriage rite was performed by Shariyat Khan, the chief Qazi, one lakh of gold coins being entered in the deed as her dower. The nobles presented their congratulations, and the Qazi received a present of Rs. 2,000. [M. M. 212 ; Kamwar 156, 158.]

The bridegroom's gifts* to the bride were provided on a regal scale by the Emperor's mother, and sent to the bride's quarters on the 15th Zul Hijja (11th December, 1715), accompanied by many nobles, who were entertained by Qutb-ul-mulk. On the 20th the ceremony of applying henna to the bridegroom's hands and feet was carried out, and the persons who brought it were entertained in the usual way.† On the 21st (17th December, 1715), the whole of the Diwan-i-am and the courtyard (*jilau khana*), both sides of the road within the palace, and the plain towards the Jamuna were illuminated by lamps placed on bamboo screens. About nine o'clock in the evening, Farrukh-siyar came out by the Dihli Gate of the palace, seated on a moveable throne and wearing, according to usage, the clothes sent to him by the bride's father, of which Khemsi Bhandari had been the bearer. The Emperor was preceded by

* These were called the *Sachaq*, a Turki word. Mirza Muhammad tried to get into the palace of Qutb-ul-mulk as a spectator, but the crowd was so great that he was forced to come away.

† Mirza Muhammad, I. O. Library No. 50, fol. 132a. For *Hinna bandan*, *Mahndi bandan*, see Herklot's *Qanoon-e-Islam*, p. 68.

platforms, on which stood women singing and dancing as they were carried along. Fireworks were let off. The Emperor entered the house of Amir-ul-umara and there completed the usual ceremonies. Those observed on this occasion were a mixture of Muhammadan and Hindu usages. One which caused much remark was the offer to the guest of a drink made of rose-water, sugar, and opium. This mixture was pressed on them by the Rajputs on the plea that it was the custom of their country. Many Muhammadans drank of it, but some objected. There was another thing never seen before in an imperial wedding. A gold plate had been made with five divisions, and each of these divisions was filled with precious stones. In one, diamonds; in another, rubbies; in the third, emeralds; in the fourth, topazes; and in the fifth, which was in the centre of them all, large and valuable pearls.* Farrukh-siyar returned late at night, bringing the bride with him to the palace, which he entered by the Lahor Gate, it being unlucky to go and come by the same route. The festivities continued to the end of the month.†

The consummation of the marriage had been delayed for a month or two by Farrukh-siyar's illness. When he returned to Dihli on the 19th Shaban (19th August, 1715) he was suffering from hæmorrhoids. It was on this occasion that the services of William Hamilton, the English surgeon, were called into requisition. He had accompanied an embassy sent to Dihli to complain of the conduct of Murshid Quli Khan, *nazim* of Bengal, in regard to the re-imposition of the custom duties which had been remitted by Alamgir.‡ By the 16th October (N. S.), the Emperor had been for some time under treatment by Mr. Hamilton. His ailments are said in the envoy's letters to have

* Yahya, 122b; Khush-hal Chand, 402a.

† *Taghaiyyar-i-rah dadan*, not to return by the way or gate by which you went, a practice observed by the Emperors of Hindustan (*Mirat-ul-istilah*). Mir Abdul-Jalil Bilgrami wrote a long *masnavi*, or narrative poem, in honour of the occasion. (Lithographed at Nawal Kishor Press, Lakhnau, 1299 H.) Mr. Beale praises it for the skill with which the Hindu names of the planets are introduced under the guise of Persian words. (*Miftah*, 301).

‡ J. T. Wheeler, *Early Records*, 169-184.

been first swellings in the groin and then a threatened fistula. This account agrees closely with the contemporary writer Kamwar Khan's statement. On the 3rd December, Farrukh-siyar bathed on his recovery, and on the 10th the surgeon was publicly presented with valuable gifts. As to this mission we shall give further details in a future section.

SEC. 18.—FIGHT BETWEEN THE RETAINERS OF MUHAMMAD
AMIN KHAN AND OF KHAN DAURAN (APRIL 1st, 1716).

As an illustration of the disorder and want of discipline prevailing, even when the Emperor was present, among the large bodies of troops maintained by the chief nobles, we will here recount a fight which took place between the men of Muhammad Amin Khan and those of Khan Dauran. On the 6th Rabi II. 1128 H. (29th March, 1716), Farrukh-siyar started for one of his numerous hunting expeditions to Siuli, a preserve near Sonpat and about 20 miles north of Dihli. On the 26th (18th April, 1716), he returned to Agharabad, just north of the city, and pitched his camp near the garden of Shalimar. Three days afterwards (21st April, 1716), Mirza Muhammad rode out from the city in the morning, and after paying some visits, alighted at the tents of Sadullah Khan, where he ate his breakfast and took a sleep. Near the time of afternoon prayer (*zuhar*), at less than three hours to sunset, as he was preparing to go home, he heard the sound of cannon and musketry fire. The men of Muhammad Amin Khan and of Khan Dauran had begun to fight. The contest went on for over an hour, and as Mirza Muhammad was riding home, he met crowds of armed men, who were hurrying from the city to take a part in the affray, the majority being retainers of Muhammad Amin Khan, most of whose men had gone into the city, whereas Khan Dauran's were still with him. Opposite the Surkh-sangi or red-stone mosque, Qamr-ud-din Khan, son of Muhammad Amin Khan, was encountered, galloping at the head of some men to his father's aid. During the night word was brought into the city that by Farrukh-siyar's orders, Amin-ud-din Khan and others had parted the combatants and settled the dispute. The origin of the affair was this. Muhammad Amin Khan's retinue was

returning from the audience to their own tents at the time Khan Dauran's wife was on her road from the city. The two *cortéges* met, and in passing each other there was some confusion and hustling. As soon as Khan Dauran's men had escorted the Begam to her destination, they returned in a body and attacked Muhammad Amin Khan's baggage. The few guards resisted, and a bow and arrow and matchlock fight continued for about one and a half hours. One Namdar Khan and several soldiers lost their lives ; many of the bazar followers also being killed and wounded. The Emperor reduced both nobles 1,000 *zat* in rank, and the *faujdar* of Muradabad was taken from Muhammad Amin Khan and conferred on Amin-ud-din Khan. For two or three days neither noble would come to *darbar*. Then Farrukh-siyar wrote a note to Khan Dauran and sent Itimad Khan, a eunuch, to bring Muhammad Amin Khan. A reconciliation was effected between the two men ; and after their arrival in the city, they entertained each other in turn as a sign of renewed friendship. [Kamwar 163, M. M. 260, Khush-hal 404a.]

SEC. 19.—SIKH CAMPAIGN, CAPTURE AND EXECUTION OF
BANDA (JULY 1713—JUNE 1716).

On the 26th Zul Hijja 1127 (22nd Dec. 1715), at the very time when the Emperor was celebrating the anniversary of his victory over Jahandar Shah, Muhammad Amin Khan presented a report from his brother-in-law, Abdus-samad Khan, governor of Lahor, with the joyful news that Banda, the false Guru and leader of the Sikhs, had been made a prisoner. We will now resume the story of the Sikhs from the point at which we quitted it, namely, the recall of Muhammad Amin Khan when Jahandar Shah started from Dihli in December 1712.

From that time, Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan, the new *faujdar* of Sarhind,* who had gained a great reputation in Alamgir's reign, was left to continue to the best of his ability the campaign against the Sikhs. Close to the town of Sadhaura, Banda had

* Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan's appointment was made on the 22nd Jamadi 1. 1122, (18th July 1710), vice Wazir Khan killed—Kamwar Khan. 71.

succeeded in raising a fort of considerable size, with high and thick walls. Here he maintained his position in spite of all the faujdar's efforts. As soon as Farrukh-siyar had taken possession of Dihli, affairs in Sarhind demanded his attention ; and on the 27th Muharram 1125 (22nd Feb. 1713) Abdus-samad Khan was appointed governor of Lahor, with his son, Zakariya Khan, as faujdar of Jammu. His orders were to expel Banda from Sadhaura, or, if possible to destroy him altogether. Other Mughal commanders were sent to reinforce the new governor and aid him in his task.*

Thus far the garrison of Sadhaura had made a very stout defence. They had so contrived that they could be ready to continue their fire, even while they were cooking or eating, and the men on duty were protected from both the heat and the rain. The cannon balls, even when they hit the fort, made no impression on the walls. When Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan had brought his trenches within forty or fifty yards of the fort walls, he formed a battery, placed a large gun in position, and commenced to fire. Although the fire was ineffectual, the garrison, out of mere bravado and to show their valour, resolved to remove this cannon in such a way that no one should hear a sound or know how they had done it. Opposite the position of the cannon, they dug a long passage, leaving only a foot or two of earth at the outer end. The oxen and ropes used in dragging their carts were held in readiness. It was the rainy season. One night it had been raining heavily from an early hour in the evening, and of the besiegers not one cared to put his head outside of his tent. Owing to the sound of the pouring rain, it was impossible to hear anything else, and it was so dark that nothing could be seen. At midnight the Sikhs broke through the remaining wall of earth, and ranged yokes of oxen, one before the other, in the underground passage. Then some of them crossed the fort ditch, in which the water was rushing down with great force, and reached the besiegers' earthen battery where they tied their ropes firmly to the gun-carriage.

* Anon. Fragment, fol. 185; Mhd. Ihsan Ijad, fol. 130b; Kamwar Khan, 133.

The oxen pulled and the gun with its carriage, once set in motion, began to roll down. On reaching the bottom, gun and carriage fell apart. The loud noise thereby caused roused the sentinels. They saw that the cannon had disappeared. Hearing the disturbance, Zain-ud-din Ahmad arrived on the spot, on foot and without any torch, through all the mud and mire, the water in places up to his waist, and a deluge of rain falling from above. If he ordered lanterns or torches to be lighted, he would become a target for the enemy's fire ; without light, he could find out nothing. With much difficulty it was ascertained that the gun and its carriage were lying upside down in the ditch, at the foot of the earthwork. The ropes that had been attached to them had broken off. After a little time, Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan, collecting his senses, offered rewards of fifty Rupees each to one hundred camp-followers, if they would recover the cannon. Before morning broke, they had dragged it away to a position, where it was safe from the enemy.*

When Abdus-samad Khan arrived at Sadhaura, the siege was little if at all advanced. The Guru himself was in Lohgarh ; his followers held the fort at Sadhaura. It was thought advisable to force them first to evacuate Sadhaura and then crush their united forces at Lohgarh. Sadhaura was therefore invested. Abdus-samad Khan encamped on one side, Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan on another, the third and fourth sides were guarded, one by the Mughals, the other by the local militia. Every other day, sometimes every day, Banda sent out from Lohgarh three or four divisions, who fell unexpectedly, at different times, on the imperial camps. As soon as these troops were seen dimly in the distance, or the dust they raised began to appear, the besieged came out on all four sides and fell vigorously upon the besiegers. These sorties met with no success, and supplies soon began to run short. The Sikhs had thought that no one could prevent their bringing in whatever they wanted, and they had not prepared any large stores of food. What they had collected was soon exhausted.

* Anon. Fragment, fol. 19a.

In spite of all their exertions, they were unable to bring in anything through the lines of the investing army. They now decided on flight, and finding a way out at night on the side guarded by the zamindari militia, they took their way to Lohgarh.*

Abdus-samad Khan and Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan followed them at once to Lohgarh. Before a shot had been fired, or a sword drawn, a panic seems to have seized on Banda and his men ; they evacuated their fort and fled into the hills. While a camping ground was being selected by the imperialists, water sought for, and preparations in progress for beginning to dig a ditch and throw up earthworks, a party of horsemen, in the most reckless fashion, rode off towards some high ground, from which they expected to obtain a better view of the Sikh position. As soon as they appeared on the high ground, the Sikhs streamed down the further side of the hill and disappeared. This panic and flight became the more inexplicable when the imperialists saw the elaborate preparations for resistance. From the first ridge up to the wall of Lohgarh itself, they had built fifty-two defensive posts, arranged in such a manner that each protected the other, thus exposing an assailant to a deadly fire throughout his advance. Some insisted that food supplies must have failed ; others argued that their ammunition must have given out. But the prisoners, when questioned, swore in the most solemn way that it was due to a sudden panic on seeing the horsemen appear at the top of the hill and, as they thought, about to charge them. If the advantage had been followed up at once, it is probable that Banda would have been defeated effectually, but pursuit was delayed for several days, and by that time, in spite of much searching through the hill country, not a trace of the Guru could be found. The capture of Sadhaura and the flight of Banda were reported at Dihli on the 20th Ramzan 1125 (9th Oct. 1713).†

On the 26th Zul Qada 1125 (13th Dec. 1713) Zakariya Khan, son of Abdus-samad Khan, brought to Court a report from his

* Anon. Fragment, fol. 19b.

† Anon. Fragment, fol. 19; Kamwar Khan, 140.

father, accompanied by a number of heads. A few months afterwards, Abdus-samad Khan came in person. Mir Jumla was sent out to escort him into the capital and he was presented on the 20th Safar 1126 (6th March 1714), receiving the usual gifts. Four days afterwards he was posted to the army then proceeding to Rajputana under Husain Ali Khan. On his return from this service, he was ordered back with his son to the Panjab, where the Sikhs had again raised their heads near Rupar on the Satlaj. The two nobles were sent off on the 14th Jamadi II. 1126 (26th June 1714). Not many months after Abdus-samad Khan's departure, a report was received, on the 16th Shaban 1126 (26th Aug. 1714) that a body of Sikhs, estimated at 7000 in number, had attacked the town of Rupar. Khwaja Mukaram, deputy of Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan, the faujdar, made a good defence, although his force was small. He killed about two hundred of the enemy and cut off their heads. The rest of the Sikhs then retreated.*

About this time Khidmat Talab Khan replaced Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan in Sarhind. He employed a large force to watch the issues from the hills. As the Sikhs had lost their strong places, with their stores of food, and the country itself had been devastated, it was impossible for them to subsist and they retired again into the hills. After a few months they reappeared in the plains from the direction of Jammu. The parganas of Kalanaur and Batala were plundered, in spite of the efforts of the faujdars, Suhrab Khan and Shaikh Muhammad Daim, and of Santokh Rai Qanungo. Mhd. Daim left his pargana and retired to his home in Kasba Bhairuwal, south-east of Amritsar. Rich and poor again forsook their homes, many went to Lahor, and many took refuge in the country of Jina and Dasoha.† At this time Abdus-samad Khan had marched southwards from Lahor to repress an outbreak of the Bhatti zamindars in the wild region known as the Lakhi jungle. He wished to carry out his repressive measures thoroughly, and therefore made no haste to return and deal with the Sikhs. In his absence Mir

* Kamwar Khan, 142, 145, 147, 149; Anon. Fragment fol. 21b.

† Mhd. Qasim, 175, 176. Bhairuwal is 31 m.s.e. of Amritsar (Thornton, 103). For Jina see *Ain*, translation, ii. 320, and for Dasoha, *idem*, ii. 110, 316.

Ahmad Khan, faujdar of Gujarat, Iradatmand Khan, faujdar of Amanabad, Nur Muhammad Khan, ruler of Aurangabad and Parsarur, Shaikh Mhd. Daim and Suhrab Khan above mentioned, Sayyid Hifz Ali Khan of pargana Haibatpur Patti, Rajah Bhim Singh Kamboh, and Hardam son of Rajah Dharb Deo Jharotha,* assembled their forces, and marched against the Sikhs. Arif Beg Khan, the nazim's deputy, came out of Lahor and camped near Shahganj, for the protection of the city. The Guru's first position was at Kot Mirza Jan, where he threw up earthworks. Before he had completed his defences, the advance of the Muhammadans forced him to evacuate that place, and he then retired with 10,000 men on Gurdaspur, a small town founded by Bhai Dip Chand, a fakir.†

The reports of the Sikh ravages sent in to the Court caused great alarm, and on the 15th Rabi I. 1127 (20th March 1715) a sharp reproof was administered to Abdus-samad Khan, and at the same time, Qamr-ud-din Khan, son of Mhd. Amin Khan, Afrasyab Khan, the third Bakhshi, Muzaffar Khan, Rajah Udait Singh Bundela, Rajah Gopal Sing Bhadauriya, and other nobles were sent to reinforce him.‡

On the 13th Rabi II. 1127 (17th April 1715) reports were received at Dihli that, after plundering the town of Batala, the Guru had taken up his position in an earthen fort at Gurdaspur. This small town lies forty-four miles north-east of Amritsar, in the Bari Duaba. The Sikh leader made every effort to strengthen his defences and increase his store of supplies. He cut the canal known as the *Shah-nahr* and other small streams below the hills, and allowed the water to spread, so that owing to the quagmire thus formed, neither man nor

* Gujarat, 70 m.n.w. of Lahor (Thornton, 358); Amanabad, 33 m.n.w. of Lahor (Thornton 302); Parsarur, about 60 m.n. of Lahor—Jharotha (or Jarautia), a tribe of Rajputs in the Kangra District (Ibbetson, *Census*, para. 459).

† Mhd. Qasim, fol. 178. Mhd. Qasim was present in these operations, and at the siege of Gurdaspur, being then in the service of Arif Beg Khan.

‡ Kamwar Khan, 154; Anon. Fragment, fol. 22b. Qamr-ud-din Khan had just returned from an expedition against Madar Sah, zamindar of Ajaon, (*sarkar* Budaon, *subah* Dihli?)

horse could reach close to the fort. When the Muhammadans arrived, many of the Sikhs were out in the villages collecting supplies. Numbers of them were seized, brought in, and executed; the rest cut off their long locks, shaved their beards, and hid themselves in Lahor. The rest of the besieged showed great activity in the defence, but Abdus-samad Khan and his son, at the head of their own men and those of the faujdars, daily met and defeated the sorties of the garrison. Two or three times a day, forty or fifty of the Sikhs would come out to gather grass for their cattle, and when attacked they faced the Mughals with bow, gun, and sword. The common soldiers were so afraid of the Guru's sorceries that they prayed he might soon take to flight as before. The further progress of the investment was reported to Court in a letter received on the 26th Rabi II. 1127 (30th April 1715).*

Abdus-samad Khan soon perceived that 30,000 men would be required to prevent the escape of the besieged and the carrying in of supplies. The reinforcements brought by Qamrud-din Khan were therefore very welcome. When the line of investment had been carried to within cannon-shot of the fort, the work of closing it in on all sides was divided between the several commanders. Abdus-samad Khan took one side, Qamrud-din Khan and Zakariya Khan received charge each of one side, and the fourth side was made over to the faujdars and zamindars. United efforts being necessary, the tents were pitched close together all round the fort and rope was joined to rope. †

Night and day missiles from the fort fell in the camp. To protect man and beast, the soldiers threw up an earthen bank, ten to twenty yards long, before each tent, and sheltered themselves behind it in the trench thus made. By slow degrees, so that the process might not be noticed, they closed all the openings between each shelter, and before the Sikhs were aware of it, they were surrounded as if by a wall. The Sikhs, relying on their successful evasions on former occasions, tried their

* Kamwar Khan, 155; Mhd. Qasim, 178, 180; Khafi Khan ii, 764.

† Anon. Fragment. 23b.

best to sweep the obstacle away, but the Muhammadans triumphantly resisted all their attempts to break through and make their escape. So bold and indomitable were the Guru's followers, that they impressed their adversaries with the greatest respect for their fighting qualities. It was feared that the garrison might by a sortie *en masse*, and by sacrificing themselves, secure the escape of their leader. The superstitious soldiery were fully persuaded that the Guru by his incantations could turn himself into the shape of a dog or cat. Thus every dog or cat they saw from their entrenchments was at once a target for stones or arrows. The struggle continued for two months and many lives were lost on both sides.*

By this time the investment had advanced a musket-shot nearer to the walls and it was resolved to surround the fort with a field-work. A thousand axemen and a thousand carpenters were employed in cutting trees, two thousand carts and two thousand camels carried wood and earth to the spot. When the circle round the fort had been completed, mounds of earth were raised on the trunks of the trees, from distance to distance, and at the foot of the stockade, a deep and wide ditch was made. In spite of this the Sikhs continued their defence without any relaxation of effort. Nor were the besiegers idle. They drove subterranean passages towards each corner of the fort. Before Abdus-samad Khan's approach had reached the main gate, Qamr-ud-din Khan succeeded in capturing the ditch and a bastion, from which the artillery and musketry fire of the garrison had done great execution. Zakariya Khan obtained possession of a second gate, the one chiefly used by the garrison. Other commanders also advanced their works, and on all sides the Sikhs were much hampered. Their provisions had now come to an end, not a grain being left in their store-houses.†

Men would make overtures to the Muhammadan soldiers and buy from them a little grain at the rate of two or three

* Anon. Fragment, 23a; Khafi Khan, ii. 764. Yahya Khan, *Tazkirat-ul-muluk*, fol. 12a.

† Anon. Fragment, 23a.

shillings a pound ; also as the Sikhs were not strict observers of caste, they slaughtered oxen and other animals, and not having any firewood, ate the flesh raw. Many died of dysentery and privation. Many began to pick up and eat whatever they found on the roads. When all the grass was gone, they gathered the leaves from the trees. When these were consumed, they stripped the bark and broke off the small shoots, dried them, ground them down, and used them instead of flour, thus keeping body and soul together. They also collected the bones of animals and used them in the same way. Some assert that they saw a few of the Sikhs cut flesh from their own thighs, roast it, and eat it. [K. K. 763, Qasim 181.]

When things had come to this pass, all food being exhausted, and the smell of the putrid bodies of men and animals making the place untenable, the Sikh leaders made overtures for surrender on certain conditions. Abdus-samad Khan refused to make any concessions, and at length the Guru submitted unconditionally ; the Muhammadans entered the fort and made prisoners of everybody found alive within it. Of these prisoners two or three hundred were executed by the general's order, their heads being then filled with straw and fixed on spears. As it was known that many of the Sikhs had swallowed whatever gold coins they had, to save them from plunder, the dead bodies were ripped open, and thus much wealth fell into the hands of the low camp-followers and the Mughal soldiers. The rest of the prisoners were placed in fetters and kept to grace the triumphal entry into Dihli. The surrender of Gurdaspur took place on the 21st Zul Hijja 1127 (17th Dec. 1715). The list of arms taken and money seized does not give a very exalted notion of either the military strength or of the wealth of the Sikh leader.* In spite of this, he and his men had resisted all the force that the Empire could bring against them for the space of eight months. [Kamwar 162.]

* The arms delivered into the armoury at Dihli were 1000 swords, 278 shields, 173 bows and quivers, 180 matchlocks, 114 daggers, 217 long knives. The valuables were a few gold ornaments, 23 gold coins, and a little over 600 Rupees—Kamwar Khan, 163 (entry of 15th Rabi 1128).

Abdus-samad Khan asked for permission to come to Dihli in person with his prisoner, but he was told to remain and attend to the government of his province, sending in the Guru and the other prisoners in charge of his son, Zakariya Khan, and of Qamr-ud-din Khan, the son of Mhd. Amin Khan. On the 15th Rabi I. 1128 the arrival of the party at Agharabad, just north of the city, was reported at Court. Mhd. Amin Khan was sent out at once to make all arrangements for bringing the Guru and his followers in procession from Agharabad to the palace. The ceremonial to be followed was that observed after the capture of Sambhaji, son of Shivaji, the Mahratta. [*Ibid.*]

The triumphal entry with the prisoners took place on the 17th Rabi I. 1128 (10th March 1716). The road from Agharabad to the Lahori Gate of the palace, a distance of several miles, was lined on both sides with troops. Banda sat in an iron cage placed on the back of an elephant. He wore a long, heavy-skirted Court dress (*jama*) of gold brocade, the pattern on it being of pomegranate flowers, and a gold-embroidered turban of fine red cotton cloth. Behind him stood, clad in chain mail, with drawn sword in hand, one of the principal Mughal officers. In front of the elephant were carried, raised on bamboo poles, the heads of the Sikh prisoners who had been executed, the long hair streaming over them like a veil. Along with these, the body of a cat was exposed at the end of a pole, meaning that, even down to four-footed animals, everything in Gurdaspur had been destroyed. Behind the Guru's elephant followed the rest of the prisoners, seven hundred and forty in number. They were seated, two and two, on camels without saddles. One hand of each man was attached to his neck by two pieces of wood, which were held together by iron pins. On their heads were high caps of a ridiculous shape made of sheep's skin and adorned with glass beads. A few of the principal men, who rode nearest to the elephant, had been clothed in sheep's skins with the woolly side outwards, so that the common people compared them to bears. When the prisoners had passed, they were followed by the Nawab Mhd. Amin Khan Chin, accompanied by his son, Qamr-ud-din Khan and his son-in-law, Zakariya Khan. In this

order the procession passed on through the streets to the palace.*

The streets were so crowded with spectators that to pass was difficult. Such a crowd had been rarely seen. The Muhammadans could hardly contain themselves for joy. But the Sikhs, in spite of the condition to which they had been reduced, maintained their dignity and no sign of dejection or humility could be detected on their countenances. Many of them, as they passed along on their camels, seemed happy and cheerful. If any spectator called out to them that their evil deeds and oppressions had brought them where they then were, they retorted, without a moment's hesitation, in the most reckless manner. They were content, they said, that Fate had willed their capture and destruction. If any man in the crowd threatened that he would kill them then and there, they shouted, "Kill us, kill us, why should we fear death? It was only through hunger and thirst that we fell into your hands. If that had not been the case, you know already what deeds of bravery we are capable of."

By the Emperor's order the Guru Banda, with Taj Singh and another leader, was made over to Ibrahim-ud-din Khan, commander of the artillery, and they were placed in prison at the Tirpoliya or Triple Gate. The Guru's wife, his three-year-old infant, and the child's wet-nurse, were taken by Darbar Khan, the nazir, and placed in the harem. With the exception of between twenty and thirty of the chief men, who were sent to prison with the Guru, the remaining prisoners were made over for execution to Sarbarah Khan, the city *kotwal* or head of the police. The work began at the *chabutra*, or chief police office, on the 22nd Rabi I. (15th March 1716), and one hundred men were executed every day for a week. All observers, Indian and European, unite in remarking on the

* Mirza Muhammad 256. Anon. Fragment 24a, Kamwar Khan 162, J. T. Wheeler, *Early Records*, 180, (letter of 10th March 1716 O.S.=20th March N.S.) and Orme Collections (India Office) vol. vii. p. 1708. Mirza Mhd. joined the procession at the Salt Market (*Mandavi-i-namak*) and marched with it to the palace. The embassy from the E. I. Company, at the head of which was Mr. John Surman, was in Dihli at the time.

wonderful patience and resolution with which these men underwent their fate. Their attachment and devotion to their leader were wonderful to behold. They had no fear of death, they called the executioner *Mukt*, or the Deliverer,* they cried out to him joyfully "O *Mukt*! kill me first!" Every day one hundred victims met their fate and artificers were kept in attendance to sharpen the executioners' swords. After the heads had been severed from the bodies, the bodies were thrown into a heap, and at night-fall they were loaded into carts, taken out of the city, and hung up on the trees.†

Although life was promised to those who became Muhammadans, not one prisoner proved false to his faith. Among them was a youth, whose mother made many supplications to Qutb-ul-mulk, through Ratan Chand, his diwan or principal man of business. She said she was a widow, had but this son, and he had been unjustly seized, being no disciple or follower of the Guru but only a prisoner in his hands. The Wazir interceded and obtained the boy's life. The woman took the order of release to the kotwal, who brought out the prisoner and told him he was free. The youth said "I know not this woman, what does she want with me? I am a true and loyal follower of the Guru, for whom I give my life, what is his fate shall be mine also." He then met his death without flinching.‡

At length on the 29th Jamadi II. 1128 (19th June 1716) Banda and his remaining followers were led out to execution. The rich Khattris of the city, who were secretly favourable to his tenets, had offered large sums for his release. But all these offers were rejected. The execution was entrusted to Ibrahim-ud-din Khan, *Mir Atash*, or general of artillery, and Sarbarah Khan, the kotwal. The Guru, dressed as on the day of his entry, was again placed on an elephant and taken through

* *Mukt* is the final deliverance of the soul from the body, and exemption from further transmigration (Shakespeare, *Dictionary*, Col. 1938).

† Kamwar Khan 163, Mirza Muhammad 259, Shiu Das *Munavar-ul-kalam*, fol. 10, J. T. Wheeler, *loc. cit.*

‡ Shiu Das fol. 10b, Khafi Khan ii. 766, Khush-hal Chand *Nadir-uz-zamani*, 405b.

the streets of the old city to the shrine of Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki,* and there paraded round the tomb of the Emperor Shah Alam, Bahadur Shah. After he had been made to dismount and was seated on the ground, his young son was put into his arms and he was told to take the child's life. He refused. Then the executioner killed the child with a long knife, dragged out its liver, and thrust it into the Guru's mouth. His own turn came next. First of all his right eye was removed by the point of a butcher's knife, next his left foot was cut off, then his two hands were severed from his body, and finally he was decapitated. His companions were also executed at the same time. His wife was made a Muhammadan and given over to Dakhini Begam, the Emperor's maternal aunt.†

The Muhammadans looked on this ruthless execution as a fitting retaliation for the cruelties the man had inflicted on their fellow-religionists. Khafi Khan [766] sententiously sums up the matter with the proverb "Who gets not what he has done ; who reaps not what he has sown?" and he quotes the lines

Forget not the retribution for transgression !
Wheat springs from wheat, barley from barley.

THE SIKH SPIRITUAL SUCCESSION.

The Sikhs, as a body, deny the spiritual authority of any one who came after Guru Govind Singh. But in a modified form he had successors, and as a conclusion to this section, I will add a few words carrying on the story into the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719-1748).

Govind Singh left no surviving natural issue. But at his death in 1708, as already stated, a boy named Ajit Singh was brought forward by the disciples as his adopted son. After receiving an imperial *mansab*, he was raised to the seat of authority as the head of the sect. He finally found his way to Dihli, in charge of Govind Singh's widow, Mata, or Mother,

* The place is familiarly known to us as the Qutb Minar.

† Kamwar Khan 165, 166; Mirza Muhammad, 289; Shiu Das, 11a; Anon. Fragment, 24b; Khafi Khan ii. 765.

Sundari. In Farrukh-siyar's reign, when he grew up to manhood, evil advisers persuaded him to set up entirely on his own account. Mata Sundari was turned out, and necessarily a schism arose, she claiming for herself a separate spiritual head-ship. Many Sikhs forsook Ajit Singh and followed her. At length in the seventh year of Muhammad Shah, a false accusation was brought that one of the Wearers of Patches* had been killed by him. Some two to three thousand Muhammadans raised a disturbance and with much clamour brought their complaint to Qamr-ud-din Khan, Itimad-ud-daulah, the Wazir. Fearing a serious riot, the Wazir sent some troops, who captured Ajit Singh and he was executed.†

Jahi Singh, son of Ajit Singh, was at that time very young. His well-wishers, fearing that some harm might come to him, carried him off to Mathura and in 1173 H. (Aug. 1759—Aug. 1760) when Chatarman wrote, he was still living there. Many believed in and followed him, but some of the sect had betaken themselves to others.

Mata Sundari, Govind Singh's widow, when the quarrel with Ajit Singh took place, started on her own account and drew many after her. On her death, her party transferred their allegiance to Sahib Dei, known as the *Kuwara Dula* or the Virgin Bride. She was the daughter of some hill-rajah, who had sent her to Govind Singh. Before her arrival, he had departed to the other world. But she refused to take any other husband and adopted the life of a religious mendicant. On Mata Sundari's death, Sahib Dei succeeded, but after a year she too died. These two ladies had continued to live in Dihli. In 1173 (1759-60) the only religious leader of the Sikhs, was Jahi Singh, son of Ajit Singh, who then lived in Mathura with a good following of from one to two hundred persons. [*Chahar Gulshan*, 143a.]

* *Khirkahposh* = Religious mendicant or dervish.

† Rai Chatarman, *Chahar Gulshan*, my copy fol. 143a, and *Tarikh-i-Mhdt*, year 1137, "Guru Ajit Singh, son of Guru Govind Singh, successor of Nanak, killed on Friday the 4th Jamadi I. (=18th January 1725) at Shahjahanabad for rebellion, by the Emperor's order."

SEC. 20.—THE JAT CAMPAIGN, (SEPTEMBER 1716—APRIL 1718).

We have now to deal with another branch of that widespread Jat race, which formed such a large proportion of the Sikh fighting line. Without entering into Colonel James Tod's speculations about their identity with the Goths or Getæ, it may be assumed as a certainty that, for many hundreds of years, a branch of this people has been settled in the country south of the Jamuna, between the cities of Agra and Dihli. This region, ending on the east at the Chambal river or a little beyond it, marks the eastern limit of their advance from the west. East and north-east of that point there are practically no Jats. Their position on the flank of the high road between two great capitals and of the routes from both those places through Ajmer onwards to the Dakhin, must in all ages have given this robust race an opening for plundering on the highways, a temptation which they found it impossible to resist.*

Without attempting to carry very far back the history of these Jat depredations, we find, without question, that in the reign of Shah Jahan (1047 H., 1637), they killed Murshid Quli Khan, the *faujdar* of Mathura, during an attack on one of their strongholds. In the next reign, that of Alamgir, they several times gave trouble. In Zul Hijja 1079 H. (April 1669) another *faujdar*, Abdun-nabi, lost his life in an attack on a village called Sorah, the home of a Jat freebooter named Gokala, who had raided the town of Sadabad in the Duaba. Alamgir marched in person from Agra, and sent on before him a new *faujdar*, Hasan Ali Khan, son of Allah Wirdi Khan. Gokala and a follower of his, Sanki, were captured and executed, limb being torn from limb; Gokala's daughter was married to

* A lively picture of the dangers of this road early in Bahadur Shah's reign is given by Yâr Muhammad, *Dastur-ul-insha*, 130. Between Mathura and Dihli the road had been entirely stopped for two months, and a crowd of many hundred travellers, including the wife of Amin-ud-din Sambhali, had collected. In 1712 the Dutch envoy and his party also found the road infested by robbers, who were, no doubt, Jats, F. Valentyn iv. 302. The same state of things is reported in the diary of our own envoy, John Surman, a year or two afterwards, Orme Collections, p. 1694, entries of the 8th, 16th, and 30th June 1715.

the Emperor's favourite slave, and his son was made a Muhammadan. [Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, iii. ch. 35.]

Alamgir's prolonged absence in the Dakhin speedily weakened the imperial authority in Northern India. In their master's absence the provincial governors took their ease and winked at abuses. Favoured by this negligence, the Jats resumed their depredations. At length in 1099 H. (1687-8) Khan Jahan, Zafar Jang, Kokaltash, and Prince Bidar Bakht, son of Azam Shah, were sent from the Dakhin to restore order. At this time the chief stronghold of the Jats was at a village called Sansani, eight miles south of Dig, and sixteen miles north-west of Bharatpur. This place was taken on the 15th Ramzan 1099 H. (14th July, 1688), the chief, Raja Ram, was killed, and his head sent to the Emperor. Prince Shah Alam, when he was put in charge of the Agra *subah* in the thirty-ninth year, i.e., 1106 H. (1695), also had trouble with the Jats. Bhajja, the father of Churaman, is the next leader of whom we hear, and his abode was also at Sansani. In the forty-ninth year of Alamgir's reign, 2nd Rajab 1117 H. (19th October, 1705), Sansani was destroyed a second or third time by Mukhtar Khan, the then *subahdar* of Agra; and shortly afterwards, on the 18th Ramzan 1119 H. (13th December, 1707), Riza Bahadur attacked it again, sending in ten carts filled with weapons and one thousand heads.*

When Bahadur Shah and his brother, Azam Shah, took the field against each other and met between Agra and Dholpur; Churaman collected as many men as he could, and hung about the neighbourhood of both armies, ready to pillage the vanquished. In the end, so much plunder fell into his hands, that he became from that time forth a most formidable partisan leader, with whom it was necessary to reckon in such troublous times. While Bahadur Shah was at Agra, Churaman came in, and professing to have repented of his turbulent ways, was granted the rank of 1500 *zat*, 500 horse. In Ramzan 1120 H.,

* Chura, or more politely Churaman, son of Bhajja, of Sansani, had by this time succeeded to the leadership of the Jats. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 311, 498; Danishmand Khan, under above date; Khafi Khan ii. 316; *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 809.

(November 1708), he helped Riza Bahadur, the imperial *faujdar*, in an attack on Ajit Singh, zamindar of Kama, where Churaman was wounded and Riza Bahadur was killed. In 1122 H. (1710) Churaman joined the Emperor at Ajmer, and took a part in the campaign against the Sikhs at Sadhaura and Lohgarh. He went on with Bahadur Shah to Lahor, and was present during the fighting which took place there after that Emperor's death (March 1712). He also seems to have fallen upon and plundered the baggage of both sides impartially, when Jahandar Shah and Farrukh-siyar met in battle array near Agra in Zul Hijja 1124 H. (January 1713).

Early in Farrukh-siyar's reign Chabela Ram, then *subahdar* of Agra, received orders to march against Churaman, and efforts to reduce his power were continued for a long time without success, owing to the underhand opposition of the Wazir and his brother. The next holder of that Government, Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, not feeling strong enough to use force, tried to make terms. Churaman agreed to come to Court, and on the 16th Ramzan (5th October, 1713), when he arrived at Barahpula near the city, Rajah Bahadur Rathor, son of Azim-ush-shan's maternal uncle, was sent out to meet and escort him. Churaman marched in at the head of 3,000 to 4,000 horsemen, and was conducted to the *Diwan-i-khas* by Samsam-ud-daulah in person. Charge of the royal highway from Barahpula near Dihli to the crossing on the Chambal, was made over to him, and he soon returned home. But by slow degrees he fell into disfavour, the extent of the country he took possession of was thought excessive, his realization of road dues was objected to, and his interference with *jagir*-holders was disliked. All that a *jagirdar* could collect from him was a little money thrown to him as if it were an alms. These things were repeated to the Emperor in detail, over and over again, until they produced an effect, and he resolved that some action must be taken. The difficulty was to find any one competent to undertake such an arduous task. Churaman had meanwhile constructed a new stronghold at a place called Thun.*

* Thun does not seem to be well known now. Can it be the Toond of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet 50, between Dig and Gobardhan? Or is it

At length in the fifth year of the reign, Jamadi II. 1128 H., May—June 1716, Rajah Jai Singh Sawai returned to Court* from his Government of Malwa. Finding out Farrukh-siyar's secret desire to get rid of Churaman, he offered himself as ready to undertake and carry out the work. Early in Shawwal (September 1716) he received his orders, and started on the 9th of that month (25th September 1716), being the Hindu festival of the Dasahra. Some troops under Sanjar Khan and Shamsheer Khan, of the *Wala-shahis*, were posted at Palwal, thirty-six or thirty-seven miles from the city, to keep communications open, and provide convoys from that place to Hodal in one direction and Faridabad in the other. A large sum in cash was disbursed to Rajah Jai Singh from the imperial treasury, and he sent for troops from his own country. Serving under him were Maharao Bhim Singh Hada, of Kota, Rajah Gaj Singh Narwari, and Maharao Rajah Budh Singh Hada of Bundi.†

Thun having been completely invested, the siege began on the 5th Zul Hijja 1128 H. (19th November, 1716). The fort was provided with lofty walls and a deep ditch filled from springs, and round it spread a thick and thorny jungle "through which a bird could hardly make its way." Supplies were abundant; indeed, (though this is probably an exaggeration), there was said to be grain, salt, *ghi*, tobacco, cloth, and firewood sufficient for twenty years. When the siege was imminent, Churaman had forced all merchants and traders, with their families, to quit the place, leaving their goods behind them. Churaman made himself personally responsible for their compensation if he gained the day, and as the property could not be removed, the owners gave their consent without much demur.‡

Jatolee Thoon, 8 miles west of Sansani? An 18th century writer remarks: "Il y a encore (1767) un Thoun, mais dans un autre endroit, peut-être pour conserver la mémoire d'une place qui, quoique malheureuse, n'a pas donné peu de réputation aux Jats." Orme Collections, p. 4218.

* Mace-bearers were sent to fetch him on the 27th Rabi II. 1128 H. (19th April, 1716), Kamwar Khan 140, 163; *Masir-ul-umara*; Mirza Muhammad, 293.

† Kamwar Khan, 140, 168; Shiu Das, 11b.

‡ Kamwar Khan, 168; Shiu Das, 12b. Hodal, 18 or 19 m. s. of Palwal *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 50; Faridabad, *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 49 s.e.:

Churaman's son, Muhkam Singh, and his nephew, Rupa, issued from the fort and gave battle in the open. In his report of the 7th Muharram, 1129 H. (21st December, 1716), the Rajah claimed a victory. He next cut down all the trees round the fort, and erected a large number of small guard-houses, in which he placed his men. A large cannon, said to throw a ball weighing a Shahjahani maund, was sent to him, being escorted with great ceremony from Palwal to Hodal, whence it was taken on to Thun by Nusrat Yar Khan, the deputy governor of Agra. Three hundred maunds of gunpowder, one hundred and fifty maunds of lead and five hundred rockets were ordered to be sent from the arsenal at Agra. At first Abdus-samad Khan, governor of Lahor, was recalled from the Panjab, but after he had reached Dihli, the idea of sending him was abandoned, and Sayyid Muzaffar Khan, Khan Jahan, maternal uncle of the two Sayyids and then governor of Ajmer, was summoned to take his place. The Sayyid was despatched to Thun on the 30th Muharram 1129 H. (13th June, 1717).*

In spite of the investment of Thun, the roads were not cleared of robbers. The other zamindars and villagers took Churaman's part; they pillaged travellers and plundered villages. For instance, a caravan of merchants arrived at Hodal, consisting of thirteen hundred carts loaded with leather bottles full of clarified butter. Instead of giving the usual notice to Sanjar Khan, the owners started for Palwal, in the belief that their own one thousand matchlockmen would suffice. When two or three *kos* from Hodal, they were surrounded, the armed guards threw down their guns and fled, while the Jats and other plunderers drove off the carts into the neighbouring villages. About twenty lakhs' worth of property, as the owners asserted, had been taken. Sanjar Khan soon reached the spot with his troops, but he was afraid to enter the villages, because they were in the *jagirs* of the Wazir, Qutb-ul-mulk, and of Khan Dauran. [Kamwar 168-175.]

Narwar, Thornton, 685, 210 m.s. of Dihli, the Narwar Rajah was a Kachhwaha; Bhundi, Thornton, 1410, 245 m. s. w. of Dihli; Kota, Thornton, 525, 265 m. s. of Dihli; Palwal, *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 49 s. e.

* Abdus-samad Khan reached Dihli on the 12th Muharram, Sayyid Khan Jahan on the 25th, (Kamwar Khan, 169). Khafi Khan, ii. 777, says,

Rajah Jai Singh Sawai was never distinguished as a soldier or general in the field, and in spite of all he could do, the siege dragged on for twenty months. The rains of 1717 were very late in coming, prices rose very high, and great expense fell upon the Rajah in bringing supplies from his own country of Amber. In Safar 1130 H. (January 1718), the Rajah reported that he had many encounters with the Jats, in which he had overcome them, but owing to support given to them at Court, they were not inclined to yield. And, no doubt, the presence of Khan Jahan, a near relation to the Wazir, caused a division of authority which was fatal to success. At length Churaman made overtures to Qutb-ul-mulk through his agent at Dihli, offering a tribute of thirty lakhs of Rupees to the Government and a present of twenty lakhs for the minister himself. Thereupon Qutb-ul-mulk espoused the Jat's cause. He represented to Farrukh-siyar that Rajah Jai Singh had received a large amount of money and that the monthly expenses were very heavy. Yet, although twenty months had elapsed, no definite result had been arrived at. Very reluctantly Farrukh-siyar consented to the terms offered. Sayyid Khan Jahan was written to, directing him to bring Churaman to Court, with his sons and brothers' sons, after having protected the whole of his property from pillage. At the same time a flattering *farman* was despatched to Rajah Jai Singh, thanking him for his exertions, informing him that Churaman had made overtures which had been accepted, and that all hostilities must cease. By this time Rajah Jai Singh believed that victory was within his grasp, and now, by this negotiation over his head, the whole fruit of his labour was taken from him! Although inwardly raging, he obeyed orders, withdrew his men, and raised the siege.*

Qutb-ul-mulk's ill-will to Rajah Jai Singh is said to have arisen in the following way. When the Rajah first came to Farrukh-siyar's Court, he found himself very favourably received by the new Emperor. In former reigns a noble, when

Sayyid Khan Jahan delayed two or three months outside the city before he finally started.

* Shiu Das 14b, 15b (where there is a copy of the *hasb-ul-hukm*, and 15a (copy of *farman*); Khafi Khan, ii. 777; Mirza Muhammad, 352.

he found the sovereign gracious to him, never thought of paying court to any one else. Believing himself secure in the Emperor's good graces, Rajah Jai Singh neglected to ask for the support and favour of Qutb-ul-mulk. The Wazir resented this neglect. He was further vexed about the campaign against Churaman, a matter on which his advice had not been asked. Thus he privately applied himself to prevent the Rajah from reaping the reward of his undertaking. He instructed Khan Jahan, his kinsman, accordingly, and it is said that Churaman was secretly aided with supplies of food and powder. After more than eighteen months of exertion, nothing had been effected. Farrukh-siyar grew angry, as he believed the conquest to be an easy one ; and on several occasions, Qutb-ul-mulk made covert allusions to the effect that the task was one beyond Jai Singh's strength. In the end Churaman's proposals were brought forward and accepted as already stated. [M. M. 352.]

On the 10th Jamadi I. 1130 H. (10th April, 1718) Khan Jahan arrived at Dihli with Churaman and his nephew, Rupa. They went first to visit Qutb-ul-mulk, which angered Farrukh-siyar very much. On the 19th (19th April, 1718) the formal presentation to the Emperor took place, the introduction being made by Qutb-ul-mulk. Farrukh-siyar granted this audience very ungraciously, and absolutely refused to see Churaman a second time. Two days afterwards Sayyid Khan Jahan, in return for his services, received the addition to his titles of the word *Bahadur* and was promoted to 5,000 horse. On the 30th (30th April, 1718) it was settled through Qutb-ul-mulk that the Jat leader should pay fifty lakhs of Rupees in cash and goods, to be liquidated by instalments. Rajah Jai Singh and Maharao Bhim Singh returned to Dihli from Thun on the 29th Jamadi II. (29th May, 1718). [Kamwar 177, K. K. 777.]

SEC. 21.--RENEWAL OF INTRIGUES AGAINST THE SAYYIDS.

July 1715—April 1718.

With the return to Court, on the 11th Jamadi II. 1127 H. (13th June 1715), of Nizam-ul-mulk, after his supersession by Husain Ali Khan in the government of the Dakhin, the plots against the two brothers once more commenced. Nizam-ul-

mulk was angry at losing the Dakhin. This is betrayed by the fact that when he was on his march to Dihli, although Husain Ali Khan passed him at a distance of only a few miles, he failed to visit the latter. According to the customs of the country this was most disrespectful, Husain Ali Khan being his superior in rank. At Court Nizam-ul-mulk, who had been trained in the school of Alamgir, found it difficult to remain on good terms with the men in Farrukh-siyar's confidence, and when in Jamadi I. 1129 H. (April 1717), he was made *faujdar* of the Muradabad *chakla*, he elected to proceed there in person, instead of appointing a deputy.*

During these two years (1715-17) the Emperor started on many hunting expeditions, of which the principal object was supposed to be the finding an opportunity to make away with Abdullah Khan. Farrukh-siyar was absent from Dihli for a month, from the 21st Rajab to the 25th Shaban 1127 H. (22nd July—25th August 1715), being then forced to return by illness. It was during this expedition that the secret orders already spoken of were issued to Daud Khan to resist Husain Ali Khan, Nizam-ul-mulk having been taken into council for this purpose. Abdullah Khan, during the interval, enlisted fresh troops and prepared to defend himself. Since, after waiting a month, no news came from Daud Khan, and Farrukh-siyar's ailment had increased, he was forced to return to Dihli. Then on the 10th Shawwal 1127 H. (8th October, 1715) came the report from the Dakhin that on the 8th Ramzan (6th September, 1715) Daud Khan Panni had been defeated and slain by Husain Ali Khan near Burhanpur. Four days afterwards (12th October, 1715) Abdullah Khan, who had been a great deal absent from *darbar*, presented himself at audience, laid offerings before the Emperor, and congratulated him upon the recent victory over the rebel, Daud Khan. False speeches were made and lying compliments exchanged between Emperor and Wazir. The secret cause of Daud Khan's resistance was already known to the Wazir, and the seeds of fresh ill-will had been sown in both their hearts. One story is that Farrukh-siyar, in Qutb-ul-mulk's

* Nizam-ul-mulk returned to Court on the 29th September, 1718. Kamwar Khan 156, Mirza Muhammad 393.

presence, said it was a pity that such a brave man as Daud Khan should have been slain. To this the Wazir retorted: "I suppose, if my brother had been slain instead, it would have been a good thing and acceptable to your Majesty?"*

It seems that after Daud Khan's death, his belongings fell into the hands of Husain Ali Khan. Among these the Sayyid's servants found several letters from Khan Dauran, and an imperial *farman* granting the Government of the Dakhin to Daud Khan. These papers were sent to Qutb-ul-mulk, who began at once to raise troops and prepared for resistance. Khan Dauran was deputed to conciliate him. At their interview, Qutb-ul-mulk complained of the parcel of beggars' sons, newly risen in the world, who employed their time in slander and detraction. What good could result? Khan Dauran replied, "Who is the wretched creature? No man worthy the name of man resorts to slander." Qutb-ul-mulk placed in his hand the original letters to Daud Khan, and said: "Look at these, who is the writer?" Khan Dauran unfolded them and began to read. As he did so, the sweat stood on his face like drops of dew, and his face flushed a deep red. After a moment's silence, he began a defence founded on obedience to the Emperor's orders. "When his sovereign ordered, how could he dare to disobey?" In short, he talked much, but was encountered by Qutb-ul-mulk at every turn, until he was reduced to silence and took his departure.

SECTION 22.—RETURN OF MIR JUMLA TO DIHLI.

Part of the compact which ended the first quarrel between the Emperor and his minister, was the dismissal from Court of Mir Jumla, who was appointed governor of Patna Azimabad. He left Dihli in Zul Hijja 1126 H. (December, 1714), and his doings at Patna will be spoken of when we come to deal with events in the provinces. Suffice it to say here, that owing to his reckless mismanagement, Mir Jumla was soon unable to meet the pay of the large and turbulent force of Mughals that

* *Siyar-ul-mutakhirin* 29; Kamwar Khan 157, 158; Mirza Muhammad 204.

he had taken with him to Patna. Partly to escape from their demands, and partly, as is believed, in obedience to a secret letter from Farrukh-siyar, he prepared to leave his Government and return to Dihli.* As far as Benares he came openly, but at that place, leaving every one behind, he started for Dihli in a covered litter such as is used by women. In nine days he was at Dihli, which he entered secretly during the night of the 22nd Muharram 1128 H. (16th January, 1716). He had left no time for the Wazir to hear of his starting or forbid his coming. Rumours of his arrival spread through the city, and Farrukh-siyar, when made aware of it the next morning, expressed no disapproval. It was currently believed that, in reality, he was more pleased than he dared to show.†

When Qutb-ul-mulk learnt that Mir Jumla was again in Dihli, he went at once to the Emperor. Farrukh-siyar swore the most solemn oaths that he had not sent for the man. To this Qutb-ul-mulk answered that whatever His Majesty might wish was no doubt right and proper, but he might look on the speedy return of Husain Ali Khan as an absolute certainty. The Emperor, greatly frightened at the prospect, sent officers with peremptory orders to Mir Jumla to withdraw to Lahor.‡

Mir Jumla procrastinated, and thus day after day passed. At length, either of themselves or at his instigation, his Mughal troops, seven or eight thousand in number, broke into revolt. They said that the whole of their pay was still due from the

* The *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 118a, seems to say that by this time Mir Jumla had been removed from his appointment, and made instead *faujdar* of Benares.

† Word of Mir Jumla's arrival was brought to Mirza Muhammad that same night by his relation, Mhd Mir, who had been in the Nawab's service at Patna, Mirza Muhammad 237, Wheeler 178.

‡ Mirza Muhammad, 243. The account in the *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 118b, differs from all others. There we are told that from Faridabad, a distance of 10 kos from Dihli, Mir Jumla petitioned for an audience. Angry at Mir Jumla's leaving his post without orders, Farrukh-siyar despatched mace-bearers with orders to conduct the fugitive to the fortress of Gwaliyar, and bring back a receipt from the commandant. Qutb-ul-mulk and others then interceded, the offender was pardoned, but no audience was granted. At length, he was ordered to withdraw to his estates.

treasury, and the proper person to represent them was Mir Jumla, their commander, and until their arrears were paid, they would not allow him to stir one step. The houses of Muhammad Amin Khan, second *Bakhshi*, and of Khan Dauran, deputy of the first *Bakhshi*, were also surrounded. The disturbance was prolonged for a month ; and as the house, known as Asaf-ud-daulah's, in which Mir Jumla resided, was close to the palace, he was forced in the end of Safar to move to another house that he owned, called Fidai Khan's, near Khari Baoli.* At this house the whole of the Mughals congregated, their leaders being Sayyid Fath-ullah Khan Khweshgi and Bahadur Dil Khan.† For many days, especially on the 1st Rabi I. (23rd February, 1716), the uproar in the city was indescribable, the streets being filled with Mughal horsemen fully armed and clad in mail. As it was thought that this outbreak would be used as a pretext for an armed attack on his house, Qutb-ul-mulk fortified himself in his quarter of the city, and increased the number of his troops ; while his son-in-law and nephew, Ghairat Khan, who had lately been appointed *faujdar* of Narnol, returned to Dihli, to take part in his uncle's defence. The Emperor placed his personal guards, called the *haft chauki*, on permanent duty at the palace ; and when Qutb-ul-mulk or Khan Dauran went to audience, they were accompanied by the whole of their troops. Mir Jumla took fright at the aspect of affairs and sought refuge in Muhammad Amin Khan's house. At length it was decided that ten *lakhs* of Rupees should be paid to the men, in order to get rid in this way of Mir Jumla, with whom, owing to this conduct, Farrukhsiyar professed to be very angry. All his titles were taken from him ; and he was removed from the offices of *darogha* of the pages (*khwawas*) and *darogha* of the post office (*dak*), which were conferred on his deputies, Amin-ud-din Khan

* Apparently this Bitter Well (*Khari Baoli*) lies behind and to the west of the Jami Masjid; see map of Dihli city in C. T. Metcalfe's *Two Narratives*.

† This is Lachin Beg, known as the *tasmah-kash* or "strap-twister" (strangler).

Bahadur and Mirza Khan. His Government of Azimabad Patna was transferred to Sarbuland Khan.*

On the 9th Rabi I. 1128 H. (3rd March, 1716), Mir Jumla moved to Nizam-ul-mulk's house, and next day that noble conducted him as far as Narela,† and thence sent him on to Sarhind. At that place he delayed seven or eight months, putting up in the common roadside *sarai* in the hope of exciting Farrukh-siyar's commiseration, but finally, by express order, he was forced to move on to Lahor. His titles were not restored until the 21st Jamadi, II. 1128 H. (11th June, 1716), on the intercession of Qutb-ul-mulk, who at the same time obtained for him a *jagir* of three *lakhs* of Rupees. The Mughals sought service where they could. Their principal officer, Bahadur Dil Khan, was for a time with Qutb-ul-mulk, but not succeeding to his wishes, he transferred himself to Khan Dauran. In that service he stopped for a long time, without having any influence; he was then ordered to join Husain Ali Khan in the Dakhin.‡

SEC. 23.—CONTINUATION OF THE PLOTS.

As soon as the disturbance raised by Mir Jumla's return had been allayed, another hunting expedition was planned. At once the word passed from house to house and from tent to tent, that during the journey the arrest of Qutb-ul-mulk would be arranged. Farrukh-siyar moved to the Shalimar garden at Agharabad§ on the 6th Rabi II. 1128 H. (29th March, 1716), and thence on the 10th, six *kos* further on, to Siuli. He returned to Agharabad on the 26th, and it was here that the

* Mirza Muhammad, 253; Khafi Khan, ii. 770; *Siyar-ul-mutakherin*, 29.

† Narela, *Indian Atlas*, sheet 49 n. e., 16 m. n. of Dihli. Kamwar Khan, 162, says Nizam-ul-mulk and Hamid Khan only went as far as *Mandavi-i-namak* (the Salt Market). Farrukh-siyar ordered Shamsheer Khan Afghan to conduct Mir Jumla to Lahor, Kamwar Khan, entry of 7th Rabi I. 1128 H.

‡ Kamwar Khan, 161, 165; Mirza Muhammad, 253. Lachin Beg (Bahadur Dil Khan) turns up in the Dakhin in 1137 H. under Nizam-ul-mulk (battle with Mubariz Khan). see Khafi Khan, ii. 954.

§ Agharabad, a mile or two north of the city.

fight took place on the 29th (21st April, 1716) between the retainers of Samsam-ud-daulah and Muhammad Amin Khan, as already related. Farrukh-siyar returned to the palace on the 11th Jamadi II. (1st June, 1716). An urgent messenger had been sent on the 7th Rabi II. (20th March) to bring Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, from Malwa, and on the 14th Jamadi II. (4th June) the Rajah was reported to be at Sarai Allahwirdi Khan; he was received in audience two days afterwards, Samsam-ud-daulah conducting him from his camp near the Idgah.* Shortly afterwards Rao Rajah Budh Singh Hada, of Bundi, arrived. He had been expelled by Maharajah Bhim Singh Hada, of Kota. Jai Singh introduced the fugitive to the Emperor and obtained for him promises of succour. Every day Rajah Jai Singh seemed to rise in Farrukh-siyar's estimation. Finally, on the 9th Shawwal (25th September, 1716), he was entrusted with the crushing of Churaman Jat, under the circumstances and with the results already recorded.†

Again the Emperor quitted Dihli on the 24th Muharram 1129 H. (7th January, 1717), camping first at Masjid Mochiya. On the 17th Safar (30th January, 1717) he was at Narela, and there Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri, formerly *diwan* of the Khalsa, was received on his return from pilgrimage to Mecca, where he had gone early in the reign, on his own removal from office and the execution of his son, Sadullah Khan. Farrukh-siyar was now of opinion that it had been a mistake to remove all the old officials, and that they would have furnished a useful counterpoise to the overwhelming influence of the Sayyids. Inayatullah Khan's return was, therefore, very welcome. He was received into favour, and the disparaging remarks, entered in the official history of the reign in regard to his son, were expunged by the Emperor's own hand. On the 27th Safar (9th February, 1717) Farrukh-siyar was at Koedali, and from the 7th to the 13th Rabi I. (19th to 25th February) near Sonpat.

* The Idgah lies three-quarters of a mile west of the city wall; see plate 47 in Constable's *Hand Atlas*, and plate I in Carr Stephen, *Archæology of Dihli*.

† Mirza Muhammad, 260, 275, 293, 302; Kamwar Khan, 163, 165; Khafi Khan, ii. 771; Ijad, 43a.

He marched to Siuli on the 26th of that month (9th March, 1717), to Narela on the 1st Rabi II. back to Agharabad on the 3rd, finally re-entering the palace on the 29th of that month (11th April). Itisam Khan, a protégé of Khan Dauran's, had just resigned the office of diwan, worn out with his struggles against undue influence. The next day Inayatullah Khan was given the rank of 4,000 (3,000 horse) and appointed to be *diwan* of the *Khalsa* and the *Tan*, also to be governor of Kashmir, the latter appointment to be exercised by deputy. [M. U. ii. 828, K. K. 773, Kamwar 171.]

Inayatullah Khan's appointment was displeasing to Qutb-ul-mulk, who recollected his harsh behaviour to Asad Khan in Alamgir's reign. But Ikhlas Khan, then on very intimate terms with the minister, intervened and effected a reconciliation. Inayatullah Khan undertook to do nothing without the knowledge and consent of Qutb-ul-mulk, and to make no appointments independent of him. On the other hand, it was stipulated that Ratan Chand should not interfere with the work of the *Khalsa* office ; and as Qutb-ul-mulk was naturally indolent and fond of pleasure, being furthermore discouraged by the Emperor's conduct, four or five months would sometimes elapse before he attended at his public office to sign papers, business remaining meanwhile at a standstill. A promise was now made by him that he would come to the office in the palace once or twice a week. For a time the compact was observed, but events soon came to pass which put an end to the truce. [K. K. 774.]

First of all, much to the disgust of Ratan Chand and the other Hindu officials, the *jazya*, or poll-tax on non-Muhammadans, was reimposed. Next Inayatullah Khan endeavoured to reform the system of *jagirs*, or assignments of land revenue in payment for service. The Hindus and eunuchs and Kashmiris, by fraud and force, had acquired rank beyond their deserts, and accumulated in their hands all the most profitable and easily managed *jagirs*, reducing in a corresponding degree the chances of everybody else. Inayatullah Khan, after drawing up some comparative tables, meant to reduce or set aside these excessive grants. Ratan Chand and other officials were

angry at these attempts to reduce their incomes, and on their persuasion Qutb-ul-mulk refused to ratify the scheme. After this time, the Hindus put every obstacle in the *diwan's* way, the agreement between him and the minister ceased to operate, and peace was maintained with difficulty.

During this and the preceding reign, that of Jahandar Shah, the strict rules and regulations for business in all departments were much neglected. Most of the men who knew the old routine had disappeared by death or dismissal. The Wazir was not a trained administrator himself, and paid little or no attention to civil business; Ratan Chand had been allowed to do almost what he liked. His views were narrow, and he was chiefly governed by personal considerations. For several reigns the Emperors had devoted all their efforts to break down the custom of farming out the collection of the revenue. They had tried on all occasions to substitute direct management by paid servants of the State, bearing in mind the truth of the adage, *amani abadani, ijara ujara*.* As a result their treasury was full, their subjects contented, and their army well paid. These arrangements were now set aside, and the collections leased by Ratan Chand to the highest bidder. In consequence the revenue fell off, both of the State domains and of the assigned lands, and many *jagirdars* complained to the Emperor of the non-receipt of their allowances. During his term of office, Lutfullah Khan had only made matters worse by granting to *mansabdars* holding the rank of from 50 to 1,000, a sum of fifty Rupees a month, instead of their assignments on the revenue. This money, considering the high prices, did not suffice to meet their expenses, and, as we must remember, it was no doubt very irregularly paid. [Khush-hal 399b.]

According to Yahya Khan, one of Farrukh-siyar's grievances against Abdullah Khan was, that whenever he appointed an *amil*, he took from the appointee a writing† in the nature

* Roebuck, No. 110, ii. page 106, "Direct management brings prosperity; farming out, ruin."

† *Khat-i-ant* (?), this is some Hindi word, *query* read, "a note of hand. [Khatian ? J. S.]

of a contract or lease, and realized the money from the man's banker. This practice was held, rightly enough, to be destructive to the prosperity of the district to which the man was sent. The Emperor requested that it might be abandoned, and that in place of it, all appointments should be made *amani*, that is, should involve complete accounting for gross receipts and expenses, and for the resulting balance. Abdullah Khan refused. He also offered a passive resistance to the re-imposition of the *jazya*, or poll-tax. [Yahya 123b.]

About this time a subordinate of the *Khalsa* office, a protégé of Ratan Chand, was called upon to file his accounts, and a large sum was brought out by the auditors as owing by him. Inayatullah Khan imprisoned this defaulter and, in spite of repeated messages from Ratan Chand, refused to release him. One day, the man evaded his guards and took refuge in the house of Ratan Chand. With the Emperor's sanction armed messengers were sent to bring the fugitive from his protector's house, but the Wazir's *diwan* refused to surrender him. Between the Emperor and the minister there was an angry interview, and the latter was ordered to dismiss Ratan Chand, but nothing came of it.

In pursuance of the plan to restore the older men to office, Sayyid Amir Khan Ulwi, who was then fort-commander at Agra, was recalled to Court; he and his relations were presented on the 9th Rajab 1129 H. (18th June, 1717).^{*} Mirza Muhammad who, as a page, had served under this man in Alamgir's reign, was of opinion that his age (he being then seventy-four) and his failing memory, rendered him unfit for active employment. Samsam-ud-daulah being of the same opinion, and seeing that the old man could never become a dangerous rival, pushed his claims, and as Qutb-ul-mulk was displeased with Amin-uddin Khan,† obtained for him that noble's office of *darogha*

^{*} The popular rumour was that Samsam-ud-daulah had fallen into disgrace, and would soon be supplanted in his office of *darogha* of the privy audience-chamber by Sayyid Amir Khan.

† Amin-uddin Khan obtained re-employment two months afterwards (Mirza Muhammad, 331), and on the 29th Zul Hijja 1129 H. (3rd December, 1718) he was made *Buyutat* of the *Rikab* (i.e., the Court) and of Dihli.

of the *khawas*, or pages, 15th Shawwal 1129 H. (21st September, 1717). Farrukh-siyar's consent to this change was only reluctantly given.* Other appointments of old officials were those of Muhammad Yar Khan, grandson of Asaf Khan, Yamin-ud-daulah,† to be *Khan-saman*, and of Hamid-ud-din Khan Alamgiri, to be *arz mukarrar*, 29th Shaban 1128 H. (17th August, 1716). As already related, it was about this time that the ending of the campaign against Churaman Jat through the intrigues of Qutb-ul-mulk and Sayyid Khan Jahan (April 10th, 1718), added fresh fuel to Farrukh-siyar's anger.‡

* According to Mirza Muhammad, 319, Sayyid Amir Khan's name was Abdul-karim; he was the son of Amir Khan, son of Qasim Khan Namakin. His father died when he was very young; he long received a daily allowance, and eventually obtaining a small *mansab*, rose gradually under Alamgir, and gained the title of Tanak (or Multifat) Khan. He succeeded Anwar Khan as superintendent of the pages, an office that he held for more than fifteen years and up to the death of Alamgir. He had become Khanazad Khan Hafiz, and finally Amir Khan. In Bahadur Shah's reign he was *subahdar* of Agra, up to the end of the reign. In Jahandar Shah's reign he was replaced by Muhammad Mah (Azam Khan), and transferred to charge of the Agra fort. From their residence in Sind, his family bore the epithet of Sindhi, although really they were Sayyids from Hirat. There are the following biographies in the *Masir-ul-umara*: Amir Khan Sindhi, i. 303, Qasim Khan (Mir Abul Qasim), Namakin, iii. 74, Amir Khan (Mir Abul Baqa), d. 1057 H., i. 172. For an explanation of the epithet "Namakin" (not "Tamkin"), see Blochmann *Ain*, i. 470, and table on p. 471. Amir Khan was not long at Court; on the 10th Rabi I. 1130 H. (Kamwar Khan, 176) he was replaced by Muhammad Murad; and on the 9th Jamadi I. 1130 H. (*ibid*, 177), was sent back to Agra as fort commandant. He died on the 28th Zul Qada 1132 H. (30th September, 1720), aged 77 years, and the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* describes him as the son-in-law of Mir Isa, Himmat Khan (d. 1092 H.) Mir Bakhshi, son of Islam Khan Badakhshi (d. 1072 H.)

† Muhammad Yar Khan (son of Mirza Bahmanyar), *subahdar* of Dihli, *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 706. His son Hasan Yar Khan died young (*Tarikh-i-Mhdi*, d. 15th-20th Safar 1133 H. aged about 40), and he had no other issue. Muhammad Yar Khan himself died 18th Jamadi I. 1138 H. at Dihli. There are the following biographies of this family in the *Masir-ul-umara*; Asaf Khan, i. 151, d. 1051 H.; Itiqad Khan, i. 232, d. 1082 H.; Muhammad Yar Khan, iii. 700, d. 1138 H.

‡ Khafi Khan, ii. 775, 776; Shiu Das, 17a; Mirza Muhammad, 293, 319, 228; Kamwar Khan, 172.

Note A. *The Jaziya or Poll-tax*

The *jaziya* tax was re-imposed by Alamgir in his twenty-second year (1090 H., 1679-80), and thus it had been levied for thirty-four years when it was abolished again in the first year of Farrukh-siyar. Alamgir's rules were, no doubt, revived upon its re-introduction through Inayatullah Khan: and here, as in many of his other regulations, Alamgir, a bigoted Muhammadan, studied to imitate as closely as possible the methods laid down by the orthodox doctors of that religion. The exemptions seem to have been numerous. They comprised men of Rum possessing revealed Scriptures (i.e., Jews and Christians), the "idol worshippers of Ajam and of Arab" (whoever they were), apostates, minors, women, slaves, the helpless, the maimed, the blind, the blemished, or the aged poor.

Persons paying the yearly impost were divided into three classes: (I) The poor, (II) the middle class, (III) the rich. The rates were respectively 12, 24, and 48 *dirhams*. But as there was no *dirham* current in India, uncoined silver was to be taken; from the first class, 3 *tolchah*, 1-4/5 *masha*, double that weight from the second, and four times from the third class. Rupees were not to be demanded. But if any one offered them, they were to be received equal to the above weight of silver.*

Poor, middle class, and rich were defined as follows: a poor man was he who had either nothing at all, or property worth two hundred *dirhams*; a middle class man, he who had property worth between 200 and 10,000 *dirhams*; a rich man, he who had over 10,000 *dirhams*' worth of property. A poor man, who had nothing but the strength of his own right arm to rely on, or who had many children, was to be excused.

* As to the *dirham*, see C. J. Rodgers' *Catalogue of Lahor Museum*, p. 206, for a coin stamped *dirham sharai*, or legal drachma, struck at Lahor in Farrukh-siyar's 6th year (1129 H.), possibly in connection with the revival of the *jaziya* tax in that year. It is a square coin weighing 41½ grains. Taking Farrukh-siyar's Rupee as equal to 176 grains, the value of the *dirham* comes out at 2/3 of a Rupee, or 3 annas and 8 pies. But the weight of silver claimed makes the three classes of the tax equivalent to Rs. 3-3-6, Rs. 6-7-0, and Rs. 12-14-0, respectively, instead of Rs. 2-12-0, Rs. 5-8-0, and Rs. 11-0-0 as they would be by the above *dirham-i-sharai*.

Precise rules for the manner of collection were laid down. These must have been exceedingly galling to the better class of Hindus, and here, no doubt, is to be found a substantial reason for the exceeding unpopularity of the tax. The person paying (styled, of course, a *zimmi*, in itself a stigma) must appear in person, bare-footed, the collector being seated and the taxpayer standing. The collector, placing his hand upon the *zimmi's* hand, lifted up the money, and pronounced a formula in Arabic, signifying, "I accept the poll-tax from this dependant." Money sent through another person must be refused.

Collection was made from the first class in four, the second class in two, and the third class in one instalment. The tax ceased either on death, or on the acceptance of Islam. If a minor became of full age, a slave was emancipated, or a sick man was restored to health before the date of collection, the tax was levied. If these events happened after that date, the tax was remitted for that year. If a man fell from the class of rich to that of poor men, and the change applied to part of the year only, the rate levied was to be the mean between that of the class he had left and of that he had entered. If a poor tax-payer was ill for half the year he paid nothing. Servants of the Government, with their children living in their house, were altogether exempt. As Khush-hal Chand remarks, [286a] the tax-collectors, in spite of these wise orders, were guilty of exactions, and at the beginning of every year levied money, even from widows, under the pretext of expenses.*

SEC. 24.—SUDDEN RISE OF MUHAMMAD MURAD KASHMIRI.

With his usual changeableness, Farrukh-siyar now chose a new favourite, on whose exertions he founded great expectations. This man's rise is usually accounted for in the following way. The Emperor had lately planned to send Muhammad Amin Khan to take the place of Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, as governor of Malwa, with the object of barring, if necessary, Husain Ali Khan's return from the Dakhin to Dihli. Azim-ullah Khan, Nasir-ullah Khan, and other nobles were placed under his orders. As was usually the case, the new

* For a full account of the *jaziya*, see Sarkar's *Aurangzib*, iii. ch. 34.

governor spent a great deal of time in preparation, and showed no great readiness to start. Farrukh-siyar betrayed his impatience at this delay, and Muhammad Murad Khan, then the third *Mir Tuzak* or chamberlain, offered to induce Muhammad Amin Khan to begin his march. The man was loud-voiced and foul-mouthed, as most Kashmiris are reputed to be ; but at first his violent language failed in effect. He returned to the Emperor with bitter complaints, and on his advice, Farrukh-siyar ventured to dismiss Muhammad Amin Khan from his office of second Bakhshi, and appointed instead Islam Khan (son of the late Asaf Khan, son of Mir Abdus-salam Islam Khan, *Wazir* to Shah Jahan), Fidai Khan (son of Salabat Khan deceased), being promoted to Islam Khan's office of first *Mir Tuzak*. Muhammad Murad himself replaced Fidai Khan as second *Mir Tuzak*, with a rise of 500 in rank, making him 3,000 *zat*.* The result of these measures was that Muhammad Amin Khan began his march for Malwa. Farrukh-siyar, himself the most cowardly of men, looked on this feat as heroic, and Muhammad Murad became at once in his eyes the right man for a desperate undertaking. Possibly there is some truth in the above story, as accounting for Muhammad Murad's exaltation, for the time of his rise and of Muhammad Amin Khan's departure coincide almost exactly.†

This Muhammad Murad, already a man of about sixty-two years of age, was a native of Kashmir, of the tribe called Audard.‡ For a time he was in the employment of Mir Malik Husain, Khan Jahan, Kokaltash, the foster brother of Alamgir, and was agent at Court for that noble's son, Sipahdar Khan. Next, he entered the imperial service with a *mansab* of 300, but in a year or two was dismissed. On this he came to Lahor,

* Mirza Muhammad, 338. Kamwar Khan, 174, has these changes on the 30th Muharram 1130 H. (31st December, 1717). For Islam Khan, *Wazir*, d. 1057 H. *M. U.* i. 162. and for his son, Asaf (or Safi) Khan, d. 1105 H., *ibid.*, ii. 470. For Fidai Khan, ii. 745.

† Khafi Khan, 787; Kamwar Khan, 174, 25th Zul Hijja, 1129 H. (29th November, 1717); Mirza Muhammad, 337-8; *M. U.* i. 339.

‡ Ibbetson, para. 557, gives the names of ten Kashmiri tribes; the only one approaching Audard is the ninth, viz. Warde.

where Mutamad Khan (Mirza Rustam)* was deputy governor for Prince Muhammad Muazzam (afterwards Bahadur Shah), and obtained an introduction through Lala Shiu Das Khatri, the governor's chief man of business. The rank of 500 was obtained for him. Khwaja Muhammad Amin Kashmiri, who had once been also in Khan Jahan Kokaltash's service, having replaced Mutamad Khan at Lahor, Muhammad Murad's fortunes improved, for he was of the same place and race as the new deputy. This happy state of things lasted only for a year or two, until Khwaja Muhammad Amin fell into disgrace, when Muhammad Murad retired to Dihli, where he lived in obscurity. On Munim Khan's appointment, first as *diwan* to Prince Muazzam, Shah Alam, and then as his deputy at Lahor, Muhammad Murad, being an old friend of his, was restored to the service and returned to Lahor, until the two men quarrelled, when he came back to Dihli.†

Not long after this time Alamgir died, and Prince Muazzam, Shah Alam, with Munim Khan in his train, passed through Dihli on his way to Agra; and Muhammad Murad attached himself to their camp. After the victory of Jajau, Munim Khan obtained for his old friend the rank of 1,000, and the title of Wakalat Khan, with the office of *wakil*, or agent at Court, to Prince Muizz-ud-din Jahandar Shah. Muhammad Murad, being a chatty, talkative man, managed to strike up a great friendship with Ali Murad Kokaltash Khan, on whom all power in Jahandar Shah's household rested, "nay, he was the veritable Jahandar Shah," and by his aid rose to be a *Duhazari* (2,000), with the title of Bahadur. In Jahandar Shah's reign of ten months, he was promoted to 5,000, but obtained no further favours from Kokaltash Khan. On Farrukh-siyar's accession Muhammad Murad attended the Sayyid brothers, with whom he had been formerly acquainted, and through Husain Ali Khan was maintained in the rank that he held in Bahadur Shah's reign (i.e., 2,000 *zat*); but his former title

* Mutamad Khan (Rustam) was the father of Mirza Muhammad, the historian.

† Mirza Muhammad, 331; *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 126s; *M. U. i.* 337; Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 63b.

having been given to someone else, he was created Muhammad Murad Khan and soon afterwards received the office of fourth *Mir Tuzak*. At this time he was high in the favour of Husain Ali Khan, who procured his promotion to 2,500.

After that noble's departure for the Dakhin, Muhammad Murad used all his endeavours to strengthen his position with the Emperor. As he was in constant attendance, he succeeded at last in joining in the Emperor's conversation, and owing to his chattiness and readiness of speech soon found a way to his heart. He also obtained favour as a compatriot of the Emperor's mother, Sahiba Niswan, who was a Kashmiri, and the first open sign of his new position was that Farrukh-siyar said one day to the great nobles in *darbar*, "You have heard, have you not, Itiqad Khan is related by marriage to my exalted mother?" The Emperor's feeling against the Sayyids was an open secret, but the brothers being on their guard, he had been foiled hitherto in all his attempts against them. As opportunity offered, Muhammad Murad Khan hinted to Farrukh-siyar, in guarded and metaphorical language, that Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, up to that time his very soul and the confidant of all his secrets, was in collusion with the Sayyids, and thus it was that all his plots against them were divulged. The Emperor's mind was turned against Samsam-ud-daulah, and he determined to bring forward Muhammad Murad Khan. [K. K. 791, Yahya 123b.]

On the 19th Safar 1130 H. (19th January, 1718), Muhammad Murad became *darogha* of the *harkaras* or scouts, with the privilege of admission at all times to the privy audience-chamber, the chapel and secret audience room. Having now private access to the sovereign's ear, he repeated plainly, with details, what he had formerly suggested by hints and signs. He produced many projects for the overthrow of the two Sayyids and offered himself to carry them into execution. Since Farrukh-siyar looked with apprehension upon everything, Muhammad Murad boldly counselled him to take heart and not to be afraid. "Such fears," he said, "amount to a defect: you are Emperor: no one has the strength to oppose you: you

should free your heart of dread, and issue whatever orders you may please." [Kamwar 175, M. M. 337.]

Another hunting expedition was planned. The Emperor moved to the mansion at Khizrabad* on the 29th Zul Hijja (3rd Dec., 1717) and remained there for two or three weeks. It was the common talk of the town that Qutb-ul-mulk would be seized, a task which the Emperor's advisers had persuaded him could be easily accomplished. Qutb-ul-mulk, too, left his house with a large force of men, and camped outside the town near Kilukahri,† by this move allaying the rumours and causing the conspirators to stay their hand. At night the Emperor sent him trays of fruit and food. Next day (23rd Dec., 1717), advance-tents were moved towards Palam. Muhammad Murad increased in favour. The following march (27th Muharram, 1130, 30th Dec., 1717) was to Masjid-i-moth. Here the new appointments were made, by which Muhammad Murad was advanced to second *Mir Tuzak*. On the second Safar (4th Jan., 1718) they reached Palam, on the 17th they moved to Sadipur, and on the 29th back to Agharabad near the city. Nothing had been effected.‡

* Khizrabad is on the Jamuna bank, about five miles south of the Dihli Gate of Shahjahanabad, see Carr Stephen, map, page 1. *Asar-us-sanadid* chap. III, p. 25, says it was a town built on the river bank by Khizr Khan in 816 H. (1413 A. D.). There is no trace now of any fort; possibly the site of it was that now known as Khizrabad village.

† Kilukahri is probably the site of the palace built on the Jamuna bank by Muizz-ud-din Kaikobad, (1286-1288), H. M. Elliot, *Bibliographical Index*, 284, and *Ain* ii. 279. The *Ain* says that Humayun's tomb is on this site, but the village itself is about 1½ miles s. e. of the tomb.

‡ Kamwar Khan, 179. Palam is in the Dihli district, 11 miles s. w. of the city; it lies about 10 miles w. of Mothki masjid. (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 49 n. e.) Masjid-i-moth, C. Stephen, plate opposite p. 1, is 5½ miles s. w. of the Dihli Gate of the city, *ibid*, 166, and was built in 894 H. (1488). The tradition is that a man picked up a grain of moth, sowed it, and in time built this mosque from the produce. Sadipur, not traced; there is a Madipur on sheet 49 n. e. of the *Indian Atlas*. This lies half-way between Palam and Badli (Agharabad). I can find no Sadipur in that direction; but there is a Sadipur near the Idgah, west of the city, see Constable's *Hand Atlas*, plate 47. Agharabad is n. of the city and the same as Shalimar close to Sarai Badli. Mirza Muhammad, 331, says the camp

Instead of returning to the palace the Emperor moved out from Agharabad to Siuli,* on the 1st Rabi II. 1130 H. (3rd March, 1718); and a few days afterwards Muhammad Murad was created Itiqad Khan Bahadur Farrukh-Shahi, received a standard, kettle-drums, two elephants and several horses, with the rank of 5,000 (2,000 horse), and replaced Amir Khan as superintendent of the pages (*k̄hawās*), with the right to come and go at all hours of the day or night. His influence increased in a marked degree every day. As one writer says, [Yahya 124a], he was promoted daily; on one day to 5,000, the next to 6,000, and the next to 7,000. On the 16th Rabi II. (18th March), they came back to Agharabad, and on the 22nd, Muhammad Murad was made *darogha* of the mace-bearers. Whole nights were spent by Farrukh-siyar in conclave with Muhammad Murad and other favourites; sometimes he did not retire to rest until break of day. As Muhammad Murad had a bad reputation and was pointed at for secret vices, this constant companionship gave rise to undesirable reports, defamatory of a descendant of Taimur and derogatory to the lustre of his rule. On the 21st Rabi II. a mansion in Dihli was given to Muhammad Murad. Finally, on the 12th Jamadi I. 1130 H. (12th April, 1718), the Emperor left Agharabad and re-entered the palace.

Presents continued to be showered lavishly on Muhammad Murad. On the 9th Jamadi II. (9th May, 1718), he was raised to 6,000 (5,000 horse), various gifts were added, and he was appointed *faujdar* of Jammu, with power to appoint a deputy. His son and two of his officers were given *mansabs* of 1,000. Twenty days afterwards he was again promoted, becoming 7,000 (7,000 horse), received a valuable fringed litter (*palkī*) and other gifts, with the office of *nazir*, or governor of the imperial harem. On the 2nd Rajab (21st May, 1718) a gold bedstead, covered with gold plates and studded with jewels, which had belonged to the Emperor Jahangir, was given to the favourite. In fact, not a night passed without his receiving silver and gold

was for three months from Jan. 1718 at Sarai Badli, which was close to Agharabad and the Shalimar garden.

* Siuli, just s. or e. of Panipat.

coin, valuable jewels or rich clothes. The best *jagirs* in the Gujarat, Dihli, and Agra provinces were also allotted to him. In the course of one year and some months he had become the owner of one hundred elephants, with everything else in proportion. He also realized much money by force, but most of it passed from him into the hands of young men of evil reputation in the city, who in a very short time had collected round him to the number of three or four thousand. As the saying is, "Soon got is soon spent." [Kamwar 176-179, Shiu Das 16b, *Ahwal* 126.]

Farrukh-siyar's reckless mode of enriching Muhammad Murad is shown by one anecdote. One day he spoke to the Emperor about a ring. Orders were at once given to bring a valuable ring from the imperial jewel-house; and ten or twelve trays, full of rings, were brought. Farrukh-siyar said to Muhammad Murad: "Hold out your skirt." He did so. Then Farrukh-siyar several times took up double handfuls of rings, and emptied them into his skirt. Qutb-ul-mulk and others present remonstrated but without effect. [Shiu Das, 16.]

SEC. 25.—SARBULAND KHAN RECALLED TO COURT.

About this time (April 1718) the settlement with Churaman Jat had been forced through by Qutb-ul-mulk, quite against the wishes of Farrukh-siyar himself. From this cause the smouldering quarrel again broke into activity. More especially was this noticeable after the arrival of Rajah Jai Singh, who asserted that in another month Churaman, who was very hard-pressed, would have been utterly defeated; that Qutb-ul-mulk had been so strenuous in pressing the Jat's application, only owing to his desire to prevent the Rajah's success. As Farrukh-siyar fully believed that the two Sayyids were working for his destruction, this complaint added fuel to the flames. Contemporaries concur in asserting that, although Muhammad Murad had liberality (*sakhawat*) and kindness (*maruvvat*), he had not the talent (*hausla*) required in a *Wazir*, or even in a great noble. Nor was he valorous. He was even less so than Mir Jumla; though, all the while, Farrukh-siyar believed that

in him he had won a splendid piece to play in his game against Qutb-ul-mulk.* But Muhammad Murad himself felt that he was not the man to enter upon an open contest with the Sayyids. He therefore cast about for somebody more fitted to undertake the enterprize with some hope of success. His first selection was Sarbuland Khan, who had a reputation for wisdom and courage, and though just removed from the governorship of Bihar, was still at the head of a large army. On the favourite's advice, Sarbuland Khan was summoned to Court, where he arrived on the 10th Shaban 1130 H. (8th July, 1718), Muhammad Murad going out to meet him. His troops were paraded before the Emperor on the 21st of that month.†

Sarbuland Khan had come to Court with the anticipation that when the Sayyids had been successfully dealt with, he would receive as his reward the exalted office of *Wazir*. Full of zeal, he had started with seven to eight thousand well-armed horsemen and some artillery. As this force approached, it was the common belief that at last the Sayyids were to be effectually crushed, that at last the Emperor had come to a firm determination, having set up in Sarbuland Khan a sagacious and energetic rival fit to cope with them; that when Qutb-ul-mulk had been got rid of at Court, to dispose of Husain Ali Khan would be a comparatively easy matter. Sarbuland Khan was promoted to 7,000 (6,000 horse), with the titles of Mubariz-ul-mulk, Sarbuland Khan, Namwar Jang,‡ and by promises of further reward he was induced to undertake the business.

Qutb-ul-mulk had long been on his guard; he now redoubled his precautions. He never moved to *darbar* without being escorted by three or four thousand horsemen. It was not long before, by chance, it came to Sarbuland Khan's knowledge that, even if he carried the attempt to a successful issue, he might be rewarded liberally, but the office of *Wazir* was intended for another. He resolved to obtain confirmation of

* Yahya Khan 124b, *Ahwāl-ul-khawāqin* 126b.

† For the secret letter sent to Sarbuland Khan by Amin-ud-din Khan with a *shauqa* from the Emperor, see *Dastar-ul-insha*, p. 29. Mirza Muhammad, 379, copy of *farman* in Shiu Das 19a, Kamwar Khan 179-180.

‡ *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* (1154 H.) has Dilawar Jang instead of Namwar.

this from the Emperor's own lips, although to do so demanded great care in the way the question was put. Accordingly he framed it in the following way: "As Your Majesty has decided on the disgrace of these two brothers, you must have in your mind someone capable of bearing the burden of chief minister, an office of supreme importance." The simple-minded Emperor replied: "For this post I have Itiqad Khan (*i.e.*, Muhammad Murad) in my mind; and to speak the truth, there is no one better than him for it." Sarbuland Khan, who in his hope of the wazirship had been hitherto hot as flame, now grew cold as ice. The position suggests to the author of the *Masir-ul-umara* the verse, "I am in love, and the loved one desires another; Like the first of Shawwal called the Feast of Ramzan." Qutb-ul-mulk had already warned Sarbuland Khan that he and his brother meant the contest to be one for death or life, that they meant to stake their heads on the cast of the dice. From that day Sarbuland Khan drew back. Although in appearance he continued to act and talk as before, in his heart he resolved to do nothing further. Finally he was appointed to Agra on the 19th Shawwal (14th September, 1718), but on the 1st Muharram 1131 H. (23rd November, 1718) he resigned office and returned from Faridabad, having gone no further than that place on his way to his new Government.*

SEC. 26.—ATTEMPT TO SEIZE QUTB-UL-MULK.

The next phase in the struggle was a project to seize Qutb-ul-mulk in the Idgah on the day of the Id (1st Shawwal, 1130 H., 27th August, 1718). It was argued that the Emperor's party would be there in force, to the number of seventy or eighty thousand men, ready to sacrifice their lives, while Qutb-ul-mulk would have round him none but a few relations and followers. They could fall upon him and cut off his head before he could cry out. But spies had warned Qutb-ul-mulk of this plot, and he redoubled his precautions. The night before the Id, while one watch of the night still remained, Sayyid Khan Jahan, the minister's maternal uncle, repaired with his sons and his

* Shiu Das, *fol.* 19a and b; Khafi Khan, ii. 792. Faridabad. 16 miles s. of city, *Indian Atlas*, sheet 49, s. e.

soldiers to the Idgah, and occupied it. Before daybreak Qutb-ul-mulk's men reached the spot, and they sufficed to fill the whole of the space. In the morning, when the Emperor's people arrived and saw what had been done, they drew in their claws and made no attempt at violence. Nawab Qutb-ul-mulk reached the Idgah before His Majesty and at the head of his followers came out to make his bow. Farrukh-siyar saw it was useless to attempt anything, and much dejected left directly the prayers were over.*

SEC. 27.—MAHARAJAH AJIT SINGH IS SENT FOR:

Sarbuland Khan's defection did not trouble Farrukh-siyar very much ; his hopes now centred in his father-in-law, Maharajah Ajit Singh, for whom he had sent through Nahar Khan, the only person believed to have sufficient influence over the Rajah to secure his adhesion. Nahar Khan is the man whose good offices the Rajah had employed to secure terms from Sayyid Husain Ali Khan four years before. But Nahar Khan was an intimate friend of the two Sayyids, and his first efforts were directed to bringing over Ajit Singh to their side, and detaching him from that of Farrukh-siyar. In this he was fully successful. The Rajah started from Jodhpur for Dihli, and the Emperor was overjoyed at the prospect of his arrival. These hopes were, however, doomed to disappointment, for Ajit Singh had not the least intention of taking that side ; on the contrary, his mind was fully made up to espouse the cause of the Sayyids. [M. M. 383.]

On the 4th Shawwal 1130 H. (30th August, 1718), when Rajah Ajit Singh's arrival near Bagh Malhan Shah was reported, Itiqad Khan (Muhammad Murad) was sent with the present of a dagger, and Samsam-ud-daulah was deputed as an escort.

* Mirza Muhammad, 384; Khafi Khan, ii. 792. Mirza Muhammad (385), who was there, says that even after the Emperor, with many nobles and a number of spectators had left, there were still so many of Qutb-ul-mulk's men present, that you could not tell that any one had gone away. As a consequence of this attempt, Qutb-ul-mulk enlisted twenty thousand new men, and, contrary to his previous practice accepted the services of men who were not Barha Sayyids.

These men were commissioned to impress on the Rajah the high favour in which he stood with His Majesty, and by persuasive talk induce him to present himself in audience without the intervention of Qutb-ul-mulk. Itiqad Khan, after delivering the gifts with which he had been entrusted, told the Rajah that he was too great a man to need another person to introduce him, he should present himself in audience the next day, and he would be received. He could then lay his own representations before the throne. In reply the Rajah, after using many similar flattering professions, announced his intention of obtaining audience through Qutb-ul-mulk. In vain Itiqad Khan displayed all his eloquence, he could not turn the Rajah from his purpose. It is said that this was the result of Qutb-ul-mulk's advice, conveyed through Nahar Khan and others. They had frightened the Rajah into the belief that Farrukh-siyar's word could not be relied upon. By what vows and oaths, they said, had he not bound himself in the case of Asad Khan and his son, only to lure them into the net! The Sayyids, they added, are the only men who can stand up against such a sovereign, or whose support is of any value. [M. M. 386, Kamwar 180.]

When his emissaries returned and reported their ill-success, Farrukh-siyar flew into a passion. But unable to help himself, he sent a message to Qutb-ul-mulk that the next day was appointed for the reception of Rajah Ajit Singh, and that he, too, should present himself at *darbar*. The Rajah had written that unless the minister attended he would not come.

The next day, the 5th Shawwal (31st August, 1718), Itiqad Khan and Samsam-ud-daulah set out once more, and brought the Rajah to the audience-hall. Qutb-ul-mulk was present. On reaching the outer gate, Rajah Ajit Singh declined to advance further until he was certain of the presence of the *Wazir*. It was only after repeated assurances that he consented to enter the palace. When he reached the door of the *Diwan-i-am* he halted, and said that until Qutb-ul-mulk came to him there, he would not advance another step. Samsam-ud-daulah convinced him that Qutb-ul-mulk would come, but the spot fixed for him to appear was further on. They moved on to the door of the *Diwan-i-khas*. Again the Rajah halted.

Here Qutb-ul-mulk appeared and the two men greeted each other most effusively. The Nawab then took the Rajah by the hand and conducted him to the presence. Farrukh-siyar, though far from pleased with his conduct, appeared hypocritically gracious and conferred the usual *khilat* and other presents.

For twenty days neither the *Wazir* nor the Rajah reappeared at *darbar*. In this interval the Rajah visited Qutb-ul-mulk only once or twice, and the Nawab went once to him. But secret agents were constantly passing to and fro between them, and these men used every effort to strengthen the alliance. As the differences between the Emperor and his minister had now become public, Farrukh-siyar, instigated by Itiqad Khan, took what measures he could to win the day. On his side, too, Qutb-ul-mulk drew aside the veil, and refused to appear in audience. As soon as he found that the Nawab and the Rajah were one, Farrukh-siyar returned to the idea of a reconciliation. For several days in succession Itiqad Khan (Muhammad Murad) visited them with proposals for peace and concord. It leaked out, however, that Qutb-ul-mulk placed no reliance on Itiqad Khan's word, holding him to be a stirrer-up of strife. The negotiations were therefore transferred to Afzal Khan, the *Sadar-us-sadur*, but with equal want of good result. Sarbuland Khan and Samsam-ud-daulah's services were next enlisted (22nd Shawwal, 17th September 1718), although they were suspected of infidelity to the Emperor. But the final destruction of Qutb-ul-mulk was as firmly resolved on as ever. The command of the artillery, of which the assistance would be absolutely necessary, was in the hands of Sayyid Salabat Khan, a man well affected to Samsam-ud-daulah, whose loyalty was now doubted. This command was taken away, and given on the 22nd Shawwal (17th September, 1718) to Ghazi-ud-din Khan Ghalib Jang, who could be relied on as having no sort of connection with the Sayyids or Samsam-ud-daulah; nay, he might be accounted their enemy, for owing to the scanty favour that they had shown him, he was living in poverty, in spite of his *mansab* of 7,000 *zat*. [M. M. 390, Kamwar 181.]

After Sarbuland Khan and Samsam-ud-daulah had been entrusted with the task of assuaging the anger of Qutb-ul-mulk,

they succeeded by smooth speeches and plausible arguments in bringing him, to some extent, into a more reasonable frame of mind. He agreed to appear once more in *darbar*. It was faithfully promised that there should never again be anything to disturb his mind, or arouse differences of opinion. Rajah Ajit Singh having also absented himself, the *Wazir* advised that he also should be conciliated, and that they should be brought to *darbar* together. This was accordingly done and the Rajah propitiated. On the 26th Shawwal, 1130 H. (21st September, 1718), Rajah Ajit Singh repaired to the *Wazir's* house. Sarbuland Khan and Samsam-ud-daulah came on behalf of His Majesty, and requested that the two nobles might mount and set out. The two envoys, mounted on one elephant, preceded them to the palace. Qutb-ul-mulk and Rajah Ajit Singh followed, riding upon one elephant. Speeches full of apparent peace and goodwill were interchanged, outwardly all cause of quarrel between the parties had been removed, and at the *Wazir's* request the country of Bikaner was conferred upon the Rajah. But acute observers likened the situation to the well-known description of an hour-glass :

"They are joined together like an hour-glass.

Hearts full of dust and faces all clear." [Shiu Das 19a.]

SEC. 28.—NIZAM-UL-MULK IS SUMMONED.

Samsam-ud-daulah was suspected of treachery, Itiqad Khan's talk came to nothing, Sarbuland Khan had become lukewarm, Ajit Singh, false to his salt, had gone over to Qutb-ul-mulk! Who was there left? Farrukh-siyar thought now of Nizam-ul-mulk, then *faujdar* of Muradabad, and sent a *farman* recalling him to Court, in the hope that from him deliverance might come. Nizam-ul-mulk crossed the Jamuna towards the end of Shawwal and camped near Khizrabad. Nawab Sadat Khan, father-in-law of the Emperor, went out to meet him (29th Shawwal 1130 H., 24th September, 1718) and escorted him to the presence. Farrukh-siyar now made overtures to Nizam-ul-mulk. But at the same time, as he was greatly afraid of the Sayyids, he bound the Nawab to disclose nothing, until one of the men devoted to his cause had removed Qutb-ul-

mulk out of their way. Nizam-ul-mulk saw plainly enough that on these conditions the enterprize was hopeless, and therefore amused the Emperor with procrastinating words, without committing himself. Day after day passed until Farrukh-siyar despaired of assistance in this direction. A few months afterwards (16th Safar 1131 H., 7th January, 1719), Farrukh-siyar, in his heedless, short-sighted way, finally alienated Nizam-ul-mulk by removing him from his appointment in *Chakla* Muradabad, which was then erected into a *subah* and conferred on the favourite Itiqad Khan (Muhammad Murad). [Shiu Das 186, M. M. 401.]

SEC. 29.—MIR JUMLA'S SECOND RETURN TO DIHLI.

We have already told how in 1128 H. (March, 1716) Mir Jumla was exiled first to Sarhind and then to Lahor. He had never abandoned hope of a return to Court, but Farrukh-siyar was too frightened of the Sayyids to accord his consent. At length, the Emperor, having screwed up his courage to the sticking place, recalled Mir Jumla. As soon as Qutb-ul-mulk learnt this, he sent to ask Farrukh-siyar why, if there was no quarrel left between them, he should have sent for Mir Jumla. Frightened at this remonstrance, Farrukh-siyar cancelled his first order. But Mir Jumla, directly he had received the *farman*, had started on his return, and paying no attention whatever to the second order, hurried on by forced marches. Knowing what anger would be aroused in Qutb-ul-mulk's breast by Mir Jumla's arrival, Farrukh-siyar despatched Shahbaz Khan Qul [slave] to turn him back wherever he might be found. Even this measure was powerless to arrest his course. However, as Mir Jumla perceived that, out of fear of the Wazir, Farrukh-siyar would decline to see him, he decided to give himself out as an adherent of the Sayyids. Accordingly he went straight to Qutb-ul-mulk's house, 5th Zul Qada (29th September, 1718). Farrukh-siyar, overpowered by anger, took away Mir Jumla's rank and gave orders to resume the mansion, known as Asad Khan's, which had been granted him, and conferred it upon Samsam-ud-daulah. Energetic men were sent with orders to remove him from the house of Qutb-ul-mulk to that

of the late Fidai Khan. Qutb-ul mulk was much enraged at this action, and the ill-will which had been hidden under a pretended reconciliation, was now again shown openly. The Wazir wrote (5th Zul Qada, 29th September, 1718) to his brother, Husain Ali Khan, requesting him to leave the Dakhin at once and return to Dihli. In his letter, after referring to the enemies who had obtained the ear of His Majesty, he recounts the story of Jai Singh Sawai's campaign against Chura Jat, and the quarrel arising from its termination, his fear of assassination, and his measures to collect additional troops. There is no doubt that Qutb-ul-mulk's fears for his personal safety were not unfounded. For instance, on the 29th Shawwal (24th September, 1718), when he was seated in the office of the *diwan* engaged in signing documents, spies brought him word that an outbreak was planned, whereupon he called hurriedly for a *palki*, and was carried home.*

One of the strange occurrences of this time, one remaining quite unexplained, was the sudden appearance in the imperial audience-hall, on the 11th Shawwal (6th September, 1718), of a man who took his seat on the marble platform, the place where the *khawas* or pages stand, and made three *salams* or reverences, with his sword. When told by the carpet-spreaders and guards to desist, he drew his sword and attacked them, whereupon one of the guards dispatched him with his dagger. No one knew who he was or what his object had been. His body was made over to the *kotwal*. [Kamwar 181.]

When Farrukh-siyar heard that Husain Ali Khan had been written to, he sent off Samsam-ud-daulah to allay the Wazir's apprehensions. On the 6th Zul Qada (30th September, 1718) he went out hunting, and on his way home sent a message that he was about to honour Qutb-ul-mulk with a visit. It so happened that Rajah Ajit Singh had been told of a plot made by Farrukh-siyar to seize him, when he, as in duty bound, should come out to the door of his house, to make obeisance at the time of the Emperor's passing by. This may have had

* Kamwar Khan, 182; Mirza Muhammad, 404, is a little different. Mirza Muhammad, 385; Shiu Das, 17b (copy of letter to Husain Ali Khan.)

no other foundation than in the Rajah's evil conscience, for, as Khafi Khan says, it is a proverb that: "The faithless are full of fear." In any case the fact remains that Ajit Singh sought that day a refuge with Qutb-ul-mulk. As soon as the Emperor heard of the Rajah's presence, he countermanded his orders, and sent Sayyid Najm-ud-din Ali Khan to say, that if that base-born pig had not been at the Wazir's house, he would have paid him a visit. On the arrival of the boat (*nawara*)* opposite the Wazir's house, the Emperor directed the boatmen to increase their speed, in spite of the fact that the imperial equipage was drawn up, and the Wazir waiting on the river bank to receive him. Thus this occasion for untying the knot was lost, and the Emperor turned again to Samsam-ud-daulah for advice. That noble repaired to Qutb-ul-mulk's on the 9th Zul Qada (3rd October, 1718) and conferred with him. At this time, by reason of the rise of Iltiqad Khan (Muhammad Murad), Samsam-ud-daulah had fallen out of favour with Farrukh-siyar, and was even suspected by him of treachery: Being aware of this change of feeling, he was now far from well-affected to the Emperor, had improved his relations with Qutb-ul-mulk, and had inspired that noble with full confidence in his friendship. Listening to his advice, Qutb-ul-mulk presented himself in *darbar*, made his obeisance, and, to all appearance, the quarrel was again made up, after the usual false speeches had been exchanged.†

The story goes that Samsam-ud-daulah had planned with Farrukh-siyar the arrest of Qutb-ul-mulk. The Emperor was to take his seat in the *tasbih-khana*, or chapel, round which the armed attendants were to be secretly collected. When the moment came, the signal was to be given by the cry of "Qul!"

* *Nawara*, these boats were fashioned into fanciful shapes such as wild animals, etc. They were roofed in at one end, which was covered with broad cloth; they were better finished and lighter than a common boat (*qishti*). The boatmen were mostly from Kashmir and used Kashmiri calls to each other when working. Anand Ram, (Mukhlis) *Mirat-ul-istilah*, fol. 166b, B. M. Oriental, No. 1813 (Elliot MSS.). Anand Ram quotes Babar as to the convenience of boat travelling.

† Khafi Khan, 803, 804; Kamwar Khan, 182; Mirza Muhammad, 405.

and, rushing in, the slaves were to seize the Wazir and hurry him off to prison. Qutb-ul-mulk having entered with a small following, Farrukh-siyar, when the time came, called out as agreed on, "*Qul!*" From some motive, either of prudence or friendship, Samsam-ud-daulah, instead of repeating the signal, changed the word, and shouted "*Qur!*" (armed retinue), the word used to signify that all those waiting for audience should be admitted. This slight change of one letter disarranged the whole plan. The slaves never stirred. But a large number of Qutb-ul-mulk's armed retinue at once appeared in the audience-chamber, and Farrukh-siyar was much disturbed at seeing this crowd. As soon as the minister had left, he vented his rage on Samsam-ud-daulah. In his access of passion he threw at his favourite the seal, the box for holding the ink used with it, and, as some add, a metal spittoon. After this catastrophe Samsam-ud-daulah absented himself for several days, nor did he return until Farrukh-siyar had written him a friendly note in his own hand, asking him to attend Court as usual. [Khush-hal.]

After a few days the Emperor went out again on a hunting expedition, accompanied by many officers and State officials: and, as usual, the rumour spread that on this occasion, when Qutb-ul-mulk appeared to make his obeisance, hands would be laid upon him. Qutb-ul-mulk, receiving a hint from Samsam-ud-daulah, came surrounded by men; when he dismounted at the entrance, five hundred fully-armed soldiers dismounted with him. In spite of all that the chamberlain (*Mir Tuzak*) and attendants (*yasawal*) could say, the whole of these men followed into the audience tent. Farrukh-siyar was greatly perturbed at the sight, and it was with much constraint that he was able to utter a few words of compliment before he dismissed the visitor.* Further attempts to heal the breach were made. On the 20th Zul Qada (14th October, 1718) Zafar Khan, the fourth Bakhshi, took Itiqad Khan to Qutb-ul-mulk's house, when the favourite and the Wazir interchanged presents, and

* Mirza Muhammad, 405; Khush-hal Chand, 411a; Shiu Das 17a; Yahya Khan 123b; Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 56a; Kamwar Khan, 183.

three days afterwards, Samsam-ud-daulah visited Itiqad Khan. About this time Farrukh-siyar, always of a suspicious nature, came to the conclusion that his foster-mother, who held an honoured position in the harem, and Itimad Khan, a eunuch, had betrayed his secret projects to the Sayyids. [Kamwar 183.]

SECTION 30—MIR JUMLA PARDONED.

After waiting for more than a month, Mir Jumla was at last admitted to audience on the 7th Zul Hijja (31st October, 1718) under the auspices of Nizam-ul-mulk. He received the addition of "*Tarkhan*" to his former titles.* Three days afterwards, it being the day of the Id, the Emperor proceeded to the Idgah for the usual observances, but by his express order Qutb-ul-mulk did not attend. The reason for this prohibition was that Farrukh-siyar recollected and resented the failure of his plans on the day of the former Id at the end of Ramzan. On the 12th (5th November, 1718) Itiqad Khan paid Mir Jumla a visit at his house, and the next day, by the Emperor's order, he invited Mir Jumla to a banquet in return. All this intercourse was encouraged by Farrukh-siyar in the hope that the chief nobles would join with him heart and soul in the destruction of Qutb-ul-mulk. But all was without avail. The bringing forward of Itiqad Khan had estranged many who were otherwise well affected to the Emperor's person, and had caused them to enter into terms with Qutb-ul-mulk. By expatiating on the Wazir's Sayyid lineage, on his claims for service done, and on his bravery in the field, they found reasons for holding that right was on his side. Itiqad Khan's sudden rise, which was without apparent justification, rankled like a thorn in their hearts. Farrukh-siyar paid no heed to this discontent, but continued to support Itiqad Khan, whose counsels he received as equivalent to a revelation from on high, nor could he bear the man to be away from him for a moment. At the annual rejoicing for the defeat of Jahandar Shah, 15th Zul Hijja 1130 H. (8th November, 1718), Qutb-ul-mulk did not attend. [Kamwar 184, M. M. 410.]

* For the meaning and attributes of this distinction, see Blochmann, *Ain*, i. 364, and *Tariikh-i-Raahidi*, Ross and Elias, p. 55, note.

SECTION 31.—HUSAIN ALI KHAN'S START FROM THE DAKHIN.

On the 1st Muharram 1131 H. (23rd November, 1718) an official report reached the Court that in the previous month Husain Ali Khan had started from Aurangabad. On the 22nd Muharram (14th December, 1718) he left Burhanpur, and Ujjain on the 4th Safar (26th December, 1718), continuing his route *via* Mandeshwar.* Before this time he had put forward a pretext that the Dakhin climate did not agree with him, and had asked to be recalled. Farrukh-siyar said he might try a change to Ahmadabad, and if he did not recover, he might then return to Hindustan. About this time Husain Ali Khan also reported that Muin-ud-din,† a reputed son of Prince Akbar, the rebel son of Alamgir, had been captured by Rajah Sahu, the Mahratta, and made over to him, on the condition that he obtained the release of the Rajah's mother and brother, who had been prisoners since the year 1101 H. (15th Muharram 1101 H., 28th October, 1689) and were still at Dihli. Farrukh-siyar ordered the Bakhshi to send the pretended Prince to Dihli.‡

Compliance with this order did not fall in with Husain Ali Khan's plans; for his brother's, Qutb-ul-mulk's, letter had already warned him that his presence was necessary at Court. He had already made up his mind to return to Hindustan, and the fiction of having found a son of Prince Akbar was only part of this design, and in fact a mere excuse. He had given out in open *darbar* that he expected the arrival from Satara of a Prince, Muin-ud-din Husain, son of Prince Akbar. When Prince Akbar, after rebelling against the Emperor Alamgir, left India for Isfahan, this son had been, it was said, left behind. Equipage suitable for a Prince of the Gurgani family was prepared; scarlet tents, a throne, and a crown were made ready. The Mir Bakhshi at the same time announced that he

* Mandeshwar, Thornton, 645, now in Sindhia's dominions, Lat. 24° 1', Long. 75° 9'.

† *Ahwat-ul-khawaqin*, 1b, 127a, refers to the pretended Prince as Jawan Bakht, who had come to the Karnatak from Iran when Prince Akbar died. Yahya Khan, 124a, says he was called a son of Kam Bakhsh.

‡ Kamwar Khan; Shiu Das, 20a; Khafi Khan, 793, 795.

was about to pay a visit to Hindustan. The youth selected for the rôle of royal pretender was the son of a Qazi in one of the Dakhin towns, good looking, talented, and with some external resemblance to the Princes of the royal house. Muazzam Khan, a *jamadar*, was deputed to bring to camp the so-called Prince. The news-writers and intelligencers asked for instructions as to what entry they should make. The Nawab replied that he would in a short time make a report, and himself write detailed letters to Court. Next day the tents were pitched outside the city ; more soldiers were enlisted and a month's pay given to them in advance. Terms were come to with Rajah Sahu, and payment to him of the *chauth*, or one-fourth of the revenues of the Dakhin, was agreed to. Husain Ali Khan also obtained the services of Mahrattas at the daily rate of one Rupee for each man, to be paid from the time of crossing the Narmada until their return home. After three or four days, Muin-ud-din Husain was placed on an elephant in a high-sided canopy, with a white cloth over it to keep out the dust. Red and white tents were erected, a deep ditch was dug all round his camp, sentinels were set, and all the externals of royalty were assigned to him. To keep up appearances, Husain Ali Khan went daily to have a *mujra* or ceremonious interview with his prisoner, such as would be necessary in the case of a real Prince. [Kamraj 64b.]

Finally on the 15th Shawwal (10th September, 1718) Husain Ali Khan appointed his brother, Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, to the command of a vanguard of 4,000 to 5,000 men, and sent him towards Burhanpur to collect artillery and other stores. Alim Ali Khan,* his nephew and adopted son, was named as his representative during his absence. Saif-ud-din Ali Khan temporarily replaced Jan Nisar Khan as governor of Khandesh,

* Alim Ali Khan had been adopted when an infant, (Kamraj, *Ibrat-nama*, 64b). The *farman* of appointment can be seen in *Majma-ul-insha* (litho.) p. 84. It includes the 6 *subahs* of the Dakhin with the faujdarship of the Karnatak and of Bijapur, and the collectorship (*tahsildari*) of the tribute (*peshkash*) due from the zamindars of Sondha and Bidnur. Mubariz Khan, Diler Khan, and the other governors were placed under him, and letters notifying this fact were transmitted to them through him.

and Sadat Khan, an old officer now blind of both eyes, was sent as commandant of the fort at Ahmadnagar. Alim Ali Khan was put under the tutelage of Shankara Malhar, a trusted agent of Rajah Sahu. About November, 1718, Husain Ali Khan started himself,* accompanied by Sayyid Asadullah (Nawab Auliya), the sons of Jan Nisar Khan Iwaz Khan, deputy governor of Berar, Asad Ali Khan, the one-handed, the Ali Murad Khani, Dil Diler Khan (brother of Lutfullah Khan Sadiq), Ikhtisas Khan (grandson of Khan Zaman), Haji Saif-ullah Khan, Zia-ud-din Khan, *diwan* of the Dakhin, Firuz Ali Khan Barha, the *Amir-ul-umara's* Bakhshi, Diyanat Khan (grandson of Amanat Khan Khafi), Rajah Jai Singh Bundela, Rajah Muhkam Singh, one of the chief employés, and Khizr Khan Panni (sister's son of Daud Khan Panni).† In all there were twenty-two imperial commanders, many of whom followed unwillingly. There were 8,000 or 9,000 of his own troops and 11,000 or 12,000 Mahrattas, besides Bhils and Telingas. He carried with him nearly all the civil establishments of the Dakhin, and any one who made excuses and turned back was punished by the loss of his *jagir*. The total force was 25,000 horsemen, besides the artillery, and 10,000 to 11,000 infantry armed with matchlocks. At the head of the Mahrattas were Balaji Wiswanath, the Peshwa, Khandu Rao Dhabariya, Santa,‡ and some others. These leaders received horses and elephants, robes of honour, and money for expenses, with many promises of future reward in addition to the release of

* Khafi Khan, the historian, was himself present in Husain Ali Khan's army, p. 798. He had just been removed from the *faujdari* of Mustafabad.

† Muhammad Qasim Lahori, 225. Ikhtisas Khan, eldest son of Munavvar Khan Qutbi, son of Munavvar Khan, son of Khan Zaman, *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 655. Zia-ud-din Khan, *diwan* of the Dakhin, see *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 36, and Khafi Khan, ii. 790. Diyanat Khan, grandson of Amanat Khan, *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 258. Diyanat Khan, No. 2, *id.* ii. 62. Rajah Muhkam Singh (Khatri), *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 330, died Jamadi II. 1137 H., *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*. For the Pannis, see *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 63. Instead of "Jai Singh" the *Siyar* has "Partit Singh."

‡ Or Khandi. This man was Rajah Sahu's so-called *subahdar* in Khandesh, (Khafi Khan, ii. 798). An abstract of his career runs thus (Grant Duff, 162, 163, 196, 209) - he was present at the council held after the death

Rajah Sambha's wife and son. These promises included ratification of the treaty for a grant of the *chauth*, or one-fourth share in the revenues of the Dakhin, a grant of the *sardesmukhi* or ten per cent. on the collections, and a confirmation of the hereditary Mahratta territory, or *swa-raj*. Each Mahratta trooper was to receive from the viceroy's treasure-chest half a Rupee, or, as some say, a Rupee a day. A number of zamindars and their levies also joined. The most disturbing rumours as to the fate of Qutb-ul-mulk, passed from mouth to mouth throughout Aurangabad. [K. K. 794—803.]

Consternation was produced in Farrukh-siyar's mind by the news of Husain Ali Khan's approach. Ikhlas Khan, who was supposed to have great influence with the Sayyid, was sent off at once to intercept him and persuade him to return.* Early in Safar 1131 H. (end of December, 1718) this envoy came up with Husain Ali Khan in the neighbourhood of Mandu in *subah* Malwa. Instead of loyally executing his trust, Ikhlas Khan employed his secret interviews with the *Mir Bakshi* in filling his mind with stories of the peril of his brother's position, of the threatening assemblage of great nobles at Dihli, and of the overpowering influence acquired by Itiqad Khan (Muhammad Murad). Instead of being appeased, Husain Ali Khan was made only more eager than before to reach Dihli. At first, some danger was apprehended from the attitude assumed by Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, governor of Malwa, then encamped near Ujjain. Nasir-ud-din Khan Irani, superintendent of the viceroy's stables, had been sent off to interview Muhammad Amin Khan and discover his intentions, when

of Sambhaji (1689); and took a part in the flight of Raja Ram. In 1716, after a long absence, he reappeared at the Court of Satara and was made *Senapati* (commander-in-chief). He died in 1712, shortly after the defeat of Alim Ali Khan. Santaji was said to be the natural son of Parsuji Bhonsla (G. Duff, 199, note). Briggs in a note (p. 178) calls him Santaji Kadam.

*Khafi Khan, ii. 799, says Ikhlas Khan started at the end of Shawwal 1130 H. (24th September, 1718). This is too early to fit in with the other authorities. Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 65a, says Husain Ali Khan was at Sarai Muhammad Azam Shah north of the Narmada river, when Ikhlas Khan joined him. He calls Ikhlas Khan the *Mir Munshi*.

suddenly news was received that he had marched for Dihli without orders.*

The *farman* carried by Ikhlas Khan, after acknowledging the receipt of Husain Ali Khan's report of his coming to Court with the son of Prince Akbar and reciting his promise to Rajah Sahu, the Mahratta ruler, (first) that the youth should not be killed, (secondly) that the Rajah's mother and brother should be released, goes on to state that the conditions asked for were accepted. For such an important business it was right for him to come, and His Majesty yearned to see him. At the same time, public affairs in the Dakhin were not in a position to admit of his absence, and the Mahrattas would seize the opportunity to give trouble. He ought, therefore, to return to his own Government. All necessary instructions had been given to Ikhlas Khan who would impart them orally; and the prisoner should be made over to him on a signed and valid receipt. As for Rajah Sahu's requests, they would be granted in whatever way Husain Ali Khan chose to lay them before the throne.

In his reply, Husain Ali Khan admitted that to come to Court without orders was opposed to rule, but he required to represent in person certain matters pertaining to the Dakhin, and there was also the prisoner, with whose custody there was no one he could trust. He alleged that he had left a trustworthy deputy in the Dakhin. When, on reaching Malwa, Ikhlas Khan had delivered to him the *farman*, he had at once made ready to return. But the officers of the Mahratta Rajah, who were in his company at the head of a large force, swore that unless he remained, they could never secure the release of the Rajah's mother and brother. Now, if they were to

* From Amin-ud-din's letter to Ikhlas Khan, it would seem that on starting for Malwa, Muhammad Amin Khan had bragged much of the aid he would obtain from the Afghan chief, Dost Muhammad Khan (afterwards of Bhopal). Nothing came of these boasts. But he wrote to Dihli demanding impossible reinforcements in men and artillery and extravagant advances of money. His applications were rejected, and it was assumed at Dihli, as it turned out quite rightly, that he meant to beat a retreat. Probably he also received a summons from Farrukh-siyar to return to Court (see later on Section 33). *Dastur-ul-insha*, p. 53, Khafi Khan, ii. 794-799, 800.

suspect him of treachery, the consequences might be dreadful. Moreover, he was overcome by his longing to see His Majesty once more, he had come a long way, the remaining distance was short; he had therefore decided to push on, make over the prisoner, discuss certain matters of the Dakhin, and then return at once to his own Government. On these pretexts he disregarded the order to retrace his steps. [Shiu Das 20, 216.]

SECTION 32.—PROGRESS OF EVENTS AT DIHI.

By the middle of Muharram 1131 H. (7th December, 1718) Qutb-ul-mulk had been absent from Court for two or three months. In that month the Emperor passed several times close to his house on the way to and from Firuz Shah's *Lath*, towards which he had gone to hunt, but on no occasion had Qutb-ul-mulk come out to the door to make his obeisance, as required by etiquette. Farrukh-siyar was now in a state of terror at the approach of Husain Ali Khan, whose well-known violence of temper and vigour of purpose he much dreaded. He and his advisers thought it prudent therefore to win over Qutb-ul-mulk, so that he might act as a peace-maker and not as an increaser of strife. Since, by this time Farrukh-siyar had abandoned all hope of destroying the Sayyids, success in this new project was looked on as far from impossible. But, as Yahya Khan says, he did not recollect the saying, "After you have lost your sight what is the use of treatment?" [Yahya 124a, Kamwar 185, M.M. 417.]

Accordingly, on the 26th Muharram (18th December, 1718) Farrukh-siyar embarked in his boat on the Jamuna and was taken to the *Wazir's* door. Qutb-ul-mulk came out to meet him and bowed his head so as to touch the Emperor's feet. Rich offerings were brought and presented. In return Farrukh-siyar took off the turban he was wearing and placed it on the minister's head along with the costly jewels attached to it, adding a suit of clothes which he had himself worn.* Breakfast was eaten and a siesta taken in the house before his return to the palace. On his departure, after the exchange of many

* A mark of high favour, according to the Mughal ceremonial.

vows and promises, Ratan Chand and some others received robes of honour. Kamwar Khan here justly quotes a line to the effect that such promises were as much to be relied on as the winds of heaven.

The next day, the 27th, about midday, Qutb-ul-mulk appeared at the audience, made the usual offerings, and was dismissed. That afternoon there was an outbreak among the troops, and it very nearly ended in an attack on Qutb-ul-mulk's mansion. On one side were the artillery headed by Bika, Hazari;* on the other, the men of Rajah Ajit Singh and of Chura Jat. The fight lasted over three hours, many on both sides were killed, and only the coming-on of night separated the combatants. Ghazi-ud-din Khan Ghalib Jang, the commander of the artillery, Said Quli Khan Qul, and Sayyid Najm-ud-din Ali Khan intervened, and the quarrel was made up. Zafar Khan was sent by the Emperor to make excuses and apologize to Rajah Ajit Singh.†

At his own interview Qutb-ul-mulk had told the Emperor of Rajah Ajit Singh's discontent, which ought in his opinion to be removed. Acting on this opinion, Farrukh-siyar on the 1st Safar (23rd December, 1718) went with Qutb-ul-mulk to Rajah Ajit Singh's quarters, and presents were interchanged. He remained over an hour and then went on his way. On the following day the *Wazir* and Rajah Ajit Singh proceeded together to the Emperor's audience. To all appearance the breach was closed once more. The next man requiring to be conciliated was Sarbuland Khan, Mubariz-ul-mulk, Dilawar Jang. He had been appointed, as we have already said, to Agra, and after enlisting a large force marched as far as Faridabad. His expenses were heavy, and he was at all times a bad financier. Farrukh-siyar neither recalled him in order to strike a decisive blow, nor sent him any remittance from the treasury. Sarbuland Khan parted with everything he had, even down to his dwelling-house, and then came back from Faridabad without orders, and sought refuge in Old Dihli. His

* Or Tika. A *Hazari* is equivalent to a captain of artillery.

† Mirza Muhammad, 417, 478; Kamwar Khan, 185, 186; Khafi Khan, 800.

mansab had been taken from him in consequence. On the 6th Safar (28th December, 1718) Qutb-ul-mulk went to him and brought him to audience.*

By this time Farrukh-siyar began to see that Qutb-ul-mulk and Husain Ali Khan had obtained the upper hand of him. All his efforts were now directed to propitiating his enemies. Qutb-ul-mulk was raised on the 6th Safar (28th December) from 7,000 (7,000 horse) to 8,000 (8,000 horse) of which 5,000 were *duaspa* (two horses each), and he received a gift of 5 *krors* and 80 *lakhs* of *dam*. Itiqad Khan (Muhammad Murad) and Zafar Khan, Turra-i-baz, having acted as negotiators between the Emperor and Qutb-ul-mulk, the supposed happy results were attributed to their exertions. The former was now styled Rukn-ud-daulah, Itiqad Khan, Bahadur, Farrukh Shahi, with the rank of 7,000 (7,000 horse) of which 4,000 were *duaspa*. To Zafar Khan's titles were added the words Rustam Jang; he was given the insignia of the fish dignity, and he was promoted to 6,000. On the following day, 7th Safar (29th December), Husain Ali Khan was promoted to 8,000, (8,000 horse), of which 5,000 were *duaspa*, and 4 *krors* and 80 *lakhs* of *dam* were granted to him. [M. M. 429.]

Several appointments were made under the renewed influence of Qutb-ul-mulk. On the 16th Safar 1131 H. (7th January, 1719) Sarbuland Khan was appointed to Kabul, the former governor, Nasir Khan, having recently died at Peshawar. Maharajah Ajit Singh, on the same day, was gratified with the epithet of Rajeshwar, added to his other titles, and the Government of Ahmadabad-Gujarat was given to him, on the removal of Samsam-ud-daulah (Khan Dauran). At the same time the Emperor's own favourites were not forgotten. On the 16th Safar 1131 H. (7th January, 1719) the *chakla* of Muradabad (part of the *subah* of Dihli) was taken from Nizam-ul-mulk and erected into a *subah* with the name of Ruknabad, and conferred on Itiqad Khan,† his deputy being Fakhr-ullah Khan, his

* Kamwar Khan, 186; Mirza Muhammad, 427; Khafi Khan, 801.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 792, asserts that the *chakla* was given in *al-tamgha* (literally "Red-seal") or perpetual grant.

brother-in-law. Nizam-ul-mulk was thus entirely ousted from office, but Samsam-ud-daulah was consoled the next day for the loss of Ahmadabad by appointment to Agra, including the faujdarship of Mathura. [M. M. 414, 431 ; Kamwar 186.]

Farrukh-siyar's thoughts next turned to a reconciliation between Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, and Qutb-ul-mulk. Jai Singh was displeased at the part which Qutb-ul-mulk had played in the matter of Churaman Jat. As the Rajah had taken Farrukh-siyar's side throughout, the latter was very anxious to favour him, but Qutb-ul-mulk's position having proved so strong, he was afraid to do anything without a reconciliation. Therefore, on the 18th Safar (9th January, 1719), he sent Zafar Khan to the Rajah's house, and at this messenger's suggestion the Rajah accompanied him on a visit to Qutb-ul-mulk. The Nawab received him most affably, and gave him a dagger and other things by way of present. A return visit was paid on the 24th, followed on the 25th (15th and 16th January, 1719) by a visit to the Rajah from Farrukh-siyar himself, to whom valuable offerings were made both in cash and other things. The Rajah had also filled a reservoir (*hauz*) with rose-water and saffron, had adorned the trees with imported fruit, and in all ways strove to do honour to the occasion. His titles were increased to Raj-indar, Rajadhiraj. [Kamwar 187, M. M. 431.]

SECTION 33.—RETURN OF MUHAMMAD AMIN KHAN FROM MALWA.

Muhammad Amin Khan who had, as we have seen, deserted the post of danger in Malwa, now arrived near the city. In the preceding year he had received orders to clear the Malwa province from an incursion of the Mahrattas, but owing to the delay he made, for objects of his own, he fell under the imperial displeasure, was removed from the office of Second Bakhshi, and exiled from Court as permanent governor of Malwa. From that time he had been employed in his new province. In the interval Farrukh-siyar, pursuing his endeavours to destroy the Sayyids, had recourse first to Itiqad Khan and then to Sarbuland Khan. Despairing of them, he turned next to Ajit Singh, who went over at once to the opposite side. Nizam-ul-mulk was next appealed to. Seeing

clearly the Emperor's want of firmness, he declined to undertake the business himself, but continued to favour the idea and to give advice. Some say that on his suggestion his cousin, Muhammad Amin Khan, was recalled. No doubt, if Nizam-ul-mulk and Muhammad Amin Khan, could have believed in the truth of the promises made to them, and had been properly supported, in all probability the two Sayyids would have been uprooted easily enough. But Farrukh-siyar was a prey to unreasoning terrors, and he could never come to any firm resolve. [M. M. 433.]

When the rumours of Husain Ali Khan's intended return to Court were confirmed, Muhammad Amin Khan knew not what course to adopt. His force was not strong enough to enable him to throw himself across the Nawab's route and block his way. To openly evade a meeting would leave an indelible stain on his reputation for courage. Luckily, the order came for his return to Court and he set out at once.* In the meantime Farrukh-siyar came to the conclusion that he could never oust the Sayyids, and seeing no other way of escape tried to make friends with them. By this time Muhammad Amin Khan had marched back as far as Agra. Qutb-ul-mulk thereupon remarked that as His Majesty had no longer any distrust of him, why or wherefore had he recalled Muhammad Amin Khan? Farrukh-siyar, frightened that there would be trouble, sent off urgent orders to Muhammad Amin Khan directing his return to Malwa. As this order did not suit that noble's plans he disobeyed it, and leaving his baggage in Agra, he made forced marches towards Dihli. On the 20th Safar (11th January, 1719) he was at Barahpula, a few miles to the south of the city.

On learning of Muhammad Amin Khan's arrival, Qutb-ul-mulk said to His Majesty: "It seems that the servants of the State have made disobedience of orders a habit. To such an extent is this the case that, in spite of renewed orders to retrace his steps, Muhammad Amin Khan has not discontinued

* Khafi Khan, 802, on the other hand, asserts that he left Malwa without orders and without permission.

his advance to the capital." Farrukh-siyar was put out at this complaint, and answered: "Have you any one you can send to turn him back?" The *Wazir* then sent Rajah Ratan Chand to persuade Muhammad Amin to return to his Government under pain of the imperial displeasure. Muhammad Amin Khan used strong language, even in the Rajah's presence, and utterly refused to obey. The Rajah reported this state of things to the minister. Qutb-ul-mulk, with much heat, repeated the matter to the Emperor, and caused him to become angry. Muhammad Amin Khan was deprived of his rank (*mansab*), and his revenue assignments (*jagirs*) were attached. Qutb-ul-mulk considered that the stars in their courses were fighting for him, when the Emperor had been estranged from such a high-placed and valiant noble. Forthwith he set to work to make his own peace with Muhammad Amin, and in two or three days obtained from the Emperor permission for him to enter the city, sending out his own brother Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, and Zafar Khan to escort him to his home. This took place on the 29th Safar (20th January). The incident turned Muhammad Amin Khan's heart from Farrukh-siyar, and made him friendly to the cause of the Sayyids, at least to the extent of securing his neutrality.

At this point a few other changes may be noted. As a consequence of Muhammad Amin Khan's loss of favour, the office of paymaster to the *Ahadis* was taken from his son, Qamr-ud-din Khan, and given to Zafar Khan Turra-i-baz on the 1st Rabi I. 1131 H. (21st January, 1719). Then, Inayatullah Khan, with whom Qutb-ul-mulk was displeased for his refusal to bow before the authority of Rajah Ratan Chand, lost his appointment of *diwan*. But as Farrukh-siyar believed in this man's honesty, he was not kept altogether out of employ, but transferred to the post of *Khan-saman*, or Lord Steward, on the 3rd Rabi I. 1131 H. (23rd January, 1719). The diwanship of the *Tan* (assigned revenues) was made over to Rajah Bakht Mal, a protégé of Muhammad Yar Khan; as for the Exchequer or *Khalsa*, Qutb-ul-mulk was told to carry on the duties till someone else was nominated, 4th Rabi I. 1131 H. (24th January, 1719). [M. M. 443.]

SEC. 34.—ARRIVAL OF HUSAIN ALI KHAN AT DIHLI.

Husain Ali Khan was approaching nearer and nearer to Dihli. He left Burhanpur on the 22nd Muharram 1131 H. (14th December, 1718) and Ujjain on the 4th Safar (26th December, 1718), having crossed the Narmada by the Akbarpur ferry. The embassy of Ikhlas Khan, who had met him near Mandu, had been unsuccessful in arresting his march. Then by letters from Barqandaz Khan, *faujdar* of Gwalियar, and from his own agent at Court, he heard of the renewal of friendly intercourse on the 26th Muharram 1131 H. (18th December, 1718), between the Emperor and Qutb-ul-mulk. Publicly, he received the news with the remark that if His Majesty had no longer ill-will to them, they had no other object left than to serve him loyally; after he had seen the Emperor and settled certain matters, he would return to the Dakhin without delay. The Dakhin officials, on leaving Aurangabad, had been told that they would be dismissed at the Fardapur Pass; on reaching that pass, they were ordered to come on to Burhanpur. At Burhanpur, much to their disgust, their continued attendance was enjoined. Thus, when the news of a return march to the Dakhin spread from tent to tent throughout the camp, all men received it with joy and looked forward to speedily seeing their homes again. But, in a day or two, persons in the confidence of Husain Ali Khan divulged the fact that privately he had expressed the opinion that this was only a new plot hatched by Farrukh-siyar, that it was absurd on the face of it; had they never heard the saying: "When was a secret kept if it was told in an assembly?" A wise man could perceive the only possible result, namely, if they fell into the clutches of the Emperor, their lives would be forfeited; but if they get hold of him, his escape was hopeless. [M. M. 433, K. K. 799.]

All this time the supposed Prince was surrounded and guarded with the greatest care. An elephant with rich trappings was set apart for him, and he rode in a canopied seat with the curtains drawn on all four sides, so that no one could see or recognize him. A separate division of the army was told off to escort him, and surrounded his elephant on every

side. He was accorded the state and dignity of an imperial Prince, men of rank stood on watch all night round his quarters; and on the march, two men sat behind the canopy waving fans of peacock feathers. [Shiu Das, 20a.]

When they came to the Rana of Udepur's country, some villages and a great deal of sugar-cane were plundered by the men of the army. Soon afterwards a Brahman sent by the Rana arrived with presents and cash. Strict orders were then issued to refrain from injuring the crops. On the contrary, when they passed into the lands of Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, the offering brought by one of his principal officers was refused, while many villages with their crops and cattle were pillaged by the camp-followers. Even the women and children of the cultivators were looked on as lawful plunder and carried off. [K. K. 803.]

Another effort was now made by Farrukh-siyar, on the 1st Rabi I. 1131 H. (21st January, 1719) to conciliate Husain Ali Khan through Abdul-ghafur. This man was married to a sister of Itiqad Khan's (Muhammad Murad's) wife. Early in this reign he had joined Husain Ali Khan, was admitted to his intimacy, and made the confidant of his secrets. When his brother-in-law rose into favour, he asked permission from Husain Ali Khan and returned to Court. Through Itiqad Khan he was made a *Duhazari* (2,000). He was now promoted to 2,500 *zat* with a standard, and deputed to interview Husain Ali Khan, his former friend. By this time even Farrukh-siyar's intimates began to despair of him. Amin-ud-din wrote: "The complexion of affairs changes here daily, fickleness prevails, sense is absent, and every moment one futile device is succeeded by another. It reminds one of the fable of the mice and the cat. In a deserted spot there were many mice, and every day the cat came and took two or three of them. The mice met in council and resolved to hang a bell to the cat's neck, so that having warning they might flee in time. The bell was got. But who was there able to attach it to the cat's neck?" Farrukh-siyar's projects were of this sort, from which nothing but failure could result. He is represented as still believing that the storm would blow over as it had done before.

He did not seem to see that "to heal an estranged heart was as hard as to mend a broken glass," and advice was thrown away upon him. [Kamwar 187, *Dastur-ul-insha* 30.]

When Abdul-ghafur had started, Farrukh-siyar recollected that for a long time past Qutb-ul-mulk had urged that, until the office of *darogha* or superintendent of the privy audience had been made over to one of his brothers, he and his brother could not feel themselves safe. As Husain Ali Khan's arrival grew nearer, the Emperor felt sure he would make the same request, nay, would never come to an audience till it had been granted. But if such an appointment were made, Samsam-ud-daulah would be ousted. He had long taken Farrukh-siyar's side, and though lately he had fallen out of favour, his public disgrace was not desired. Accordingly on the 10th Rabi I. (30th January, 1719) he was consoled with the place of 2nd Bakhshi, from which Islam Khan was ejected. Samsam-ud-daulah's duties as deputy of Husain Ali Khan, the first Bakhshi, were transferred to Zafar Khan Turra-i-baz, who was friendly with the Sayyids, and at the same time professed to be zealous for the Emperor. He made all the efforts he could to bring the parties to an agreement. For his attempts to keep friends with everybody he was described, Khafi Khan [806] says, as "the ingredient in every dish." Sayyid Salabat Khan succeeded Zafar Khan as fourth Bakhshi. [M. M. 444.]

Sarbuland Khan had lately been appointed to Kabul, but was still discontented. To appease him the Emperor ordered Qutb-ul-mulk to visit him. This visit took place on the 9th Rabi I. (29th January, 1719), Itiqad Khan accompanying the *Wazir*. Sarbuland Khan on the 13th moved out as far as the Salt Market on his way to Kabul. Three days afterwards he was visited, by express orders, by Maharajah Ajit Singh and Maharao Bhim Singh. Then at Sarai Mihr-Parwar, nine *kos* from the city,* he halted and awaited the course of events. [M. M. 445, Qasim 248.]

* Sarai Mihr-Parwar is not marked on the *Indian Atlas*; it must have been between Narela and Sonpat, perhaps near Akbarpur Barota. Miskin, B. M. Oriental, No. 1918, fol. 67a, mentions it as lying ten *kos* from Dihli.

Another new appointment, made on the 18th Rabi I. 1131 H. (7th February, 1719), was that of Nizam-ul-mulk to the province of Azimabad-Patna in place of Khan Zaman Khan. From the first up to this time Nizam-ul-mulk had never asked a favour from Qutb-ul-mulk or his brother, and had even refrained from visiting them. On many occasions, during these troubles, he had urged on Farrukh-siyar the uprooting of the Sayyids as the best course he could pursue. On this account the two brothers were far from well disposed towards him. But now Farrukh-siyar, in a state of mortal fright, had placed himself completely in the hands of the two brothers. Under these altered circumstances, it was to the Emperor's interest to put an end to the quarrels and ill-feeling among the nobles, and he urged Qutb-ul-mulk to take the first step in making friends with Nizam-ul-mulk. This reconciliation falling in with Qutb-ul-mulk's own ideas, on the 18th Rabi I. (7th February, 1719) accompanied by two of his sister's sons, Sayyid Ghairat Khan and Sayyid Shujaat-ullah Khan, and by Zafar Khan, he paid a visit to Nizam-ul-mulk. Their talk was of a friendly character and to all appearance amity took the place of enmity. This was followed on the 23rd (12th February, 1719) by a banquet given to Nizam-ul-mulk at Qutb-ul-mulk's house, when the host loaded his guest with costly presents. Nizam-ul-mulk at the request of the *Wazir* was now appointed governor of Bihar. With one exception, that of Rajah Jai Singh, all the influential nobles had now been won over to the party of the Sayyids and had deserted Farrukh-siyar. The case of Nizam-ul-mulk furnishes a flagrant instance of Farrukh-siyar's short-sightedness. He had recalled this noble from Muradabad, and without providing him with any equivalent, his charge was given to Itiqad Khan, the favourite. Naturally Nizam-ul-mulk was disgusted, and became a willing listener to overtures from Qutb-ul-mulk.*

As Husain Ali Khan was now not very far off, on the 21st Rabi I. (10th February, 1719) Zafar Khan, and a day or two afterwards Itiqad Khan, were sent out to greet him on the

*Khafi Khan, ii. 792; Mirza Muhammad, 446; Kamwar Khan, 188.

Emperor's behalf. They found his camp, on the 25th Rabi I. 1131 H. (14th February, 1719), at Sarai Allahwirdi Khan, about sixteen miles south-west of the city.* They are said to have met with a very ungracious reception. Zafar Khan gave offence by his ostentatious retinue; but more potent still was the talk of Rajah Ratan Chand, who had managed to anticipate them. He had already impressed Husain Ali Khan with the belief that even after the last reconciliation, Farrukh-siyar continued both openly and secretly to favour those who wished to supersede the Sayyids, and had conferred on their enemies gifts and promotions, giving them hints to carry on the struggle. In short, through bad advice, the Emperor was still intent on "using his hatchet to cut his own foot." Amin-ud-din was one of the men who interviewed Husain Ali Khan at this halting-place. He writes to the Emperor that, having been taken by Ikhlas Khan to the *Mir Bakhshi*, he laid before him the message with which he had been entrusted. Husain Ali Khan smiled but said nothing. As it was getting late, Amin-ud-din asked what answer he should send. Husain Ali Khan said that, as there was no time left, he would see him again on the morrow at the next stage, Sarai Moth.† But if, as he had demanded, the interior of the palace were made over to their guards, all the Emperor's servants turned out, and the keys of all the gates handed to their men, he would, in the presence of His Majesty say and do what was requisite. In Amin-ud-din's opinion things looked very black, even Ikhlas Khan threw the blame of his ill-success on Farrukh-siyar's inconsistent conduct: "or rather what fault did your Majesty commit: Fate had willed that it should be so."

* Khafi Khan, ii. 804, says that Zafar Khan and Ratan Chand reached the camp four stages from Dihli. Sarai Allahwirdi Khan is on the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 49, s. w.: it lies two miles south of Gurganw. *Ahwal-ul-khawagin*, 139, mentions Kot Patili, 99 miles s. w. of Dihli in Jaipur territory, as one of Husain Ali Khan's halting places, Thornton 528, Lat. 27° 43', Long. 76° 16'.

† Sarai Moth is no doubt meant for Moth ki Masjid, about 5½ miles south of the Dihli Gate of Shahjahanabad, see map in Carr Stephens, p. 1, and description on p. 166.

Amin-ud-din winds up by offering a choice of two courses. First, Itiqad Khan having been sent a prisoner to the *kotwali* or city police office, Samsam-ud-daulah, Ghahib Jang, Mir Mushrif, and others should be called out to defend their sovereign ; neither the guards of the palace should be withdrawn nor the keys of the gates made over ; and His Majesty should issue forth and take the command in person. The other suggestion was that Farrukh-siyar should mount his horse and ride out alone, and presenting himself as a supplicant, ask for forgiveness : whatever sacrifice was demanded must be made. Even thus it was doubtful if Husain Ali Khan would be appeased.*

SEC. 35.—HUSAIN ALI KHAN MARCHES TO WAZIRABAD.

On the 27th Rabi I. 1131 H. (16th Feb. 1719) Husain Ali Khan at the head of his army, estimated to include 30,000 horsemen, marched to Wazirabad, one of the imperial hunting preserves about four miles north of the city, on the Jamuna bank.† As they passed, his troops plundered the shops and trod down, in the most merciless manner, the standing crops in the fields outside the city. By this time he had often been heard to say, that as he no longer considered himself to be in the imperial service, why should he respect the rules of etiquette ; the sovereign's anger, or the loss of rank having no terrors left for him. Disregarding the rules forbidding the playing of the *naubat* within one mile of the capital, he marched in with sovereign state, kettle-drums beating and clarions sounding. His fear fell on the hearts of all men, great and small. Farrukh-siyar was so overwhelmed with apprehension that he took no notice of this transgression ; and persisting

* Mirza Muhammad, 447 ; Kamwar Khan, 189, 193 ; Khafi Khan, ii. 804 ; *Dastur-ul-insha* 57.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 804, names Sarai Badli, which is a place about 3 miles due west of Wazirabad. Muhammad Qasim, 230, says the camp was close to the pillar of Firuz Shah, and near Qutb-ul-mulk's mansion. This must mean the second pillar north of the city, see ante, Section 32. In the *Ibratnama* of Kamraj, 65, the place is described as Lat Firuz Shah, "near the camp of Ajit Singh."

in his senseless conduct, he forwarded daily messages to the haughty rebel in soft and flattering words, with presents of fruit, betel and scent. Husain Ali Khan's pride increased in proportion, and to all these overtures he returned nothing but harsh answers. Still Farrukh-siyar's advisers persuaded him that all this rigour and this ill-temper were assumed, and merely intended by Husain Ali Khan to increase his own importance, without betokening anything more serious.*

On the 29th (18th Feb. 1719) Muhammad Amin Khan and Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Khan Ghalib Jang came at different hours to visit Husain Ali Khan. It is said that Muhammad Amin Khan, being angry with Farrukh-siyar, urged Husain Ali Khan to depose him, and the danger from the Mughal party, which up to this time had threatened, was thus dissipated completely. On the 30th (19th Feb. 1719) Qutb-ul-mulk, Maharajah Ajit Singh and Maharao Bhim Singh came to see Husain Ali Khan. The three men held council together and their projects took shape and substance. It was decided that first of all, before Husain Ali Khan presented himself, the post of darogha of the privy audience and the command of the artillery should be confided to their nominees. Farrukh-siyar, owing to the presence of the rival Prince, was in such a state of trepidation that, as one writer says, "his liver melted through fear." He wished Amin-ud-din to find out what the Sayyids were plotting. Amin-ud-din refused and repeated his former advice. But from a friend, who had access to the Sayyids, he had just received a note, which he sent on in original. In this it was stated that Farrukh-siyar was to be deposed, and one of the captive Princes raised to the throne. "Now was the time, in God's name, to fight for life, to brace himself up to resolve! For, if he paid no heed, he might be sure that Fortune would say good-bye, and the lamp of success would be extinguished. What care or sorrow could the writer and his friends have, save for His Majesty's person; to them individually what did it matter? It is the ass that is changed, not the pack-saddle."†

* M. M. 447; Kamwar 189; Khafi Khan, 804; Shiu Das, 24a.

† The strong language of this letter is so opposed to all the usual forms, that one almost doubts its authenticity, but Ghulam Husain Khan in his

Following the advice of Itiqad Khan, all the demands made by the Sayyids were conceded. On the 1st Rabi II. 1131 H. (20th February, 1719) Samsam-ud-daulah was ordered to vacate the house in the fort known as the *peshkhana*. He left it and moved into his own mansion in the city. Some five to six thousand of the Emperor's own troops (the *Wala-shahi*), and all Samsam-ud-daulah's retainers marched out of the fort. The following appointments were then made: Sayyid Najm-uddin Ali Khan (with Itiqad Khan as deputy) to be darogha of the privy audience. *vice* Samsam-ud-daulah; Sayyid Khan Jahan (with Zafar Khan as deputy) to be commandant of the imperial artillery; Abdun-nabi Khan to be head officer of the mace-bearers; Sayyid Shujaat Khan to be the head officer of the *gilau*, or retinue; Nijabat Ali Khan to be nazir or head of the harem; and Sayyid Ghairat Khan to be governor of Agra. Farrukh-siyar insisted that as the celebration of the *Nauroz*, or New Year's day, was so close at hand, [29 Rabi II.], Itiqad Khan and the other old officials should continue to act for a few days as the deputies of the new office-holders. But in spite of the remonstrances addressed to him by his own people, Farrukh-siyar agreed that on the day of the interview, the gates of the fort and the doors of the palace should be held by Husain Ali Khan's men. [K. K. 806.]

During these few days the city was full of rumours, and fear spread among all classes. Daily the nobles were seen hastening to and fro in vain efforts to arrange the question in dispute. Even Qutb-ul-mulk professed to be exerting himself in the same direction. It is said that in those few days Rajah Jai Singh several times pointed out to Farrukh-siyar many indications that the other side meant to come to no arrangement. It were well then, he urged, before matters went beyond mending, to take the field and fall upon the Sayyids. All would rally to his side, he, Jai Singh, had with him nearly 20,000 tried and trusty horsemen, and until the last breath had left his body he would fight for his master. Their enemy was not likely to resist

long. Even if the Fates were unpropitious, they would have escaped, at any rate, the taunt of being cowards. All was in vain. The infatuated Emperor persisted in his attempt to buy off the Sayyids by concession after concession ; and a few days afterwards, yielding to the insistence of Qutb-ul-mulk, he, by a note written with his own hand, ordered Rajah Jai Singh and Rao Budh Singh to march from Dihli to their own country. The Rajah was told that the following day was an "auspicious moment" for a start, and as his robe of honour on departure accompanied the note, he need not wait for a farewell interview.* A eunuch brought the note to the Rajah ; he protested but was not listened to ; and seeing no help for it, he obeyed, and moved to Sarai Sahil. This was on the 3rd Rabi II. (22nd February, 1719).†

On this same day, there was a fight on the march between Rajah Bhim Singh and Rajah Budh Singh, who were first cousins, and had quarrelled over the succession to their ancestral country of Bundi. Several Rajputs and the diwan of Budh Singh were slain. In the end Bhim Singh's side prevailed and Budh Singh, with a small following, rode off to Sarai Allahwirdi Khan to seek the protection of Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, who had taken his side in the dispute. [K. K. 806.]

SEC. 36.—HUSAIN ALI KHAN'S FIRST AUDIENCE.

On the 4th Rabi II. (23rd February, 1719) Qutb-ul-mulk and his brother Husain Ali Khan were to be received by the Emperor. Qutb-ul-mulk and Ajit Singh repaired to the palace early in the morning, removed all the imperial guards, and substituted men of their own. At three hours after sunrise, Husain Ali Khan set out. First of all came the Mahrattas, their ranks reaching from the entrance of the hunting preserve to the gate of the fortress, their lances (*neza*) and spears (*bhala*) reminding the spectator of a waving reed-bed or cane-brake. Following them marched the Nawab and his retinue. Owing

* Shiu Das, 236, gives the words of Farrukh-siyar's note. Jai Singh's autograph to the Rana's minister (Tod i. 370) conforms generally to the Muhammadan accounts.

† Mirza Muhammad, 449; Khafi Khan, ii. 805, 806; Kamwar Khan, 191.

to the great crowds, progress was slow and the palace was not reached till close upon three o'clock. On the arrival of the Sayyids in the hall of audience, the few remaining eunuchs and pages were turned out, leaving only the two brothers and Ajit Singh with the Emperor. Husain Ali Khan bowed down to kiss the Emperor's feet, but Farrukh-siyar preventing this act of homage, put his arms round him and embraced him. The Bakhshi offered 100 gold coins and 100 Rupees; and in return received gifts of the usual character. Conversation then began. Husain Ali Khan first brought up the subject of the *farman* sent to Daud Khan, which had been found among the confiscated goods of that noble after his death. Farrukh-siyar declared it to be a forgery; he knew nothing about it. Husain Ali Khan next demanded further concessions. Itiqad Khan and several others must be excluded from Court, and all the offices round His Majesty's person must be made over permanently to the Sayyids and their nominees.*

One of the first questions to cross Farrukh-siyar's lips was: "Where is your prisoner, the son of Prince Akbar?" "He is here," replied Husain Ali Khan, "but the Dakhinis object to produce him before they have received Sahu's mother and brother." Accordingly Bandhu, who for over thirty years had been prisoner, was brought out and made over to the Mahrattas. Husain Ali Khan then promised to bring the Prince to audience on the following day, and deliver him over publicly, so that no future doubts as to his fate might arise.† The Emperor and the Bakhshi now pledged themselves anew to each other. Farrukh-siyar took off his turban and placed it on the head of Husain Ali Khan, adding a gift of all the jewels that he was then wearing. Husain Ali Khan accepted only a part of the

* Mirza Muhammad, 450; Kamwar Khan, 190; Khafi Khan, ii. 806; Muhammad Qasim, 232.

† Shiu Das, 246, but Warid, 157b, places this conversation on the last two days of the reign. Khush-hal Chand (B. M. 3288, fol. 316b), following the *Masir-i-Alamgiri* (p. 333), calls the younger brothers of Sahu, Madan Singh and Udhu Singh. Kamwar, 199, (1st Jamadi I. 1131 H.) speaks of one only, Madan Singh; and his release is placed on the 1st Jamadi I. 1131. (21st March, 1719). Grant Duff, p. 184, calls Madan the illegitimate son of Shambhaji.

gifts offered to him. The interview was prolonged until three hours after nightfall, and when the Sayyid had left, all men believed that the strife had been allayed and ill-will converted into friendliness. The courtiers began to extol the boldness of His Majesty and praise the loyalty and good faith of the honourable Sayyids. [K. K. 807.]

On the 5th and 6th Rabi II. (24th and 25th February, 1719) Farrukh-siyar sat as usual in the *Diwan-i-khas*; and all seemed likely to go on as before. The 8th Rabi II. was one of the days fixed in each week for hunting expeditions. Believing that the storm had blown over, the Emperor issued orders to prepare his retinue for that day, intending to go out of the city as usual.* Suspicion arose in the Sayyids' minds that this was a mere pretext for flight to Jai Singh's camp, which was not then very far off. Qutb-ul-mulk at once wrote to the Emperor that on that day, the 8th, Husain Ali Khan craved an audience, for the purpose of delivering the captive Prince brought from the Dakhin, and of taking his own leave before returning to that province. Overjoyed at the prospect of at last obtaining possession of this dreaded rival, Farrukh-siyar countermanded his expedition or, as another contemporary writer maintains, the hunting expedition had been a mere pretext. By this second account, it had been decided that directly the Emperor left the palace he should fall upon the Nawab, whose suspicions, as they thought, would have been lulled by the negotiations, and thus catching him unawares, he would be easily destroyed. A message was sent postponing the audience; but before it reached him, Husain Ali Khan had been warned by a woman in the harem. In his answer, he announced that as the next day had been pronounced exceedingly auspicious, he could not put off the audience, and prayed that the hunting excursion might be countermanded instead. His troops remained on the alert all night; and three hours before sunrise, Rajah Mukham Singh occupied the Lahori Gate of the palace, where he awaited Qutb-ul-mulk.†

* The days fixed were two a week, Saturday and Wednesday, Shiu Das. 3a. I make the 8th to be a Monday or a Tuesday.

† Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 15b; Kamwar Khan, 190, 191; Mirza Muhammad, 452.

SEC. 37.—THE SAYYIDS TAKE POSSESSION OF THE PALACE.

On the 8th Rabi II. 1131 H., (27th February, 1719), early in the morning, Qutb-ul-mulk entered the palace with his own relations and dependants, Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, Ghairat Khan and others, followed by Rajah Ajit Singh, Maharao Bhim Singh Hada, and Rajah Gaj Singh Narwari. The imperial artillerymen and the matchlockmen on guard were removed from the bastions and battlements, and evacuated the palace. Not a single soul was left in attendance on the Emperor, except Itiqad Khan, Zafar Khan and two or three eunuchs. The Wazir took up his position in the house known as the *peshekana* of the late Jafar Khan,* which had been lately vacated by Samsam-ud-daulah; while the three Rajahs were sent to occupy the office-rooms of the revenue (*diwani*) and of the chamberlain's (*Khan-saman*) departments. The keys of the privy council chamber (*Diwan-i-khas*), of the sleeping room, and of the Hall of Justice were sent for; and the doors of the palace and the gates of the fort were confided to men trusted by the Sayyids; troops were hidden in the antechambers (*jilau-khana*) and the palace was guarded on all sides.†

About midday, leaving Saif-ud-din Ali Khan in charge of his baggage, Husain Ali Khan entered the city at the head of 30,000 or 40,000 horsemen and a well equipped artillery, bringing with him the supposed Prince, seated on an elephant in a canopied *howda*, and heralds running before him proclaiming his titles. Husain Ali Khan proceeded to the mansion known as the *Barahdari* of the late Amir-ul-umara, Shaista Khan,‡

* Khush-hal Chand, 413b, states that Qutb-ul-mulk went to the Haiyat Bagh. This is more usually called the Haiyat Bakhsh. It was a garden occupying the north-west corner of the Lal Qila or palace. (see Carr Stephens, 6. 216, plan). The Jafar Khan here referred to is, no doubt, the man who died in 1080 H. (1669-1670). He was the son-in-law of Asaf Khan. see *M. U.* i. 151, 531; ii. 729.

† Khafi Khan, 807; Kamwar Khan, 192; Mirza Muhammad, 452.

‡ Shaista Khan, maternal uncle of Alamgir Aurangzeb, died at Agra in the middle of 1105 H. (1695). (*M. U.* ii. 709 and *T-i-Muhammadi*). His house stood on the edge of the *Shah-nahr* or canal, opposite the Lahor Gate of the palace. (Muhammad Qasim, 236).

which had been granted to him early in Farrukh-siyar's reign. The Mahratta horsemen drew up at the gates of the palace and in the adjoining lanes of the city. Outside the palace, during the whole of that day, not a soul had the remotest suspicion of any hostile movements. The first inkling of any fresh disagreement was obtained between sunset and evening prayer-time. Itiqad Khan was seen to come out of the *Diwan-i-khas*, his limbs trembling from fright, scramble into the first palanquin he could find, and make off to his house. Soon afterwards, Karm Chand, an agent employed at the Court, wrote to those outside that all the Sayyids' demands had been complied with, including the degradation of Itiqad Khan to the rank that he had held in Alamgir's reign. This news at once spread agitation and anxiety throughout the city. All night long Qutb-ul-mulk and Maharajah Ajit Singh remained in the palace, and Husain Ali Khan in his own mansion.*

What had happened within the palace must now be told. After much discussion Qutb-ul-mulk, at a time between midday and afternoon prayer, presented himself before the Emperor. Qutb-ul-mulk at once repudiated Farrukh-siyar's proffered compromise, by which Itiqad Khan and his other friends were to act as the deputies of the Sayyids and their nominees. From the first, Qutb-ul-mulk had objected to the appointment as nazir of the harem of any one not a eunuch. Itiqad Khan was removed from that office, which was made over to a eunuch, Mahaldar Khan. Next, the Wazir expatiated on the base return given for his and his brother's services, bringing up again the secret instructions to Daud Khan, and similar letters sent to Rajah Sahu Mahratta and others, all of which the Sayyids had in their possession. The Emperor's repeated appeals: "Why does not my brother, the Amir-ul-umara, bring to me the supposititious Prince," passed entirely unheeded. In the course of this conversation Farrukh-siyar lost his temper and was overcome with anger: both sides were thus led to the use of abusive language and harsh expressions, things being said which had better been left unsaid. In his rage

* Khafi Khan, 807. Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 66a. Shiu Das, 25a.

Farrukh-siyar shouted: "If I am a true son of Azim-ush-shan and a real descendant of the Lord of the Conjunctions (*i.e.*, Taimur), I will impose retribution for these uncalled-for deeds and this unmeasured audacity. I will have the lands of the Barha ploughed by asses, and mice thrust into the trousers of their women."* Qutb-ul-mulk grew furious, and venting his wrath in disrespectful words, left the *Diwan-i-khas* for the guard-room (*peshkhana*) of the *Diwan-i-ala*, and turned out seven hundred of Itiqad Khan's horsemen who were still on guard at the Khizri, or water-gate of the palace, and the rest of Ajit Singh's men. He saw now that if they were to save themselves, extremities must be resorted to, for as Sadi has said: "When a snake touches the foot of the villager, he withdraws it and breaks the snake's head with a stone." As soon as the minister had left his presence, Farrukh-siyar turned upon Itiqad Khan and poured out on him angry abuse and reproach. We are told that Itiqad Khan had ventured to object to delivering the keys of the gate to the Sayyids. This aroused Farrukh-siyar's anger, and turning to him he exclaimed: "O wretched man! all this calamity has come on me by reason of you. This moment, when I am a prisoner in their hands, you choose as the time for giving contrary advice." The Emperor ordered him to be turned out of the palace. Itiqad Khan, seeing that things had assumed for him a different complexion, hurried away to his own dwelling, as already stated.†

Farrukh-siyar now began to cool, and addressing Zafar Khan said "Bring back Abdullah Khan by any means you can: I will do all that he demands." Zafar Khan replied: "The opportunity has been lost: the only thing is for your Majesty to go to him in person." Farrukh-siyar refused. Then full of mingled rage and fear, he quitted the window of the

* *Ibratnama*, Kamraj, 66a. Yoking donkeys in a plough and driving them over the ruins of a captured fort was a well-known practice. See Elliot *Supp. Gloss.* under *Gadhe ka hal*, or donkey plough. The practice was known to the Tamils in early times, see Dr. G. N. Pope's article in *R. A. S. Journal*, April, 1899, p. 252: "Asses are yoked to plough up the soil with spears, while worthless plants are sown on the foundations. Thus rages the conquering king."

† Kamraj, 66a; Khafi Khan, 807; Yahya, 124b; Qasim, 237.

privy audience chamber and entered the female apartments. The queens and the concubines crowded round him, the Turki and Habshi women were told off to guard the doors, and the night was passed "in supplication and lamentation before the throne of the Eternal." Qutb-ul-mulk had turned Zafar Khan out of the fort, and placed his own sentries to guard the privy audience chamber or *Diwan-khana*. One of the most curious incidents in this confused drama, was a despairing attempt by Farrukh-siyar to secure the aid of Ajit Singh. He wrote: "The east side of the palace, towards the Jamuna, is not guarded; if you can, despatch there some of your men, so that I may get out and make off somewhere or another." He gave this note to a eunuch, who thrust it into his pocket, and succeeding by a thousand wiles in eluding the vigilance of the guards, placed it in the Rajah's hand. The Rajah replied that the proper time had gone by, what could he do now? Some even say that he sent on the original letter to Abdullah Khan. The Wazir called at once for Chura Jat, to whom was assigned a post on the river bank below the octagonal bastion of the fort. On every roof sat the Sayyids' men with loaded wall-pieces ready to fire. In short, "such close guarding was carried out and such care taken, that not even the gentle breeze could find a way into or out of the fort." In every lane and street of the city the outcry was heard that the Emperor had been deposed. No food was eaten, no repose taken; the night passed in fear and expectation. The more sanguine believed that in the morning Rajah Jai Singh would march in from Sarai Sahil in the one direction, and Sarbuland Khan from Sarai Mihr-Parwar in the other; and by their united forces would rescue Farrukh-siyar out of his enemies' hands, and replace him on the throne.*

SECTION 38.—THE LAST DAY OF THE REIGN.

At last the fateful morning dawned of the 9th Rabi II. 1131 H. (28th February, 1719). Only an hour or an hour-and-

* Kamwar Khan, 192, who got his facts from Zafar Khan Turra-i-baz, who was present himself. Shiu Das, 25a; Khush-hal Chand, 413b; Muhammad Qasim, 248.

a-half after daybreak, a great disturbance arose in the city. Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur, and Zakariya Khan (son of Abdus-samad Khan), at the desire apparently of Husain Ali Khan, were on their way at the head of their Mughals to attend the Sayyid's *darbar*.* As the crowd of Mahrattas in the streets and lanes near the fort impeded their progress, the Mughals began to push them forcibly on one side, and open a route for the two Nawabs and their retinue. Having in the Dakhin felt for many a year the weight of their right arm, the Mahrattas as soon as they saw their Mughals' faces, fled like a flock of sheep before a pack of wolves. So overcome with fear were they, that with no man pursuing, they allowed the bazar idlers—butchers, washermen, and scavengers—to relieve them of their horses and spears. Things came to such a pass that the *Bhatiyarins*, or women attendants belonging to the public *sarai* in Mughal-pura, seized each the bridle reins of some five of these Rawat† horsemen, and by hitting them with sticks or throwing bricks at them, unhorsed them in spite of their lances, stripped them, and killed them. In their panic the men lifted neither hand nor foot to defend themselves, but crept like mice into any doorway or passage that they could find. They were killed as if they were dogs or cats. It was enough for a shopkeeper to stand up, and with a sign or a frown to demand the surrender of their arms. Calling out, *Are bap ! Are bap !* and throwing away their straight Dakhini swords [Dhup] and their shields, they stood on one leg with a straw between their lips, and besought mercy, saying *Naḱo ! Naḱo ! ‡* Two or three leaders of repute lost their lives, among them the chief Santa, who commanded some five or six thousand

* Kamraj, 66, Zakariya Khan was approaching the palace from the direction of Bazar Khanam.

† *Rawat* (hero, chief), is used here by the Muhammadan historian as a synonym for inferior Hindus, mere rustics, or in other words "beggars on horseback."

‡ Muhammad Qasim, 244. The custom known as *Dant-tinka*, or "straw between teeth," expressive of abject submission, Elliot, *Supp. Gloss*, 252; *Are bap* = "O father!" an exclamation of sudden terror; "*Naḱo, Naḱo*" = Dakhini for "Do not, do not," Kamraj, 66, and J. Shakespear, 2078.

horsemen. From the gate of the fort to the entrance of the hunting preserve, and the market (*mandavi*) and the Takiya of Majnun Shah, a distance of three or four *kos*, bodies were to be seen in every direction. The slain included many men who, from the darkness of their complexion, had been mistaken for Mahrattas. All the *aftabgir*, a kind of standard which the Mahrattas carry as a mark of honour, one to every fifteen or twenty horsemen, had disappeared.* The lining of their saddles was ripped open, the plundered gold and jewels hidden there were taken, and the bags of coin collected from villages in Rajah Jai Singh's country, were extracted from their waist-cloths. It was estimated that 1,500 to 2,000 Mahrattas lost their lives on that day.† This, the first armed Mahratta appearance at Dihli, where in forty years' time they were to be lords and masters, was not of happy augury. They were not accustomed to street fighting and were, no doubt, overtaken by irresistible panic.‡ Khafi Khan draws the moral that this disgraceful rout was a special interposition of Providence. For, if it had not happened, would they not, for ages to come, have boasted that they had gone to Dihli, the imperial capital, and there deposed and imprisoned the Emperor of Hindustan? If Khafi Khan, poor man, had lived a little longer he would have seen events that turned such a boast into no more than the sober truth!

During this outbreak reports spread that, on learning the intention to seize Farrukh-siyar, Maharajah Ajit Singh, unable to restrain himself any longer, had plunged a dagger into Qutb-ul-mulk several times, and had despatched him. Although everybody knew that, except the Sayyids' partisans, there was no one in the fort, and therefore no one likely to do such an

* See Blochmann, *Ain*, i. 50. It was a sort of large fan of oval shape at the end of a long handle.

† Grant Duff 199, and Briggs 178, say 1,500; Warid, 158a, 2,000. Khafi Khan, ii. 811, says he himself was present as a spectator, and gives the number as 1,500; Mirza Muhammad has 3,000 to 4,000; Kamraj, 66, four hundred.

‡ Warid, 158a; Muhammad Qasim, 244; Khafi Khan, ii. 811, 814; Mirza Muhammad, 453; Kamwar Khan, 193.

act, people were ready, in the confusion and uproar, to believe that anything was possible. It was confidently asserted that Nizam-ul-mulk had come out to rescue his sovereign, but he was far too prudent to make any such attempt. He stood with his Mughals in the enclosure of the fruit market until he heard that Farrukh-siyar had been seized, and thereupon withdrew to his house. Other nobles who still clung to Farrukh-siyar's cause, appeared in the streets and turned towards the palace, prepared to fight their way to it. These were Itiqad Khan, Mir Mushrif,* Islarn Khan, Mukhlis Khan, Munim Khan, Sayyid Salabat Khan and Saif-ullah Khan Bakhshi, with some of the *Wala-shahi*; Samsam-ud-daulah did not appear in person, but sent his men. Manohar, captain of artillery, with two or three thousand of the Emperor's artillery, also took the field. This group advanced as far as the Dihli Gate of the fort and the square of the late Sadullah Khan, just south of that gate. Aghar Khan with his Mughals also appeared on the west side of the fort, in front of the Lahori Gate, and wished to take part in the resistance to the Sayyids. But the gates were shut in his face and he was obliged to beat a retreat. In another direction, that of the Chandni Chauk, appeared Ghazi-ud-din Khan (Ahmad Beg) and Sadat Khan, the Emperor's father-in-law.

The Sayyids advanced their artillery from its position near the imperial stables, and threw several shot from *rahqalas* and *dhamkas* in the direction of their assailants, and more than once the cannon over the Dihli Gate were discharged against the men debouching from the Faiz Bazar; while Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan, the Sayyids' Bakhshi held the Dihli Gate.† The fight went on for forty minutes. Sadat Khan had pushed on as far as the *chabutra* or police office in the Chandni Chauk, where he received gunshot and sword wounds which forced

* Mir Mushrif, once darogha of artillery in Husain Ali Khan's service, had been lately taken into the Emperor's employ (Khafi Khan, ii. 812). Having quarrelled with Husain Ali Khan, he left the Dakhin, and arrived at Dihli on the 26th Rabi II. 1130 H. (28th March, 1718).

† For Faiz Bazar, Dihli Gate of fort, Chauk, Sadullah Khan, see Carr Stephens, 244, 245, 246, 247. Sadullah Khan, *Wazir* of Shah Jahan, died 2nd Jamadi II. 1066 H. (17th April, 1656), *M. U.* ii. 448.

him to retire.* His son, a youth, was made a prisoner and taken to Husain Ali Khan. Ghazi-ud-din Khan (Ahmad Beg) fought his best, but he had no disciplined troops, and the few followers that he led, after interchanging a blow or two with the other side, took to their heels. He, too, not being reinforced by other nobles, was forced in the end to beat a retreat to his house, fighting as he went.

About midday the news spread that Farrukh-siyar was a prisoner, and that another Prince had been raised to the throne. Then the drums beat within the palace to announce the new reign. In spite of this, the opposing nobles stood their ground and resisted until the afternoon. When at last they saw that there was no further hope of success, and as the saying is, "to beat cold iron is profitless," they dispersed full of apprehension to their homes. The disturbance now ceased. From the square (*chauk*) of Sadullah Khan to the Dihli Gate the houses were plundered; while the imperial stables which surrounded the palace were set on fire, and some of the horses were burned. With these exceptions the city did not suffer.†

SEC. 39.—FARRUKH-SIYAR IS MADE A PRISONER AND DEPOSED.

From early dawn on the 9th Rabi II. (28th February, 1719) Qutb-ul-mulk continued to send messengers to persuade Farrukh-siyar to come out and take his seat on the throne as usual. Farrukh-siyar refused absolutely to set foot outside the female apartments. Indeed, he made use of some very florid language. He swore that, by the blood of Taimur, the world-conqueror, which flowed in his veins, he would so scourge these rebels, that for years to come their fate should be a tale on the people's tongue, and a warning to traitors intending to follow their example. Qutb-ul-mulk knew not what further pretext to devise to win his consent to reappear, in order that directions might issue for the degradation and seizure of the Sayyids' enemies. Then arose the outbreak in the streets and urgent

* Sadat Khan died the same night of these wounds.

† Mirza Muhammad 455; Khafi Khan, ii. 809, 812, 813; *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 144b, 145a; Muhammad Qasim, 245; Kamwar Khan, 194; Kamraj, 66b, 67a; Shiu Das, 26a.

messages arrived from Husain Ali Khan. It was plain that force must be resorted to.*

During the night Farrukh-siyar had hidden somewhere or another in one of the small rooms or closets of the palace. His guard was formed of the Qalmaq or Turki women servants, armed with sword and shield. It is said that during the night Qutb-ul-mulk, with the approval of Sayyid Khan Jahan and Nawab Auliya, sent several messages to his younger brother to the effect that, all the offices connected with the person of the sovereign being in their hands, it did not much matter if they maintained the throne, the crown, and the coinage untouched in Farrukh-siyar's name. Seated in consultation with Husain Ali Khan, were Ikhlas Khan, Sayyid Hashim Ali Khan, and most important of all, Muhammad Amin Khan. For the time being the last-named had declared himself openly on the side of the Sayyids, because of his anger with Farrukh-siyar for sending him against his will to Malwa, and then refusing him an audience upon his unauthorized return to Dihli. It is said that when Husain Ali Khan and Muhammed Amin Khan first met, the former changed colour, thinking that the man was his enemy. But he recovered his equanimity as soon as his visitor addressed thus: "O Nawab, why have you not ere this finished with this son of a Kashmiri. You must write a note asking the elder Nawab to depose him." The three men now united in calling for Farrukh-siyar's removal. The favourable moment, they said, would never recur; if not taken advantage of, their lives were lost. Besides, had not Farrukh-siyar forfeited all right to the throne by his want of discretion and his promotion of low fellows?† While this discussion was in progress a note arrived from Samsam-ud-daulah urging them to delay no longer, but seat another Emperor on the throne. Husain Ali Khan sent an answer to his brother's letter in these terms: "If you cannot do the business, come out of the palace and let me enter, and

* Warid, 157b; Khafi Khan, 813, 814; Khush-hal Chand, 413b, 414a.

† Khush-hal Chand states that a *Mahzarnama* or declaration, for the deposition of Farrukh-siyar was drawn up, and then signed and sealed by all except a few of the nobles. It was brought to Ajit Singh on the last day, and things having gone so far, he had no help for it and signed also.

I will settle it.' Within the palace Maharajah Ajit Singh also urgently importuned for the deposition of Farrukh-siyar; and it was decided that one of the imprisoned scions of the house of Taimur should be brought forth and placed upon the throne. There is a local tradition among the Sayyids of Barha that someone proposed to set aside the imperial house altogether, the throne being transferred to one of the two brothers.* This would have been in accordance with Eastern precedent, where the successful rebel usually claims the crown as the prize of victory. And the virtues of the Mughal line as an instrument of rule being obviously expended, it would probably have been better, in most ways, if the sovereignty had been usurped by a newer and more vigorous family. Probably the difficulty, an insurmountable one as it proved, was to decide which brother should reign, neither being ready to give way to the other.†

A consultation was held in order to select a Prince, and the lot fell upon Prince Bidar Dil, son of Bidar Bakht, grandson of Alamgir, who was known as having the best understanding among all the Princes. By the time that this had been decided, the outbreak in the city, as we have already related, had occurred. The case seemed urgent and the greatest haste was made. Qutb-ul-mulk sent his own master of the ceremonies, Qadir Dad Khan, and a number of the Jodhpur Rajah's personal attendants, or *Bhandaris*,‡ to bring out the Prince selected. When these messengers arrived at the door of the Prince's dwelling, where also were assembled the sons of Prince Rafi-ush-shan, the women jumped to the conclusion that, having made Farrukh-siyar a prisoner, the Sayyids had now sent men to slay all the Princes of the royal house, and thus make clear their own way to the throne. Under this impression, they barred the door, locked it on the inside, and hid the Prince in

* The traditional account is that the idea was broached by Jalal Khan of Jalalabad (Muzaffarnagar district). But he was dead; it might have been suggested, however, by his second son, Dindar Khan, who was present at Dihli.

† Kamraj, 67a; Yahya Khan, 125a; Muhammad Qasim Lahori, 239; Khush-hal Chand, 413b; *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 145b, 146a.

‡ *Bhandari*, a house-steward, treasurer, purveyor (Shakespeare, 411).

a store-cupboard. In vain the messengers called out : "We have come to escort Prince Bidar Dil, and place him on the throne." Not a word was listened to, and the men were repelled with sticks and stones. As there was no possibility of searching or delaying longer, for the danger that the rioters in the street might get the upper hand increased every moment, the Nawab ordered a band of men with hatchets to break in the door. On forcing an entrance, their first effort was to find the particular Prince who had been named to sit upon the throne. But his mother wept and wailed beyond measure, nor could they find the key of the store-room. In despair, they turned towards the sons of Rafi-ush-shan, and out of them picked Rafi-ud-darjat. Although he was the youngest of the three, in intelligence and judgment he was found to excel his brothers. This youth was brought as he had been found, wearing his ordinary clothes, his only ornament being a necklace of pearls, taken by Qutb-ul-mulk from his own neck. The Nawab holding one hand and Ajit Singh the other, they seated him straightway on the jewelled peacock throne, which two days before had been brought out into the *Diwan-i-am* for the celebration of the *Nauroz*, or vernal festival. Those present offered their gifts, as is usual upon a fresh accession. Then, under the supervision and control of Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, Rajah Ratan Chand, Rajah Bakht Mal and Dindar Khan, son of Jalal Khan, at the head of a number of Afghans, were sent into the female apartments to arrest the deposed Emperor. [K. K. 814-816.]

These men, some four hundred altogether, rushed tumultuously into the imperial apartments. A number of the women seized weapons and tried to resist ; some were slain and some wounded. The weeping and lamentation of the ladies passed unheeded. The door of the small room where he was hiding having been broken in, the wretched Farrukh-siyar, despairing of life, came out armed with sword and shield, and dealt several blows at the stony-hearted ruffians. In that dire extremity these fruitless and untimely efforts availed him nothing. His mother, his wife, his daughter and other ladies grouped themselves around him and tried to shelter him. The shrieking

women were pushed on one side with scant ceremony. The men surrounded him and hemmed him in ; they then laid hold of him by the hand and neck, his turban fell off, and with every mark of indignity he was dragged and pushed from his retreat. It is said that Hifz-ullah Khan, (subsequently known as Murtaza Khan) and Murid Khan,* in order to ingratiate themselves with Qutb-ul-mulk, went with those hard-hearted men, thus in one moment wiping out the loyal services done to the line of Taimur, for more than a century past, by their grandfather and father, and at the same time oblivious of their having been themselves the fallen man's companions and confidants. It was pitiful to see this strong man, perhaps the handsomest and most powerfully-built of Babar's race that had ever occupied the throne, dragged bareheaded and barefooted, subjected at every moment to blows and the vilest abuse, into the *Diwan-i-khas* to the presence of Qutb-ul-mulk. The Nawab opened his pen box, took out a needle used by him for applying collyrium (*surma*) to his eyes, and giving it to one of the men, ordered them to throw down their prisoner and blind him. Whatever was found in the female apartments and storehouses, or on the people of the harem—cash, clothes, gold silver and copper vessels, ornaments and jewels—all was taken, nay, even the slave-girls and the concubines were appropriated.

After the needle had been passed through the eyes, Farrukh-siyar was imprisoned in the room over the Tirpoliya, or triple gate within the fortress. It was the place to which common malefactors were sent, and had already witnessed the death of Jahandar Shah seven years before. It was a bare, dark, unfurnished hole, containing nothing but a bowl for food, a pot of water for ablutions, and a vessel with some drinking water. On reaching it he is reported to have quoted the lines :

* M. M; Kamwar Khan, 194. Hifz-ullah Khan received the title of Murtaza Khan on the 29th Shaban 1131 H. and was made deputy of the Mir Atash (Kamwar Khan 206). He was a Husaini Sayyid, his name being Hifz-ullah, son of Mirza Shahr-ullah, entitled Murtaza Khan (d. 1123 H. 1711-12). He died at Shahjahanabad on the 6th Jamadi II. 1161 H. (2nd June, 1748) aged 63 years T-i-Mhdi. Murid Khan was rewarded with the appointment of *darogha* of the mace-bearers on the day (29th Shaban).

"Like a cypress in decay,
Such a king in such slavery." [M. M. 461, K. K. 814.]

SEC. 40.—DEATH OF FARRUKH-SIYAR.

Although it involves a slight break in the exact chronological order, it seems better to carry on Farrukh-siyar's story to his cruel and dishonoured end. The captivity he was held in appears to have been unnecessarily strict, and many anecdotes connected with it have been handed down. A few days after his accession, the new Emperor, Rafi-ud-darjat, sent a eunuch to inquire about his predecessor's condition, Farrukh-siyar invoked a blessing on his head, and sent back the lines—

"Be not taken by the gardener's deceit, O nightingale,
Ere this I, too, had my nest in this garden." [Warid, 158b.]

Other verses attributed to him during his imprisonment are :

"A heart is mad with wine, give it wine,

It is consumed with fire, give it fire.

To him who asks the state of my heart,

Breathe but a sigh, give that as answer."*

Even the Sayyid soldiers who formed the guard set over him grieved to see how he was treated. For instance, during four or five days at a time, he would be deprived of water for necessary ablutions. Unsuitable food had brought on diarrhoea, and having no water, he was forced to tear off pieces from his clothes to cleanse himself. Day and night he had passed his time in reciting the *Quran*, which he knew by heart. Even this distraction was denied him, for in his polluted state, it was unlawful to recite the words of the holy volume.

It is believed that, although a needle had been passed through his eyes, Farrukh-siyar was still able to see. In spite of all that had happened, he was still eager for power and believed his restoration possible. He made repeated overtures to the Sayyids, promising to leave all power in their hands, if they would only release him and replace him on the throne. Then he tried to win over Abdullah Khan Afghan, one of his jailors. He promised this man the rank of *Haft-hazari* (7,000)

* *Mirati-Aftab-numa*, B. M. Addl., 16,697, f. 216a. In *Bayan-i-waqi*, p. 175, and Gladwin, p. 194, the words are different.

after he should have conducted him in safety to Rajah Jai Singh. The Afghan betrayed him to the Sayyids. People in the city spread about the story that Tahavvur Khan, *Wala-shahi*, Ruh-ullah Khan (son of Khanazad Khan) and many others were coming with Rajah Jai Singh at the head of a mighty army to deliver the captive. Popular rumour asserted that Farrukh-siyar could still see, and that in secret conclave the two brothers had repented, and would replace the deposed sovereign on the throne. After doing this, they would resign place and office, assume the garb of mendicants, and return to Barha, or make a pilgrimage to the holy places. This was openly spoken of. Then Hashim Ali Khan Dakhini said secretly to Husain Ali Khan, "I salute your lordship: Disease is dealt with in one of two ways—you either bear it, or remove the afflicted part. But once you have resorted to treatment, there is no hope of recovery till the offending principle is expelled." The Sayyids then made up their mind to remove Farrukh-siyar. They sent for Sidi Yasin Khan (son of Sidi Qasim, Fulad Khan, once *kotwal* of Dihli), and after promising him a reward said: "Farrukh-siyar took your father's life without cause, you have a legal right of retaliation, put your hand on your dagger and slay him." The young man refused. Had not his father and his family been the slaves of that royal house? To kill a master who for some supposed fault took a slave's life, was not permissible.

As no one else was willing, they were forced to act themselves. They began by supplying Farrukh-siyar with bitter and oversalted dishes, but without effect. Slow poison was then tried for a time. Farrukh-siyar now made use of violent language, and cursed the Sayyids in the most virulent terms. Their patience being at an end, they sent executioners into the prison to strangle their victim. In spite of a violent resistance, these men effected their purpose, beating the ex-Emperor on the hands till he let go the strap that they had tied round his neck. To make sure, he was stabbed several times in the abdomen. This happened on the night between the 8th and 9th Jamadi II. 1131 H. (27th-28th April, 1719). There is a somewhat apocryphal story told in the *Siyar-ul-mutakherin* as

to the mode of Farrukh-siyar's death, by which the direct blame for it is removed from the shoulders of the Sayyids. Farrukh-siyar is supposed to have evaded his guardians and made an attempt to escape. He passed from one terrace roof to another, and was already at some distance before his absence was detected. The Afghan officer in charge searched for his prisoner, found him hiding in the shadow of a wall, and brought him back, ending by giving him an unmerciful beating. Farrukh-siyar, stung to the quick by his disgrace, ran at the wall, dashed his head against it, and fractured his skull. The evidence for this story seems insufficient, and the author's animus, as Sayyid and Shia defending other Sayyids and Shias, is sufficiently obvious here as elsewhere.*

On the following day, 10th Jamadi II. 1131 H. (29th April, 1719), the body was thrown down on a mat within the fort for purposes of identification, and the blackness of the face showed that Farrukh-siyar had been strangled; there were also several cuts and wounds to be seen. The body was then prepared for the grave and the bier brought out. Dilawar Ali Khan, paymaster of Husain Ali Khan's household, and Sayyid Ali Khan, brother of Abdullah Khan's paymaster, were sent to carry out the burial rites. They were followed by all the eunuchs, some of the *mansabdars*, and a part of the State equipage. When the body was brought to the Akbarabadi mosque,† it was received by 15,000 to 20,000 men from the camp and bazars. After recital of the prayers over the dead, Abdul-ghafur lifted the corpse and carried it out, to the accompaniment of weeping and wailing from the crowd. As the procession passed, lamentations arose from every roof and door. Men and women, old and young, rich and poor, shed tears for the departed Emperor and cursed his oppressors. The streets and lanes were rendered impassable by the crowds. The rabble and the mendicants, who had received alms from Farrukh-siyar, followed his bier, rending their garments and

* Text, i. 42; Qasim, 259; Khafi Khan, 819. In the *Bayan-i-waqi*, 175, poison is alleged.

† It stands in the Faiz Bazar, that is, on the road from the Dihli Gate of the fort to the south or Dihli Gate of the city.

throwing ashes on their heads, and as it passed, the women on the roofs raised their cry of mourning, and flung stones and bricks upon the servants and officers of the Sayyids. The body was deposited in the crypt of Humayun's tomb, in the place where a few years before the body of Farrukh-siyar's father, Azim-ush-shan, had rested before its departure for Aurangabad. The bread and the copper coins, brought for distribution to the poor, were rejected by the crowd with scorn ; and on the third day, the rabble and professional beggars assembled on the platform where the body had been washed, and there cooked and distributed a large quantity of food, and until day dawned sang funeral laments.*

For many a day, no begger deigned to appeal for charity to any passing noble who had been concerned in Farrukh-siyar's death. Zafar Khan's liberal gifts of bread and sweetmeats were far famed ; but these, too, were refused. The beggars said that in their mouths was still the flavour of the kindness bestowed by the martyred Emperor, adding, "May he be poisoned who takes a morsel bearing upon it the mark of those men." They made collections from artisans and shopkeepers, and distributed alms of food every Thursday at Humayun's tomb. If any great noble passed along the roads or through the bazars, they pursued him with shouts and harsh reproaches. Especially was this the case with regard to Maharajah Ajit Singh and his followers, so that they were forced to reach *darbar* by the most out-of-the-way routes. The Rajputs raged inwardly, and fiercely laid hand on sword or dagger. But who can fight a whole people? At length, several spoon-sellers and bazar touts having been killed by the Rathors, the habit of abusing them was abandoned. [Qasim, 262.]

SEC. 41.—THE CONDUCT OF THE SAYYIDS CONSIDERED.

On few subjects does there seem to have been such violently contradictory views expressed as upon the conduct of the Sayyids at this juncture. Writers who are themselves Sayyids and Shias defend their action as the only course that

* Khafi Khan, 820; Kamwar Khan, 200; Qasim, 260.

could have been pursued. But, as the two brothers soon fell from power and lost their lives, the partisans of their rivals and successors have not hesitated to denounce them, and hold them up to the execration of mankind. The two extremes are even embodied by rival poets in chronograms composed for the occasion. Mirza Abdul Qadir *Bedil* wrote :

“Didst thou see what they did to the mighty king?

A hundred harsh and cruel deeds they did, unthinking :

I asked Wisdom for the date. She answered :

‘The Sayyids behaved disloyally to their king.’ ”

To this Mir Azmat-ullah Bilgrami *Bekhabar*, using the same form and rhymes, replied :

“To the infirm monarch they did what they ought.

What a physician should do, that they did ;

By light of Wisdom’s lamp this date was prescribed :

‘The Sayyids treated him as the case required.’ ”

It is impossible, I think, to accept to the full either conclusion. To none but extreme believers in the divinity that doth hedge a king, will it seem wrong to have removed from power such a worthless thing as Farrukh-siyar. But the way of doing what had become almost a necessity was unduly **harsh**, too utterly regardless of the personal dignity of the fallen monarch. Blinding a deposed king was the fixed usage : for that the Sayyids are not specially to blame. But the severity of the subsequent confinement was excessive ; and the taking of the captive’s life was an extremity entirely uncalled for. As Shah Nawaz Khan says, the Sayyids were forced into action by a regard for their own lives and honour. At the same time, as he points out, the nobler course would have been for them to have abandoned the struggle, and contented themselves with some distant Government, or they might have quitted the service of the State and proceeded on a pilgrimage to Mecca. “But it is not in the power of mortal man to rise superior to that worst of evil passions, the love of power and place.” The pious Muhammadan consoles himself by the reflection that God in his good purposes saw fit to impose expiation on the two brothers, by their own speedy death and the destruction of all their power ; and thus in His mercy He allowed them to atone

for whatever sin they had committed, and did not exclude them from final redemption. Their own violent deaths sufficed to save their souls. [*M. U. i. 321, 344-345.*]

SECTION 42.—CHARACTER OF FARRUKH-SIYAR.

The most prominent element of Farrukh-siyar's character was weakness. He was strong neither for evil nor for good. Morally it may be indefensible to try and rid yourself, at the earliest moment, of the men to whom you owe your throne. But as a matter of practice and precedent it was otherwise. Many of his predecessors, including the greatest of them, Akbar, had been guilty of similar ingratitude. Thus, according to the morality of his day and country, Farrukh-siyar would have committed no exceptional crime by dismissing, or even killing the Sayyids. Previous rulers, however, men of vigour and resolution, when they found the greatness of some subject becoming dangerous to themselves, acted with promptitude and decision. The crisis was soon over, and though the individual might be destroyed the State did not suffer. How different with Farrukh-siyar! Still, in spite of his inherent weakness, he might have shown himself amiably inoffensive; he might have left his powerful ministers to pursue peacefully their own way, contenting himself with the name, while they kept the reality of power. Instead of this, he was for ever letting "I dare not" wait upon "I would." For seven years the State was in a condition of unstable equilibrium, and it is not too much to say that Farrukh-siyar prepared for himself the fate which finally overtook him. Feeble, false, cowardly, contemptible, it is impossible either to admire or regret him. According to Khush-hal Chand. [410a] Farrukh-siyar in the sixth year of his reign was forced, in consequence of the abscesses which troubled him, to submit to an operation that rendered him impotent. Physical degeneration, it is suggested, may have been one of the causes of the irresolution, and even cowardice, which he displayed during the final struggle with the Sayyids.

His most amiable qualities were profuseness and liberality, which made him the darling of the lower orders. Among his personal habits two were especially marked—a fondness for

fine clothes and for good horses. He loved gold-embroidered raiment edged with gold lace, such as the sovereign himself had never worn before. All the great nobles imitated him and began to wear what pleased their master. Thus he was at any rate mourned by the lace-sellers and the indigent. As for horses, he chose them with care, for their fine paces, their colour, and their great speed. Several thousand horses stood in his private stables, and a select number of them were tethered under the balcony window of the room where he slept. Thus he was able from time to time to see them from this window, or the roof of the palace. Even when in bed asleep, if a horse rose up and lay down two or three times, he would be roused and enquire the reason, calling both the animal and its groom by their names. The *Khan-saman* or Lord Steward had strict orders about their food. Once Muhammad Yar Khan, when holding that office, reported that the quantities issued were in excess of the regulations. Farrukh-siyar directed him to pay up to the amount of one gold coin a day for each of these horses, and not to report until that amount was exceeded. [Khush-hal 410a.]

In the *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* is a passage describing the early intimacy between Farrukh-siyar and Khan Dauran (Khwaja Asim), where we are told that the Prince was passionately fond of wrestling, archery, horsemanship, polo-playing, and other soldierly exercises. His devotion to hunting and the chase is shown by the regularity with which, throughout his reign, he left Dihli to hunt or shoot in the imperial preserves situated at various distances round the city. [*Ahwal* 49b.]

The only well-known edifice constructed in his reign was a third arch of marble to the mosque at the Qutb, added in 1130 H. It bears the inscription.

*Maurid-i-lutf o inayat shud wala-janab,
Khusrau, Farrukh-siyar, shahanshahi, malik-i-rikab,
Sakht az rue iradat o zi rasukh-i-itiqad
Masjid-i-zeba-bina o sijdah-gahe shekh o shabb
Ba sarosh-i-ghaib hatif guft dar gosh-i-khirad
Sal-i-tarikh-i-binaesh ; "bait-i-rabbi-i-mustajab."*

(1130)

I will settle it.' Within the palace Maharajah Ajit Singh also urgently importuned for the deposition of Farrukh-siyar; and it was decided that one of the imprisoned scions of the house of Taimur should be brought forth and placed upon the throne. There is a local tradition among the Sayyids of Barha that someone proposed to set aside the imperial house altogether, the throne being transferred to one of the two brothers.* This would have been in accordance with Eastern precedent, where the successful rebel usually claims the crown as the prize of victory. And the virtues of the Mughal line as an instrument of rule being obviously expended, it would probably have been better, in most ways, if the sovereignty had been usurped by a newer and more vigorous family. Probably the difficulty, an insurmountable one as it proved, was to decide which brother should reign, neither being ready to give way to the other.†

A consultation was held in order to select a Prince, and the lot fell upon Prince Bidar Dil, son of Bidar Bakht, grandson of Alamgir, who was known as having the best understanding among all the Princes. By the time that this had been decided, the outbreak in the city, as we have already related, had occurred. The case seemed urgent and the greatest haste was made. Qutb-ul-mulk sent his own master of the ceremonies, Qadir Dad Khan, and a number of the Jodhpur Rajah's personal attendants, or *Bhandaris*,‡ to bring out the Prince selected. When these messengers arrived at the door of the Prince's dwelling, where also were assembled the sons of Prince Rafi-ush-shan, the women jumped to the conclusion that, having made Farrukh-siyar a prisoner, the Sayyids had now sent men to slay all the Princes of the royal house, and thus make clear their own way to the throne. Under this impression, they barred the door, locked it on the inside, and hid the Prince in

* The traditional account is that the idea was broached by Jalal Khan of Jalalabad (Muzaffarnagar district). But he was dead; it might have been suggested, however, by his second son, Dindar Khan, who was present at Delhi.

† Kamraj, 67a; Yahya Khan, 125a; Muhammad Qasim Lahoti, 239; Khush-hal Chand, 413b; *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 145b, 146a.

‡ *Bhandari*, a house-steward, treasurer, purveyor (Shakespeare, 411).

a store-cupboard. In vain the messengers called out: "We have come to escort Prince Bidar Dil, and place him on the throne." Not a word was listened to, and the men were repelled with sticks and stones. As there was no possibility of searching or delaying longer, for the danger that the rioters in the street might get the upper hand increased every moment, the Nawab ordered a band of men with hatchets to break in the door. On forcing an entrance, their first effort was to find the particular Prince who had been named to sit upon the throne. But his mother wept and wailed beyond measure, nor could they find the key of the store-room. In despair, they turned towards the sons of Rafi-ush-shan, and out of them picked Rafi-ud-darjat. Although he was the youngest of the three, in intelligence and judgment he was found to excel his brothers. This youth was brought as he had been found, wearing his ordinary clothes, his only ornament being a necklace of pearls, taken by Qutb-ul-mulk from his own neck. The Nawab holding one hand and Ajit Singh the other, they seated him straightway on the jewelled peacock throne, which two days before had been brought out into the *Diwan-i-am* for the celebration of the *Nauroz*, or vernal festival. Those present offered their gifts, as is usual upon a fresh accession. Then, under the supervision and control of Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, Rajah Ratan Chand, Rajah Bakht Mal and Dindar Khan, son of Jalal Khan, at the head of a number of Afghans, were sent into the female apartments to arrest the deposed Emperor. [K. K. 814.816.]

These men, some four hundred altogether, rushed tumultuously into the imperial apartments. A number of the women seized weapons and tried to resist; some were slain and some wounded. The weeping and lamentation of the ladies passed unheeded. The door of the small room where he was hiding having been broken in, the wretched Farrukh-siyar, despairing of life, came out armed with sword and shield, and dealt several blows at the stony-hearted ruffians. In that dire extremity these fruitless and untimely efforts availed him nothing. His mother, his wife, his daughter and other ladies grouped themselves around him and tried to shelter him. The shrieking

women were pushed on one side with scant ceremony. The men surrounded him and hemmed him in ; they then laid hold of him by the hand and neck, his turban fell off, and with every mark of indignity he was dragged and pushed from his retreat. It is said that Hifz-ullah Khan, (subsequently known as Murtaza Khan) and Murid Khan,* in order to ingratiate themselves with Qutb-ul-mulk, went with those hard-hearted men, thus in one moment wiping out the loyal services done to the line of Taimur, for more than a century past, by their grandfather and father, and at the same time oblivious of their having been themselves the fallen man's companions and confidants. It was pitiful to see this strong man, perhaps the handsomest and most powerfully-built of Babar's race that had ever occupied the throne, dragged bareheaded and barefooted, subjected at every moment to blows and the vilest abuse, into the *Diwan-i-khas* to the presence of Qutb-ul-mulk. The Nawab opened his pen box, took out a needle used by him for applying collyrium (*surma*) to his eyes, and giving it to one of the men, ordered them to throw down their prisoner and blind him. Whatever was found in the female apartments and storehouses, or on the people of the harem—cash, clothes, gold silver and copper vessels, ornaments and jewels—all was taken, nay, even the slave-girls and the concubines were appropriated.

After the needle had been passed through the eyes, Farrukh-siyar was imprisoned in the room over the Tirpoliya, or triple gate within the fortress. It was the place to which common malefactors were sent, and had already witnessed the death of Jahandar Shah seven years before. It was a bare, dark, unfurnished hole, containing nothing but a bowl for food, a pot of water for ablutions, and a vessel with some drinking water. On reaching it he is reported to have quoted the lines :

* M. M.; Kamwar Khan, 194. Hifz-ullah Khan received the title of Murtaza Khan on the 29th Shaban 1131 H. and was made deputy of the Mir Atash (Kamwar Khan 206). He was a Husaini Sayyid, his name being Hifz-ullah, son of Mirza Shahr-ullah, entitled Murtaza Khan (d. 1123 H. 1711-12). He died at Shahjahanabad on the 6th Jamadi II. 1161 H. (2nd June, 1748) aged 63 years *T-i-Mhdi*. Murid Khan was rewarded with the appointment of *darogha* of the mace-bearers on the day (29th Shaban).

"Like a cypress in decay,
Such a king in such slavery." [M. M. 461, K. K. 814.]

SEC. 40.—DEATH OF FARRUKH-SIYAR.

Although it involves a slight break in the exact chronological order, it seems better to carry on Farrukh-siyar's story to his cruel and dishonoured end. The captivity he was held in appears to have been unnecessarily strict, and many anecdotes connected with it have been handed down. A few days after his accession, the new Emperor, Rafi-ud-darjat, sent a eunuch to inquire about his predecessor's condition. Farrukh-siyar invoked a blessing on his head, and sent back the lines—

"Be not taken by the gardener's deceit, O nightingale,
Ere this I, too, had my nest in this garden." [Warid, 158b.]

Other verses attributed to him during his imprisonment are :

"A heart is mad with wine, give it wine,

It is consumed with fire, give it fire.

To him who asks the state of my heart,

Breathe but a sigh, give that as answer."*

Even the Sayyid soldiers who formed the guard set over him grieved to see how he was treated. For instance, during four or five days at a time, he would be deprived of water for necessary ablutions. Unsuitable food had brought on diarrhœa, and having no water, he was forced to tear off pieces from his clothes to cleanse himself. Day and night he had passed his time in reciting the *Quran*, which he knew by heart. Even this distraction was denied him, for in his polluted state, it was unlawful to recite the words of the holy volume.

It is believed that, although a needle had been passed through his eyes, Farrukh-siyar was still able to see. In spite of all that had happened, he was still eager for power and believed his restoration possible. He made repeated overtures to the Sayyids, promising to leave all power in their hands, if they would only release him and replace him on the throne. Then he tried to win over Abdullah Khan Afghan, one of his jailors. He promised this man the rank of *Haft-hazari* (7,000)

* *Mirat-i-Aftab-numa*, B. M. Addl., 16,697, f. 216a. In *Bayan-i-waqi*, p. 175. and Gladwin, p. 194, the words are different.

after he should have conducted him in safety to Rajah Jai Singh. The Afghan betrayed him to the Sayyids. People in the city spread about the story that Tahavvur Khan, *Wala-shahi*, Ruh-ullah Khan (son of Khanazad Khan) and many others were coming with Rajah Jai Singh at the head of a mighty army to deliver the captive. Popular rumour asserted that Farrukh-siyar could still see, and that in secret conclave the two brothers had repented, and would replace the deposed sovereign on the throne. After doing this, they would resign place and office, assume the garb of mendicants, and return to Barha, or make a pilgrimage to the holy places. This was openly spoken of. Then Hashim Ali Khan Dakhini said secretly to Husain Ali Khan, "I salute your lordship: Disease is dealt with in one of two ways—you either bear it, or remove the afflicted part. But once you have resorted to treatment, there is no hope of recovery till the offending principle is expelled." The Sayyids then made up their mind to remove Farrukh-siyar. They sent for Sidi Yasin Khan (son of Sidi Qasim, Fulad Khan, once *kotwal* of Dihli), and after promising him a reward said: "Farrukh-siyar took your father's life without cause, you have a legal right of retaliation, put your hand on your dagger and slay him." The young man refused. Had not his father and his family been the slaves of that royal house? To kill a master who for some supposed fault took a slave's life, was not permissible.

As no one else was willing, they were forced to act themselves. They began by supplying Farrukh-siyar with bitter and oversalted dishes, but without effect. Slow poison was then tried for a time. Farrukh-siyar now made use of violent language, and cursed the Sayyids in the most virulent terms. Their patience being at an end, they sent executioners into the prison to strangle their victim. In spite of a violent resistance, these men effected their purpose, beating the ex-Emperor on the hands till he let go the strap that they had tied round his neck. To make sure, he was stabbed several times in the abdomen. This happened on the night between the 8th and 9th Jamadi II. 1131 H. (27th-28th April, 1719). There is a somewhat apocryphal story told in the *Siyar-ul-mutakherin* as

to the mode of Farrukh-siyar's death, by which the direct blame for it is removed from the shoulders of the Sayyids. Farrukh-siyar is supposed to have evaded his guardians and made an attempt to escape. He passed from one terrace roof to another, and was already at some distance before his absence was detected. The Afghan officer in charge searched for his prisoner, found him hiding in the shadow of a wall, and brought him back, ending by giving him an unmerciful beating. Farrukh-siyar, stung to the quick by his disgrace, ran at the wall, dashed his head against it, and fractured his skull. The evidence for this story seems insufficient, and the author's animus, as Sayyid and Shia defending other Sayyids and Shias, is sufficiently obvious here as elsewhere.*

On the following day, 10th Jamadi II. 1131 H. (29th April, 1719), the body was thrown down on a mat within the fort for purposes of identification, and the blackness of the face showed that Farrukh-siyar had been strangled; there were also several cuts and wounds to be seen. The body was then prepared for the grave and the bier brought out. Dilawar Ali Khan, paymaster of Husain Ali Khan's household, and Sayyid Ali Khan, brother of Abdullah Khan's paymaster, were sent to carry out the burial rites. They were followed by all the eunuchs, some of the *mansabdars*, and a part of the State equipage. When the body was brought to the Akbarabadi mosque,† it was received by 15,000 to 20,000 men from the camp and bazars. After recital of the prayers over the dead, Abdul-ghafur lifted the corpse and carried it out, to the accompaniment of weeping and wailing from the crowd. As the procession passed, lamentations arose from every roof and door. Men and women, old and young, rich and poor, shed tears for the departed Emperor and cursed his oppressors. The streets and lanes were rendered impassable by the crowds. The rabble and the mendicants, who had received alms from Farrukh-siyar, followed his bier, rending their garments and

* Text, i. 42; Qasim, 259; Khafi Khan, 819. In the *Bayan-i-waqi*, 175, poison is alleged.

† It stands in the Faiz Bazar, that is, on the road from the Dihli Gate of the fort to the south or Dihli Gate of the city.

throwing ashes on their heads, and as it passed, the women on the roofs raised their cry of mourning, and flung stones and bricks upon the servants and officers of the Sayyids. The body was deposited in the crypt of Humayun's tomb, in the place where a few years before the body of Farrukh-siyar's father, Azim-ush-shan, had rested before its departure for Aurangabad. The bread and the copper coins, brought for distribution to the poor, were rejected by the crowd with scorn; and on the third day, the rabble and professional beggars assembled on the platform where the body had been washed, and there cooked and distributed a large quantity of food, and until day dawned sang funeral laments.*

For many a day, no begger deigned to appeal for charity to any passing noble who had been concerned in Farrukh-siyar's death. Zafar Khan's liberal gifts of bread and sweetmeats were far famed; but these, too, were refused. The beggars said that in their mouths was still the flavour of the kindness bestowed by the martyred Emperor, adding, "May he be poisoned who takes a morsel bearing upon it the mark of those men." They made collections from artisans and shopkeepers, and distributed alms of food every Thursday at Humayun's tomb. If any great noble passed along the roads or through the bazars, they pursued him with shouts and harsh reproaches. Especially was this the case with regard to Maharajah Ajit Singh and his followers, so that they were forced to reach *darbar* by the most out-of-the-way routes. The Rajputs raged inwardly, and fiercely laid hand on sword or dagger. But who can fight a whole people? At length, several spoon-sellers and bazar touts having been killed by the Rathors, the habit of abusing them was abandoned. [Qasim, 262.]

SEC. 41.—THE CONDUCT OF THE SAYYIDS CONSIDERED.

On few subjects does there seem to have been such violently contradictory views expressed as upon the conduct of the Sayyids at this juncture. Writers who are themselves Sayyids and Shias defend their action as the only course that

* Khafi Khan, 820; Kamwar Khan, 200; Qasim, 260.

could have been pursued. But, as the two brothers soon fell from power and lost their lives, the partisans of their rivals and successors have not hesitated to denounce them, and hold them up to the execration of mankind. The two extremes are even embodied by rival poets in chronograms composed for the occasion. Mirza Abdul Qadir *Bedil* wrote :

"Didst thou see what they did to the mighty king?
A hundred harsh and cruel deeds they did, unthinking :
I asked Wisdom for the date. She answered :
'The Sayyids behaved disloyally to their king.' "

To this Mir Azmat-ullah Bilgrami *Bekhabar*, using the same form and rhymes, replied :

"To the infirm monarch they did what they ought.
What a physician should do, that they did ;
By light of Wisdom's lamp this date was prescribed :
'The Sayyids treated him as the case required.' "

It is impossible, I think, to accept to the full either conclusion. To none but extreme believers in the divinity that doth hedge a king, will it seem wrong to have removed from power such a worthless thing as Farrukh-siyar. But the way of doing what had become almost a necessity was unduly *harsh*, too utterly regardless of the personal dignity of the fallen monarch. Blinding a deposed king was the fixed usage ; for that the Sayyids are not specially to blame. But the severity of the subsequent confinement was excessive ; and the taking of the captive's life was an extremity entirely uncalled for. As Shah Nawaz Khan says, the Sayyids were forced into action by a regard for their own lives and honour. At the same time, as he points out, the nobler course would have been for them to have abandoned the struggle, and contented themselves with some distant Government, or they might have quitted the service of the State and proceeded on a pilgrimage to Mecca. "But it is not in the power of mortal man to rise superior to that worst of evil passions, the love of power and place." The pious Muhammadan consoles himself by the reflection that God in his good purposes saw fit to impose expiation on the two brothers, by their own speedy death and the destruction of all their power ; and thus in His mercy He allowed them to atone

for whatever sin they had committed, and did not exclude them from final redemption. Their own violent deaths sufficed to save their souls. [*M. U. i. 321, 344-345.*]

SECTION 42.—CHARACTER OF FARRUKH-SIYAR.

The most prominent element of Farrukh-siyar's character was weakness. He was strong neither for evil nor for good. Morally it may be indefensible to try and rid yourself, at the earliest moment, of the men to whom you owe your throne. But as a matter of practice and precedent it was otherwise. Many of his predecessors, including the greatest of them, Akbar, had been guilty of similar ingratitude. Thus, according to the morality of his day and country, Farrukh-siyar would have committed no exceptional crime by dismissing, or even killing the Sayyids. Previous rulers, however, men of vigour and resolution, when they found the greatness of some subject becoming dangerous to themselves, acted with promptitude and decision. The crisis was soon over, and though the individual might be destroyed the State did not suffer. How different with Farrukh-siyar! Still, in spite of his inherent weakness, he might have shown himself amiably inoffensive; he might have left his powerful ministers to pursue peacefully their own way, contenting himself with the name, while they kept the reality of power. Instead of this, he was for ever letting "I dare not" wait upon "I would." For seven years the State was in a condition of unstable equilibrium, and it is not too much to say that Farrukh-siyar prepared for himself the fate which finally overtook him. Feeble, false, cowardly, contemptible, it is impossible either to admire or regret him. According to Khush-hal Chand. [410a] Farrukh-siyar in the sixth year of his reign was forced, in consequence of the abscesses which troubled him, to submit to an operation that rendered him impotent. Physical degeneration, it is suggested, may have been one of the causes of the irresolution, and even cowardice, which he displayed during the final struggle with the Sayyids.

His most amiable qualities were profuseness and liberality, which made him the darling of the lower orders. Among his personal habits two were especially marked—a fondness for

fine clothes and for good horses. He loved gold-embroidered raiment edged with gold lace, such as the sovereign himself had never worn before. All the great nobles imitated him and began to wear what pleased their master. Thus he was at any rate mourned by the lace-sellers and the indigent. As for horses, he chose them with care, for their fine paces, their colour, and their great speed. Several thousand horses stood in his private stables, and a select number of them were tethered under the balcony window of the room where he slept. Thus he was able from time to time to see them from this window, or the roof of the palace. Even when in bed asleep, if a horse rose up and lay down two or three times, he would be roused and enquire the reason, calling both the animal and its groom by their names. The *Khan-saman* or Lord Steward had strict orders about their food. Once Muhammad Yar Khan, when holding that office, reported that the quantities issued were in excess of the regulations. Farrukh-siyar directed him to pay up to the amount of one gold coin a day for each of these horses, and not to report until that amount was exceeded. [Khush-hal 410a.]

In the *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* is a passage describing the early intimacy between Farrukh-siyar and Khan Dauran (Khwaja Asim), where we are told that the Prince was passionately fond of wrestling, archery, horsemanship, polo-playing, and other soldierly exercises. His devotion to hunting and the chase is shown by the regularity with which, throughout his reign, he left Dihli to hunt or shoot in the imperial preserves situated at various distances round the city. [*Ahwal* 49b.]

The only well-known edifice constructed in his reign was a third arch of marble to the mosque at the Qutb, added in 1130 H. It bears the inscription.

*Maurid-i-lutf o inayat shud wala-janab,
Khusrau, Farrukh-siyar, shahanshahi, malik-i-rikab.
Sakht az rue iradat o zi rasukh-i-itiqad
Masjid-i-zeba-bina o sijdah-gahe shekh o shabb
Ba sarosh-i-ghaib hatif guft dar gosh-i-khirad
Sal-i-tarikh-i-binaesh ; "bait-i-rabbi-i-mustajab."*

APPENDIX

REIGN OF FARRUKH-SIYAR.

A.—*Farrukh-siyar's age.*

Authorities differ much as to the year of Farrukh-siyar's birth, nor do they altogether agree in the month or the day of the month. The earliest year is 1093 H., the latest 1098 H. The correct year ought to be determined, I think, by the two chronograms composed by Jiwan Ram, father of Khush-hal Chand. It is only fair to suppose that a man would not sit down to compose one of these poetical memorials, and then deliberately import into it an erroneous date. I therefore accept the year 1094 H. as correct; while for the day and month, the best authority is the direct statement of Ijad, the Court historian, namely, the 19th Ramzan. I cannot understand, however, how this writer came to give the year 1096 instead of 1094 H. Mirza Muhammad, who is nearly always to be trusted, gives an age at death which confirms Khush-hal Chand's date (1094).

B.—*Length of the reign.*

Farrukh-siyar proclaimed himself Emperor at Patna on the 29th Safar 1124 H. (6th March, 1712), soon after he had heard of his father's, Azim-ush-shan's, defeat and death at Lahor. The first day of the reign, according to the official calculation, was fixed from this coronation at Patna, and Jahandar Shah's reign was treated as never having existed. The victory over Jahandar Shah took place near Agra on the 13th Zul Hijja 1124 H. (10th December, 1712). Counting from the first of these dates, the reign up to the 8th Rabi II. 1131 H., lasted 7 (lunar) years, 1 month, and 9 days; or from the latter date (13th Zul Hijja), to the same day, 6 (lunar) years, 3 months, and 25 days.

C.—*Style and title in life, and after death.*

His titles are nowhere given with completeness. He is called either Abul Muzaffar Muin-ud-din, Mhd. Farrukh-siyar, Badshah, or simply Muin-ud-din Muhammad Farrukh-siyar Badshah: some writers style him Jalal-ud-din, Muhammad Farrukh-siyar, Badshah. After his death he is referred to as

the *Shahid-i-marhum*, "the Martyr received into mercy," although I know of no formal statement that this description had been officially assigned to him. As other sovereigns have claimed to be above grammar, so Farrukh-siyar asserted a similar right over the calendar by changing the name of Wednesday from Fourth Day (*chahar shamba*) to Auspicious Day (*Humayun shamba*), and that of Thursday from Fifth Day to Fortunate Day (*mubarik shamba*). From the date of the victory over Jahandar Shah, these days are so referred to in Ijad's history of the reign. [*T. M.*, Warid 148a, Ijad 106a, Kamwar 137.]

D.—Coinage.

His coins bore the distich :—

*Sikḡa zad, az fazl-i-Haq, bar sim o zar,
Padshah-i-bahr-o-bar, Farrukḡh-siyar.*

"By the grace of the True God, struck coin on silver and gold.
The Emperor of land and sea, Farrukh-siyar."

A parody of these lines was current at the time in Dihli :—

*Sikḡa zad bar gandum o moth o mattar
Badshah-i-dana-ḡash, Farrukḡh-siyar.*

"Struck coin on wheat, lentils and peas,
The grain-gathering Emperor, Farrukh-siyar."

There are 116 coins of this sovereign in the three collections, at the British Museum, in Lahor, and in Calcutta ; of gold, 18 (14 of the large and 4 of the small issue), and of silver, 98 (circular 97, square, that is, the *dirham-i-sharai* or legal *dirham*, 1). One hundred and twelve are dated by the regnal year. Each year of the reign is represented, 1st (8 coins), 2nd (17), 3rd (9), 4th (7), 5th (19), 6th (19), 7th (29), 8th (4). All except 6 coins (3 places not identified, 2 forged, 1 mint illegible) can be classed under the subahs in which their mints were situated. These 110 coins belong to 23 mints in 15 out of the 21 subahs—those unrepresented being Kabul, Kashmir, Ajmer, Allahabad, Bidar and Berar. The number of coins from each mint is Lahor (16), Multan (7), Tattha (1), Dihli, 33 (Shahjahanabad 27, Bareilly 2, Sarhind 4), Gujarat, 7 (Surat 7), Akbarabad, 11 (Akbarabad

6, Etawa 3, Gwalियar 2), Oudh 1, (Lakhnau 1), Malwa 2 (Ujjain 2), Bihar 8, (Patna Azimabad 8), Bengal 7, (Murshidabad 6, Jahangirnagar Dhaka 1), Orissa, 3 (Katak 3), Khandesh, 4 (Burhanpur 4), Aurangabad (1), Bijapur (1), Haidarabad, 8 (Arkat 3, Adoni 1, Chinapatan 3, Cuti 1). This distribution represents the facts fairly well: Kabul was practically lost, but the absence of coins from Kashmir, Ajmer, Allahabad and two of the Dakhin subahs, is difficult to account for.

The square silver "legal drachma" or *dirham-i-sharai* is a curious coin, and to all appearance unique. By its weight it holds the proportion to a Rupee of about one-fourth (exactly it is '23, or 3 annas and 8 pie, taking the standard Rupee to have weighed 176 grains). From an analysis of the weights of the 97 circular Rupees, I find more than half (54) range between 175 and 177 grains, the lowest weight (1) is 166·5 and the highest (4) is 187 grains. These latter coins come from the Katak and Murshidabad mints, and are probably a local variation. The diameters range from '80 of an inch to 1·1 inch; there are 60 of '85, 34 of '90, 11 of '95 and 9 of 1·0. Judging from the above facts, it is probable that the standard Rupee was 176 grains in weight, and '90 of an inch in diameter.

E.—*Farrukh-siyar's wives.*

We hear of only two principal wives—(1) Fakhr-un-nissa Begam, daughter of Sadat Khan; (2) the Rathor Princess, the daughter of Maharajah Ajit Singh, whose Hindu name seems to have been Rai Indar Kunwar.* The father of the former was one Mir Muhammad Taqqi, entitled first Hasan Khan and then Sadat Khan, son of Sadat Khan. He is called a Husaini by race, and the family came from the Persian province of Mazandaran, on the south shore of the Caspian Sea; it had emigrated to India after having been for a time settled at Isfahan.† He married a daughter of Masum Khan Safawi, and if this lady was the mother of Fakhr-un-nissa, this Safawi

* *Tawarikh-i-Marwar* of Murari Das, B. M. Or. 5838, vol. 2, fol. 80b.

† The *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 524, calls him Mir Buzurg-i-Marashi. I do not know the explanation of these epithets.

connection would account for the daughter's selection as a Prince's bride.* Sadat Khan was wounded on the 9th Rabi II. 1131 H., the day of Farrukh-siyar's deposition, and died two or three days afterwards. He was over eighty years of age. The following table shows his family :—

Sadat Khan, d. 1131 H.

Ali	Mhd	Saif	Salabat Khan	Ata-ullah	Fakhhr-un-nissa
Naqi	Mahdi,	Khan,	(Sadat Khan	Khan.	Begam
Khan,	Farzand	d. 8th	Zulfiqar		married to
d. 9th	Khan, d.	Muharram	Jang) d.		Farrukh-siyar
Rabi	28th Shaban	1150 H.	after 1166 H. (2)		
II.	1128 H. aged	(1)			
1126 H.	33. (1)				
			Daughter = Mhd Shah	Daughter = Mhd Shah.	

(1) *T-i-Mhdi* and Kamwar Khan. 166.

(2) *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 524.

The daughter of Ajit Singh was married on the 29th Ramzan 1127 H. (27th September, 1715) in the fourth year of the reign. She seems to have had no issue. After Farrukh-siyar's deposition and death, she was brought out of the imperial harem on the 29th Shaban 1131 H. (16th July, 1719), and made over to her father with the whole of her property. She returned to Jodhpur and we hear no more of her.

Another wife or concubine, the daughter of the hill-rajah of Kashtwar, entered the harem on the 24th Rajab 1129 H. (3rd July, 1717.)†

* *T-i-Mhdi*, year 1128 H.; *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 670-76; Mirza Muhammad, 174. The *Masir-ul-umara* iii., calls her Guhar-un-nissa Begam.

† Kamwar Khan, 172-3; Thornton, 506; *Kishtwar*, a town on the southern slope of the Himalayas, situated in a small plain on the left bank of the Chenab, 5,000 feet above the sea; Lat. 33° 18', Long. 75° 46'.

F.—*Farrukh-siyar's children.*

The following table shows all the children that are recorded :—

Farrukh-siyar		
M. Farkhunda-siyar, Jahangir Shah (1)	Jahan Murad Shah. (2)	Badshah Begam. (3)

(1) Jahangir Shah was born at Patna on the 18th Zul Qada 1123 H. (27th December, 1711).* He died of small-pox a few months afterwards, on the 17th Rabi II. 1125 (12th May, 1713).†

(2) Jahan Murad Shah was born on the 16th Zul Qada 1129 H.‡ (October 21st, 1717) and died on the 22nd Jamadi II. 1130 H. (May 22nd, 1718.) The mother was Sadat Khan's daughter.

(3) Badshah Begam. This child was also born of Sadat Khan's daughter. She married the Emperor Muhammad Shah in 1133 H. (1720-1) and was known as *Malika-uz-zamani*, "Queen of the Age." She took a prominent part in securing the accession of Ahmad Shah in 1161 H. and died in 1203 H. (1788-9).§

G.—*Note on Mirza Jafar, Zatali, Narnoli.*

The poetical title of Zatali, under which Mirza Jafar wrote, comes from *zatal*, Hindi, "chattering, quibbling, idle-talk," (Shakespeare, 1212). There are several printed editions of his works. A copy of the edition of 1853, now in the Königlische Bibliothek at Berlin, belonged to Dr. Sprenger (see his Catalogue, p. 8, No. 1638.) Beale, p. 189, says he was executed by Farrukh-siyar's orders for parodying the couplet on the coin of that Emperor. The historians make no mention of this ;

* B. M. Or. 1690, fol. 156b.

† Kamwar Khan 135. The B. M. Or. 1690, fol. 164b says he died in Jamadi I.

‡ Mirza Muhammad, 328 and 358. Kamwar Khan has 15th instead of 16th.

§ Francklin, *Shah Aulum*, 205.

but the fact is possible, when we remember that Abdul-jalil Bilgrami, *waqia-navis* of Siwistan was recalled, and deprived of his appointment, for a very innocent report. There are some further details about Zatali in a little Urdu work *Zar-i-Jafari, yani siwanih-i-umri-i-Mir Jafar, Zatali*, by "Hindustani Speculator" (published by Jan Muhammad and Muhammad Ismail, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahor, 1890, 36 pp. litho.). From this we learn that his ancestors came to India with Humayun, when that monarch returned to it and fought Hemu. They obtained a *jagir* and were in favour during Jahangir's reign, but in Shah Jahan's time the grant was resumed, and the poet's father Mir Abbas, was forced to open a shop. Jafar is said to have been born about the time of Alamgir's accession (1658). The other children were two daughters and a son, Safdar; the latter, the youngest of the family, being about five-and-a-half years younger than his brother. Their father died when all of them were young. One Mir Sarwar sent Jafar to school along with his own son, Akbar. In the end Sarwar embezzled the family property; and they were reduced to poverty again. Jafar was over sixty when he died, but no year is given. In one of his *rubaat* in his *Kulliyat* he says that when he wrote it he was over sixty. The following Persian lines in praise of tobacco are by him:—

*Turfah-i-shaghle shaghal-i-tambaku,
Kih zin shaghal gham faru gardad :
Ham-dam ast in, ba waqt-i-tanhai,
Tabai-i-badi az u niku gardad.*

"Smoking tobacco is a rare pastime,
An occupation decreasing gloom ;
A friend it is in time of solitude,
It is a help to a bad digestion."

But his more characteristic style is a macaronic mixture of Persian and Hindi.

CHAPTER V

RAFI-UD-DARJAT AND RAFI-UD-DAULAH (1719)

SEC. 1.—EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE ACCESSION.

The new Emperor, a consumptive youth of twenty years of age, was proclaimed under the style and titles of Abul-barakat, Sultan Shams-ud-din, Muhammad Rafi-ud-darjat, Badshah, Ghazi. Within and without the palace, in every audience-hall and at every door, the Sayyids placed men of their own. A chronogram for the accession was found :

“When Rafi-ud-darjat ascended the throne

The sun appeared in the heavens out of Arafat :

The sage, seeing the lustre and strength of his wisdom,
Brought forth the date, ‘His title is High of Dignity.’ ”*

At the first audience, on the prayer of Maharajah Ajit Singh, Rajah Bhim Singh of Kota, and Rajah Ratan Chand, the *jazy*a or poll-tax, was again abolished. In other respects as few changes as possible were made, even the *Wala-shahis* or personal troops of the late sovereign being retained in the service. The object was to dispel anxiety and restore order without delay. Muhammad Amin Khan was maintained in his post of second Bakhshi, Zafar Khan Roshan-ud-daulah, replaced Saif-ullah Khan in that of third Bakhshi, and the office of fourth Bakhshi was left in abeyance. For seven days there was much confusion, and few men attended the imperial audience-hall ; the people generally stood aloof, and also many of the officials. Nizam-ul-mulk kept close at home, but his cousin Muhammad Amin Khan was, in a way, friendly to the Sayyids ; and Samsam-ud-daulah “resorting to fox-like tactics” came over to their party.†

The distant *subahs* were left in the same hands as before, with a few exceptions, special arrangements being made for Malwa and Kabul. Sarbuland Khan had been nominated to

* *Jam-i-jam*, and *Miftah* 304; Khafi Khan, 816; M. M. 462.

† Khafi Khan 817; Kamwar 197; *Ahwat-ul-khawaqin* 146a, 152b.

the latter province some months before, and had gone one or two stages on his journey. On learning that Farrukh-siyar had been deposed, he returned by himself to Dihli, and his appointment having been confirmed, he left again on the 19th Rabi II. (10th March, 1719). There remained Nizam-ul-mulk, and it was urgent that he should be induced to quit the capital. The Sayyids feared mischief from the Mughals, the strongest in numbers and influence of any of the numerous groups into which their opponents were divided. At the last moment Muhammad Amin Khan had elected to take their side against Farrukh-siyar; but Nizam-ul-mulk, as his habit was, had declined to declare himself. The Government of Patna had been assigned to him on the 18th Rabi I. (7th February, 1719); but apparently he was not anxious to proceed there. Husain Ali Khan, as usual, was for the employment of violent measures; he thought Nizam-ul-mulk should be assassinated. Qutb-ul-mulk preferred to detach him from his friends, believing that when thus weakened, he could more easily be got rid of. Samsam-ud-daulah adhered to the latter view. The Sayyids, though good soldiers, were poor politicians; and "since a leader without wisdom is no better than a common soldier," they thus made ready the way for their own downfall.

Nizam-ul-mulk was offered Malwa. At first he declined it; and it was only upon a solemn promise of non-revocation that he accepted. He left the capital on the 24th Rabi II. (15th March, 1719), taking with him all his family and property; and although repeatedly urged to do so, he would not leave even his son to represent him at Court. He was followed by all the Mughals who had been out of employ since the fall of Mir Jumla, and he reached his head-quarters in about two months. Another change which led to future difficulties was the removal of Marahmat Khan, son of Amir Khan, from the charge of Mandu. He had given dire offence to Husain Ali Khan by neglecting to pay his respects, when the Amir-ul-umara had passed near that fortress on his way from the Dakhin to Dihli.*

* Kamwar 188, *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* 152a, Shiu Das 26b.

The faujdarship of Muradabad was given to Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, younger brother of the *Wazir*; Muhammad Riza became chief *Qazi*, Mir Khan Alamgiri was made *Sadar-us-sadur* or Grand Almoner, Diyanat Khan Khwafi (grandson of Amanat Khan) was appointed *diwan* of the *Khalsa*, and Rajah Bakht Mal made *diwan* of the *Tan*. Himmat Khan, a protégé of Qutb-ul-mulk's, was given a subordinate post connected with the audience-chamber, and entrusted with the care of the young Emperor as his tutor and guardian.

The next task was to proceed against the persons and property of Farrukh-siyar's chief adherents. Itiqad Khan (Mhd. Murad) was sent as a prisoner to Husain Ali Khan's house, his *jagirs* were resumed, and all his property confiscated. He had managed to make away with a great deal, but much was recovered. By one account, it took ten to fifteen days to remove the immense store of valuables that he had obtained through the unwise liberality of Farrukh-siyar. Itiqad Khan now disappears from our story, and ending his days in obscurity, he died at Dihli on the 12th Ramzan 1139 H. (2nd May, 1727) at the age of seventy-two years. The *jagirs* of the late Sadat Khan, father-in-law, and of Shaista Khan, maternal uncle of the late Emperor, were resumed; as were also those of Sayyid Salabat Khan, late general of the artillery, and of Afzal Khan, the late *Sadar*. The allowances and lands of Farrukh-siyar's wife, the daughter of Maharajah Ajit Singh were not interfered with.*

A few days after the accession of the new sovereign, the Mahrattas under Balaji, the *peshwa*, who had come in Husain Ali Khan's train, received their dismissal for the Dakhin (29th Rabi II. 1131 H., 30th March, 1719), taking with them Madan Singh, the younger son of Sambhaji and some female members of his family who had been prisoners since the days

* Kamwar Khan, 199; Khafi Khan, ii. 817; Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 253; *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, year 1139 H. Sayyid Salabat Khan (afterwards Sadat Khan, Zulfikar Jang) was the eldest son of the Sadat Khan abovenamed. He died after Muharram 1170 H. (September-October 1756), see *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 524. Sayyid Afzal Khan, Sadar Jahan, died late in Rabi II. or early in Jamadi I. 1138 H. (Jan. 1725) at Shahjahanabad (*T-i-Mhdi*).

of Alamgir. The Mahrattas also took with them at this time three important documents, a grant of the *chauth* of the Dakhin provinces, one for the *sardeshmukhi* of the same, and one for the *swaraj* or hereditary States.* The first dated the 22nd Rabi II. 1131 H. (13th March, 1719), gave them one-fourth of the revenue of all the six *subahs* of the Dakhin, including the tributary States of Tanjor, Trichinopoly and Maisur. The second dated the 4th Jamadi I. (24th March, 1719) was for 10 per cent. of the remaining three-fourths of the same revenues. The *swaraj* were the territories in Shivaji's possession at the time of his death in 1681, now confirmed to his grandson with certain modifications.†

SEC. 2.—QUARREL OVER THE SPOILS.

Abdullah Khan, making use of his position within the palace and fort, had taken possession of all the buried treasure, the jewel-house, the armoury, and all the imperial establishments. He had also resumed the *jagirs* of over two-hundred of Farrukh-siyar's officers, and of the relations of Bahadur Shah and Alamgir. Within two or three days' time these were all granted afresh to his own officers and dependants. This procedure was greatly objected to by Husain Ali Khan : and the two brothers almost came to drawing their swords upon each other. Ratan Chand, who is described as the "key of Abdullah Khan's wits," intervened with smooth words, caused the *jagirs* of the dismissed nobles to be granted to Husain Ali Khan's followers, and thus put an end to the strife. He reminded the brothers that they had lately behaved in a way to anger both

* *Chauth*, literally "one-fourth," $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the revenue collections; *sardeshmukhi*, the allowances of a *sardeshmukh*, [*sar*, "chief," *desh*, "country," *mukh*, "head"]; *swa*, "own," *raj*, "territory."

† Kamwar Khan, 199. Grant Duff (Bombay edition), 199 and note, where he says that these grants were made out in the name of Muhammad Shah. No doubt, the above dates fall in the 1st year of that reign by the official reckoning; but if the deeds were actually issued on the dates they bear, they must have been made out in the name of Rafi-ud-darjat, for Muhammad Shah's accession being then hidden in the future, the fact that at a subsequent date that accession would be ante-dated could not be known to any one.

God and man, and if they wished for their own preservation from the clutches of rival nobles, it was absolutely necessary for them to suppress all differences and act heart and soul together. If they did not act in agreement, the Mughal leaders would rend them to pieces. [Kamwar 196, K. K. 822.]

SEC. 3.—POPULAR OUTCRY AGAINST AJIT SINGH.

As already mentioned, Ajit Singh when he passed through the bazars was followed by cries of "Slayer of his son-in-law" (*damad-kush*). Insulting words were written on pieces of paper and stuck upon the door of his house, and one day cow-bones were thrown down among the vessels he used in daily worship. The *Wazir* seized two or three Kashmiris who had been guilty of calling out abusive words when the Rajah passed them, and caused them to be paraded with ignominy seated upon asses. But the Kashmiri boys followed, and shouted that this was the fitting punishment of the faithless and evil-minded, (meaning, of Ajit Singh himself). The Rajah to escape these insults was in haste to quit Dihli. After receiving large gifts in cash and jewels, he obtained an order for returning to his Government of Gujarat (17th Jamadi II. 6th May, 1719). Within a few days, however, events occurred which hindered him from carrying out his intention.*

SEC. 4.—NEKUSIYAR PROCLAIMED AT AGRA.

During the weeks which followed the deposition of Farrukh-siyar, rumours of many sorts were prevalent. Suspicion chiefly rested on Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, Rajah Chabela Ram, governor of Allahabad, and Nawab Nizam-ul-mulk, the new governor of Malwa. A combination of these three nobles was supposed to be imminent. As to the last of them, it may be doubted whether there was any sufficient ground for these assertions. The other two men were, however, notorious partizans of Farrukh-siyar, Chabela Ram and his family owing their elevation entirely to that Emperor and his father, Azim-ush-shan. In the case of those two nobles, there was undoubtedly some foundation for the popular belief. The centre

* Khafi Khan 823; Qasim 263, 264; Kamwar 202; *Siwanih-i-Khizri*.

of danger appeared to be Akbarabad, where Nekusiyar and other members of the imperial house were in prison. A pretender might be set up from among these Princes; and against this possibility special precautions must be taken. Ghairat Khan, the Sayyids' nephew, was hurried off to his new Government, so that he might reach Agra before Nizam-ul-mulk passed through it on his way to Malwa. A new commandant, Samandar Khan, was appointed (16th Jamadi II. 1131 H., 5th May, 1719) to take charge of the fort at Agra. Much treasure was still in the vaults of that stronghold, and the new Government was anxious to obtain control of this money themselves, and prevent its falling into any one else's hands. To take charge of these hoards Dawar Dad Khan accompanied Samandar Khan; but in addition to this ostensible errand, every one believed that he had been commissioned to blind Nekusiyar and the other Princes. On the 1st Rajab 1131 H. (19th May, 1719) word was brought to Dihli that the new commandant had been refused admission by the Agra garrison, who had set up a rival Emperor in the person of Prince Nekusiyar.*

Nekusiyar, eldest surviving son of Prince Muhammad Akbar, the fourth son of the Emperor Alamgir, was born in Shaban 1090 H. (September, October, 1679). Early in Muharram 1092 H. (January 1681) Prince Akbar fled from his father's camp, and joining the Rathors, laid claim to the throne. His property was at once confiscated by Alamgir, and his wife, two sons, Nekusiyar and Mhd. Asghar, and two daughters were made prisoners. A few days afterwards Prince Akbar's family was sent off from Ajmer to Akbarabad. Here Nekusiyar had been a State prisoner ever since, and although now over forty years of age had never set foot outside the fort. His ignorance is described, no doubt with some exaggeration, as so great that when he saw a cow or horse, he asked what sort of animal it was and what it was called. [M. A. 202-203.]

Accounts vary as to the part taken in the plot by Safi Khan,

* Kamwar Khan, 202; Shiu Das, 26b; Khafi Khan, 627.

the displaced qiladar.* Some describe him as a willing agent, or even the originator of in the conspiracy ; others make him out to have acted under compulsion from the mutinous garrison. He had been transferred by the Sayyids from Kalinjar to Agra only a short time before (17th Shaban 1130 H., 15th July, 1718), and in those few months could not have acquired such influence over the garrison as to induce it to follow him in such an ambitious undertaking. Moreover, he was by this time nearly seventy years of age and thus not very likely to be a willing sharer in such a revolt. Some say that among the men mixed up in this Agra rising were Rup Lal Kayath, brother of Hira Lal, the *diwan* of Sher Afkan Khan Panipati, and one Himmat, a *hazari*, or officer of garrison artillery. But there can be no doubt that the prime mover was Mitr Sen, a Nagar Brahman.†

This Mitr Sen resided in the fort of Agra, in the employ of Prince Nekusiyar. He had some knowledge of physic. Through this means, and money-lending, he acquired considerable influence among the *hazaris* and *Baksariyas* forming the garrison.‡ When, a few months before this time Husain Ali Khan passed through Agra, on his way from the Dakhin to Dihli, Mitr Sen, introduced by some of the Bakhshi's attendants and some fellow-Brahmans, obtained access to the

* Mirza Abdus-salam, first Mumin Khan, then Safi Khan, died early in Rajab 1137 H. (March 1725) at Dihli, aged over 70 years. He was son-in-law of his uncle, Ashraf Khan (d. 1097 H., 1685-6). His brother, Islam Khan (Mir Ahmad, formerly Barkhurdar Khan) died 1144 H. (1731-2) aged 77. Their father was Safi Khan (d. 1105 H., 1693-4), second son of Islam Khan Mashhadi, (Mir Abdus-salam) whose first title was Ikhtisas Khan. (d. 1057 H., 1647-8), *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 162-167, 272, ii. 741; *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, years 1057, 1097, 1105, 1137, 1144 H., *Burhan-ul-fatuh*, 162a, 167a.

† Muhammad Qasim Lahori, 267, styles him a Tiwari, which is a sub-division of the Gaur Brahmins. Kamwar Khan 180, *Burhan-ul-fatuh* 167a.

‡ *Hazari* (literally, "having thousand") is the name for a captain of artillery. Sometimes they are called by the Turkish word *minkbashi*, "head of one thousand." *Baksariya* means a foot-soldier or militia man. Apparently the name is derived from Baksar on the Ganges, a fort in *pargana* Bhojpur of *subah* Bihar, if we are to trust Rai Chatarman, *Chahar Gulshan*,

audience-hall, and thus became known by sight to the Mir Bakhshi.*

Some of the Sayyid's old wounds having opened afresh and given him trouble, Mitr Sen offered his services as surgeon, and in this way obtained private speech with Husain Ali Khan. From some of the Mir Bakhshi's intimates he had wormed out the secret that Farrukh-siyar would soon be dethroned. This inspired him with the idea that Nekusiyar might be proposed as a candidate for the vacant throne. The artillery officers entered into the plan. Mitr Sen thereupon, without gaining over any great noble, or even consulting Nekusiyar, made overtures in the Prince's name to Husain Ali Khan. The latter, enraged that his secret intention should have been divined, directed that Mitr Sen should no longer be admitted to his presence. [K. K. 825.]

Mitr Sen made his escape. He is supposed to have gone now to Rajah Jai Singh at Amber, where conditions were agreed on with him, and a letter addressed by Rajah Jai Singh to Rajah Chabela Ram, governor of Allahabad, was made over to him. It was also believed that Mitr Sen visited Nizam-ul-mulk when he passed through Agra but from him no definite answer was obtained. The secret of this interview was not kept; and it was the receipt of a report about it that led to the appointment of Samandar Khan, a man of high rank, as a new commander in the fort.

When Samandar Khan reached Gao-ghat on the Jamuna, a few miles north-west of Agra, he called upon the garrison and all the establishments to come out to greet him and escort him into the fort. Instead of obeying this order, the garrison after a consultation returned word that their pay for three years was due, that they did not know who was now Emperor, that they were not acquainted with any *qiladar* of the name of Samandar Khan. Mitr Sen was in the plot. On the 29th Jamadi II. (18th

fol. 127b, who in an itinerary from Bareli to Patna enters "Baksar, original home of the Baksariyas."

* I doubt if Agra can be the right place of meeting, for Husain Ali Khan does not seem to have passed through it on his way to Dihli. I tell the story as Khafi Khan does: the rest of the facts are probably correct.

May, 1719), Nekusiyar and his two nephews were brought out by the soldiers ; the former was placed on a throne and homage was paid to him as Emperor. Coin was issued in his name with the inscription :

Ba zar zad sikhā sahib-qirani

Shah Nekusiyar, Taimur-i-sani.

"On gold struck coin the Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction,
The Emperor Nekusiyar, a second Taimur."*

Mitr Sen was raised to the rank of commander of 7,000 horse with the title of Rajah Birbal and the office of *Wazir*. One *kror* and eighty *lakhs* of Rupees were withdrawn from the treasure-house and distributed among the garrison. The next day Nekusiyar with two nephews was brought to an open building† over the main gate, a royal umbrella being held over his head. With both hands the Prince made reassuring gestures in the direction of the crowd, which had assembled in the open space below the gate, while Mitr Sen, now become Rajah Birbal, poured gold over his head. Soon men hurried to the fort from all directions and offered to enlist. Blacksmiths, bullet-founders, and other artisans were brought into the fort, and a new *kotwal*, or chief police officer, was placed in charge of the city on behalf of the pretender.‡

Hostilities were commenced by the garrison firing upon the mansion (known as that of Islam Khan) occupied by Ghairat Khan, the new *nazim* of the province. This house was in a very exposed position, to the west of and almost immediately under the fort. Ghairat Khan, most of whose men were dispersed in the *subah* for the purpose of bringing in revenue, wished to abandon the house. He was, however, dissuaded by his officers, Sanjar Khan and Shamsheer Khan, *Wala-shahis*.

* Khafi Khan, 825. *Sahib-i-qiran* is one of the titles of Taimur, the founder of the dynasty. In the British Museum collection there is no coin with this distich. The one assigned to Nekusiyar (*Catalogue*, p. 197) is hardly likely to be his; it is more probably an abnormal issue of Muhammad Shah's coinage. The same objection applies to those in Rodgers, p. 209.

† It is called a *bangala* i.e., four pillars supporting a roof.

‡ Shiu Das 27a, Khafi Khan 827.

He therefore maintained his position, recalled his horsemen, and proceeded to enlist more troops. The facts were reported to the *Wazir* at Dihli.*

As soon as a camel-rider had brought the news to Dihli, Rajah Bhim Singh Hada and Churaman Jat, † the latter of whom had been for some time a sort of prisoner at large, were hurried off to reinforce the *nazim*. With them went Haidar Quli Khan, Iwaz Khan and Asad Ali Khan. The sons of Safi Khan and his brother, Islam Khan, were arrested and sent to prison, their *jagirs* being also confiscated. The Sayyid brothers held a consultation, and it was decided that one or the other must proceed to Agra at the head of an army. The duty was undertaken by Husain Ali Khan. On the 7th Rajab 1131 H. (25th May. 1719) he marched to Barahpula, south of the city, and there began to collect his men and make other preparations. A letter was written to Ghairat Khan assuring him of the speedy arrival of the Amir-ul-umara. ‡

SEC. 5.—EVENTS AT AGRA.

Nekusiyar's partisans, instead of coming out and taking advantage of Ghairat Khan's weakness, clung to the shelter of the fort walls. They lost in this way their only chance of striking a vigorous blow for their new master. In two or three days Ghairat Khan had recovered from his surprise, and his troops began to pour in to his succour. He was soon at the head of four or five thousand men, and able to take the offensive. His right-hand man at this difficult moment was Haidar Quli Khan.§

* There is a copy of the report in Shiu Das, 28a; see also *ibid* 27a and Khafi Khan, ii. 828.

† According to Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 68a, Churaman now received a gift of the country twenty days' journey in length and breadth, extending from the Barahpula bridge outside Dihli to the borders of Gwaliyar. This means that he was appointed to be *rahdar* or road-guardian of this extent of country.

‡ There is a copy of the letter in Shiu Das, fol. 28b.

§ In 1126 H. (1714-15) Haidar Quli Khan Isfaraini was made *diwan* of the Dakhin, and all appointments and removals were left to him. Nizam-ul-mulk, then *nazim*, did not get on with him, *Burhan*, 165a, Khafi Khan, ii. 740. He reached Court on return from the Dakhin on the 6th Zul Qada

This officer having fallen into disgrace for his oppressive measures, had not long before passed through Agra on his way from Ahmadabad to Dihli, where a very hostile reception awaited him. On arriving at Akbarabad he propitiated Ghairat Khan so effectively that through him he gained the good offices of Ratan Chand, the *Wazir's* chief adviser. As soon as the disturbance broke out at Agra, he was sent off in great haste from Dihli to the assistance of Ghairat Khan. In a short time the activity he displayed in the operations at Agra so won for him the good opinion of Husain Ali Khan, that he made an intimate friend of him, and finally obtained his pardon from Qutb-ul-mulk, the *Wazir*. [K. K. 823-828.]

Meanwhile the rebellion had made no progress: it had not spread outside the walls of the fort. Rajah Jai Singh had, indeed, come out several stages from Amber as far as Toda Tank, but before declaring himself further, he awaited news from Nizam-ul-mulk and Chabela Ram. From a letter which fell afterwards into Husain Ali Khan's hands, it would appear that Nizam-ul-mulk gave no encouragement; while Chabela Ram was detained in his province by the revolt of Jasan Singh, a zamindar of Kalpi, who was encouraged to resist by messages from the *Wazir* conveyed through Muhammad Khan Bangash. Meanwhile, although unable to make any impression on the fort, Ghairat Khan held his own. Churaman Jat had managed to collect men of his own tribe, the chief leaders being Govind Singh Jat, and the sons of Nanda Jat. Sayyid Hasan Khan from Gwaliyar and the Rajah of Bhadawar had also joined the besiegers. There was some fighting, but Safi Khan, owing to the arrest at Dihli of his children and brother, was dejected, and did not act with much vigour. Still, some sorties were attempted. One night the Jat and other peasant levies made an attack on the camp. Suddenly a store-house for the grain and grass which had been brought in from the surrounding

1127 H. (2nd November, 1715), Kamwar Khan, 158. He was appointed to Bandar Surat on the 3rd Muharram 1128 H. (28th December, 1715), *id.*, 161, and made *faujdar* of Sorath, 21st Shaban 1128 H. (9th August, 1716), *id.*, 166; he was sent for to Court on the 22nd Rajab 1130 H. (20th June, 1718) *id.*, 179.

country, was set on fire, but before the flames reached any height, heavy rain began to fall, and little damage was done. Deserters from the besieging force began to make their way into the fort. One day four of them were caught. Haidar Quli Khan condemned them to be blown away from guns in the presence of the whole army. [K. K. 834.] From that time Haidar Quli Khan in person took the roll-call of the army, and further desertions ceased. [*Siwanih*, Qasim 269.]

SEC. 6.—NEKUSIYAR MAKES OVERTURES.

Letters in the name of Nekusiyar came to the two Sayyids and other high-placed nobles, such as Muhammad Amin Khan, offering terms, if they would accept him as Emperor. The letters said: "What new-born child is this that has been placed on the throne of Hindustan? Never before has any one thought, or even dreamt, of passing over an elder for a younger heir. As for the seizure, imprisonment, and death of Muhammad Farrukh-siyar, those events had been decreed by the Eternal. Let them (*i.e.*, the Sayyids) wrapping the head of shame in the skirt of humbleness, make due submission. No revenge will be taken, but all their rank and dignities will be maintained as before." Qutb-ul-mulk, always ready to take the easiest way out of a difficulty, proposed to make terms with Nekusiyar and bring him to Dihli. Husain Ali Khan, on the other hand, looking on the Agra revolt as a sort of personal insult, would hear of no compromise. For a long time Qutb-ul-mulk was not satisfied, and even after his brother had moved out to Barahpula, visited him there several times with the object of persuading him to accept Nekusiyar's proposal. [Qasim 270.]

Qutb-ul-mulk argued that they had no quarrel with the Prince, why should they meet him with force? Why not seat him on the throne? Even if he should try to form a party among the nobles, he, Qutb-ul-mulk, saw no one from whom any danger need be anticipated. Husain Ali Khan could not be moved from his own ideas. "If Agra were a fort of steel set in an encircling ocean, he would with one blow from his finger strike it down, so that beyond a little mud and dust, no

sign of it should be left on earth." Who were these "crows," these few wretches, who had dared to interfere with their designs! All haste must be made to suppress the outbreak by force.*

SEC. 7.—THE SAYYIDS' CONDUCT TOWARDS RAFI-UD-DARJAT.

During the few months that he was Emperor, Rafi-ud-darjat was completely in the power of the two Sayyids. Until this time, the Emperors, however much they might leave State affairs in the hands of a minister or favourite, retained complete control over their own palace and person, and no man could be prevented from access to them. Ultimate power resided in their hands, and they could at any time transfer authority from one minister to another. In this reign all this was changed. At first, the palace was guarded by the Sayyids' most trusted soldiers, and all offices within it were held by their nominees. On the 14th Jamadi I. (3rd May, 1719) a concession to propriety was so far made that the hereditary doorkeepers and palace servants were allowed to return to duty. But the change was more nominal than real. It is asserted that even then the Emperor's meals were not served without the express order of his tutor, Himmat Khan, a Barha Sayyid. The young Emperor was allowed little liberty, and in his short reign he seldom left the palace. He visited Qutb-ul-mulk on the 19th Jamadi I. (8th April, 1719) at his house in the Moti Bagh, to condole with him on the death of a daughter. He paid another visit to Husain Ali Khan on the 14th Jamadi II. (3rd May, 1719); and he also went on one hunting expedition to Shakkarpur (24th Jamadi I., 3rd April). [Kamwar 200, *Siwanih*.]

In addition to keeping the strictest watch over Rafi-ud-darjat, the Sayyids' conduct was in other respects indecorous and reprehensible. Qutb-ul-mulk, a man of pleasure, not content with a harem already filled with women collected from far and near, carried off two or three of the most beautiful women from the imperial harem. One writer, Khush-hal Chand, makes a still more scandalous accusation against him.

* Qasim 272, 273; Anonymous History, B. M. Oriental MS. No. 1747.

Through Sadar-un-nisa, head of the harem, he sent a message to Inayat Banu, the Emperor's wife, that he had fallen in love with her. The go-between executed her task, only to meet with an absolute refusal. Again she was sent to urge his suit; "like a longing lover, he was fast bound by the long curling locks of that fairy." Inayat Banu writhed at the insult, undid her hair, which was over a yard long, cut it off, and threw it in the face of her tempter.* The younger brother's sin being pride, he displayed his disrespect in another manner. One day he was present alone with Rafi-ud-darjat in his private chapel (*tasbih khana*). The Emperor sat down on his chair. At once, without waiting for permission, Husain Ali Khan, sat down in front of him.† Highly-placed orientals are rarely at fault on such occasions, and Rafi-ud-darjat showed his usual readiness at rebuking an affront. Stretching out his feet in the direction of Husain Ali Khan, he said: "Draw off my stockings (*moza*)."[‡] Although inwardly raging, Husain Ali Khan could do nothing else but comply. [K. K. 821, Khush-hal 415a.]

That the young man was not altogether devoid of sense, is proved by the story of a dispute that arose once between Qutb-ul-mulk and Rafi-ud-darjat. A warrant of appointment having been signed, next day the *Wazir* brought a second order giving the same post to another nominee. The Emperor asked: "Is it the same village, or another with the same name?" He was told it was the same one, but this man was fit for the place and offered more than the other. The Emperor said it was foolishness to act like that, and threw the paper on the floor. [Yahya 127b.]

SEC. 8.—THE EMPEROR'S DEPOSITION AND DEATH.

In the confusion and hurry attending his accession, no heed had been paid to the state of Rafi-ud-darjat's health. He was

* In spite of the evidence of Khush-hal Chand, a contemporary and a resident at Dihli, I fear that this story about the Princess' cutting off her hair, must be treated as what lawyers call "common form." It is also related by N. Manucci, in regard to Rana Dil, one of the widows of Dara Shukoh, when summoned to his harem by Alamgir.

† No one sat in the Emperor's presence without his order or permission. Yahya Khan, 127a, has a version of this story, but he ascribes it to Rafi-ud-daulah.

afterwards found to be far advanced in consumption, he was also addicted to the use of opium ; and from the day that he ascended the throne, he became weaker and weaker. By the middle of Rajab (June) it was evident that his days were numbered. He then told the Sayyids that if they would comply with his most earnest desire, and raise to the throne his elder brother, Rafi-ud-daulah, he should die happy. Accordingly on the 17th Rajab (4th June 1719) Rafi-ud-darjat was deposed and sent back into the harem. Two days afterwards (6th June, 1719), Rafi-ud-daulah was seated on the throne in the public audience-hall within the palace at Dihli. On the 24th Rajab (11th June, 1719) Rafi-ud-darjat expired, and was buried near the shrine of Khwaja Qutb-ud-din. [Warid 159a.]

APPENDIX.—RAFI-UD-DARJAT.

Age.—At his death Rafi-ud-darjat was about twenty years of age ; the words *waris-i-taj* (1111 H.), "heir to the crown," giving the year of his birth, Khafi Khan, ii. 816. The *Jam-i-jam* gives the precise date as the 8th Jamadi II. 1111 H. (30th November, 1699) ; Mirza Muhammad, *Tariḫ-i-Muhammadi*, declares that he was only sixteen or seventeen years of age at his death.

Reign.—He reigned from his accession on the 9th Rabi II. to his deposition on the 17th Rajab 1131 H., for a period of three months and nine days.

Titles.—His style and title as Emperor was Abul-barakat, Sultan Shams-ud-din, Muhammad Rafi-ud-darjat, Badshah, Ghazi. (Mirza Muhammad, *Tazkira*, 470.)

Coin.—The distich placed upon his coin was :

Zad siḫḫa ba Hind ba hazaran barakat
Shahan-shah-i-bahr-o-bar, Rafi-ud-darjat.

"Coin was struck in Hind, with a thousand blessings,

By the king of kings on land and sea, Rafi-ud-darjat."

But on the second day of the reign Qutb-ul-mulk called on Fath Khan Fazil, to provide a couplet which should allow of a different word for gold coins (*ashrafi*) and silver coins (Rupees), as was the case with Alamgir's coinage. The poet on the spur of the moment produced the following lines :

Sikḥa zad Shah Rafi-ud-darjat

Mihr-manind ba yamin-o-barakat.

"The Emperor Rafi-ud-darjat struck coin,
Sun-like, with power and felicity."

On the Rupee the word *badr* (moon) was substituted for *mihr* (sun). It is not known whether these lines were ever actually brought into use, as we have no coin on which they appear ; but there is another variant on one coin in the Lahor Museum :

Sikḥa-i-mubarik-i-badshah-i-ghazi, Rafi-ud-darjat.

There are twenty-three coins of this reign in the three public collections at London, Calcutta, and Lahor ; four of gold and nineteen of silver, all circular in shape. All except one are dated according to the Hijra or the regnal year, or both. All except one coin can be classed under the *subahs* in which their place of mintage was situated. These twenty-two coins belong to ten mints in eight out of the twenty-one provinces ; Kashmir, Tattha, Ajmer, Gujarat, Malwa, Bengal, Orissa and the six Dakhin *subahs* being unrepresented. The number of coins from each mint is : Kabul (1), Lahor (4), Multan (1), Shahjahanabad (5), Akbarabad (5), Gwalियar (1), Etawa (2), Muazzamabad, *i.e.*, Oudh (1), Kora (1), Patna (1). It is curious that in such a short reign a distant province like Kabul should have issued any coin ; but the other places were well within control of the Court. In the gold coins the weights are 160, 168, 169 and 169.5 grains, and the diameters .77, .8, .85, and .94 of an inch. For the silver coins the weight and the diameter are respectively 172 (2), 173 (4), 174 (1), 174.5 (2), 175 (5), 176 (2), 177 (1), 178 (1), and 179 (1), grains, and .82 (1), .85 (2), .90 (5), .95 (5), .96 (1), .97 (1), 1.0 (3), 1.03 (1) of an inch. Mr. M. Longworth Dames (*Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, ii. 275-309) has three coins of this reign ; adding thereby two more mints to the above, *viz.*, Burhanpur and Sarhind.

Family.—The only reference to Rafi-ud-darjat's wife or wives is to be found in the story given a page or two back, from which we learn the name of one wife, Inayat Banu. He seems to have left no children. One notable point about him was his descent on both sides from Alamgir, his mother being the

daughter of Prince Akbar, that monarch's fourth son. With such an ancestry it is strange that he did not display more of the energy and ability characteristic of the earlier generations of his house.

SEC. 9.—THE ACCESSION OF RAFI-UD-DAULAH (1719).

On the 19th Rajab 1131 H. (6th June, 1719), Rafi-ud-daulah, middle son of Prince Rafi-ush-shan, third son of Bahadur Shah, ascended the throne in the audience-hall at Dihli in succession to his brother, Rafi-ud-darjat. He was eighteen months older than his predecessor. He received the title of Shah Jahan Sani, or the second Shah Jahan. At his accession no changes took place, except the insertion of his name on the coin and in the Friday prayer. He remained like his brother in the hands of Qutb-ul-mulk's nominees. His coming out and going in, his appearances in the audience-hall, what he ate and what he wore, his every act was under the control of Himmat Khan Barha. He was not allowed to attend the public prayers on Friday, to go hunting, or to converse with any noble, unless one of the two Sayyids or his guardian was present. His first formal audience was held in the *ramna* or hunting preserve of Khizrabad on the 24th Rajab (11th June, 1719) when the generals appointed for duty at Agra were presented and took their leave. After this the *khutba* was read at the great mosque in the new Emperor's presence on the 26th of the same month (13th June, 1719).*

SEC. 10.—RISING OF SHAISTA KHAN AT DIHLI.

Shaista Khan, maternal uncle of the late Emperor,† Farrukhsiyar, was naturally discontented with the new régime, and at

* Kamwar Khan, 203. Khafi Khan, ii. 831, fixes the 20th Rajab for the accession, perhaps to suit his chronogram: *Shambah bistam-i-mah-i-Rajab bud*, (1131 H.). Nor was it possible for the 20th to have fallen on a Saturday; it was either a Wednesday or a Thursday. The Khizrabad referred to is about five miles south of the new city or Shahjahanabad, and near the Jamuna river.

† Khwaja Inayatullah Kashmiri, entitled Shaista Khan, died early in Rajab 1141 H. (January, February, 1729), at Shahjahanabad, *Tarikh-i-Mhdi*.

the instigation of Rajah Jai Singh, began to collect soldiers, with the intention of escaping from Dihli and joining the Rajah, then on his march to the assistance of Nekusiyar. Meanwhile he kept the Rajah well informed of all that was going on at Dihli. Khan Dauran, (Khwaja Asim) and other great men attempted to dissuade Shaista Khan from this dangerous course. He paid no heed to them and continued his preparations. Then by accident a letter addressed by him to Rajah Jai Singh fell into the hands of Husain Ali Khan. By this time the malcontent was reported to have collected seven or eight thousand men.*

On the 23rd Rajab 1131 H. (10th June, 1719), Zafar Khan and Nahar Khan Hansawi† were sent against Shaista Khan with a strong force. They stormed his mansion and, taking him a prisoner, conveyed him to Husain Ali Khan then at Barahpula where he had been encamped since the 7th Rajab, (25th May, 1719). Shaista Khan's property in cash and goods, his horses and his elephants, his cows and his asses, were given up to plunder. This incident aroused suspicions in the Sayyids' hearts with regard to many other of the nobles. But at such a critical moment silence seemed the wisest thing. Of those suspected, only a few men openly declared themselves. Ruhullah Khan III., son of Ruhullah Khan, the second of that title, had been appointed *faujdar* of Ahmadabad in Gujarat, but on his way to that place had turned aside and joined Rajah Jai Singh. Tahavvar Khan Turani had also escaped secretly from Dihli a week after Husain Ali Khan had started for Agra, and he, too, repaired to Jai Singh's camp by forced marches. Qutb-ul-mulk sent horsemen in pursuit, but they were unable to overtake the fugitive. Another of these absconders to Jai Singh was Sayyid Salabat Khan, brother-in-law of Farrukhsiyar and lately commander of the imperial artillery. [Kamwar 204, Qasim 272, K. K. 832.]

* Khafi Khan 831, Kamwar Khan 204, and *Siwanih-i-Khizri*.

† That is "native of Hansi." He was either a Ranghar (a Muhammadan Rajput) or a Khanzada. Possibly he is identical with the Nahar Khan Shaikhzada, of Hansi, mentioned as *faujdar* of Dholka in Gujarat, see Kamwar Khan, p. 200, entry of 24th Jamadi I. 1131 H. Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 69a, says S. Dilawar Ali Khan, Bakhshi of the *Wazir*, was also sent against Shaista Khan.

SEC. 11.—HUSAIN ALI KHAN'S CAMPAIGN AT AGRA.

At length on the 6th Shaban (23rd June, 1719) Husain Ali Khan commenced his march. Under his orders were Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, Zafar Khan and others. Muhammad Khan Bangash came in from Sadabad* on the 20th Shaban (7th July, 1719) and followed the main body. At this time many rumours were prevalent. As usual in such cases, dreams or the opinions of soothsayers and astrologers favourable to Nekusiyar, passed from mouth to mouth. Rajah Jai Singh, people said, was marching from Amber on Agra; Chabela Ram was on his way from Allahabad at the head of thirty thousand men; Nizam-ul-mulk had started to reinforce them with a mighty army; Nekusiyar, in the garb of a *faqir*, had escaped from Agra and reached the camp of Rajah Jai Singh. Of all these statements the only true one was that Rajah Jai Singh had come out one stage from Amber at the head of nine or ten thousand horsemen, and there awaited the advance of Chabela Ram. The latter, however, was still busily occupied with the revolt of Jasan Singh of Kalpi, who was backed up by the Afghans. Nizam-ul-mulk showed no serious intention of taking up the cause of Nekusiyar. [Kamwar 205, K. K. 832.]

On the 21st Shaban (8th July, 1719) Husain Ali Khan reached Sikandra, within sight of Agra; the weather was extremely hot, and a halt was made for three days. On the 25th (12th July) camp was moved to Bagh Dahr-Ara. The siege which had been commenced by Ghairat Khan and Haidar Quli Khan, was now pressed on with redoubled energy. [Qasim, 277.]

SEC. 12.—SIEGE OF AGRA FORT.

As soon as he reached Agra, Husain Ali Khan rode round the fort and fixed in person the sites for the batteries, the side selected for attack being the south, where is the bastion then known as the *Bangala-burj*, a place which was weakly defended and had no earthwork (*pushta*) to strengthen the wall. Heavy

* Sadabad, a town in the Ganges-Jamuna *duaba*.

guns were brought to bear on the walls ;* but as the wet weather had begun and the rain was heavy, ten and in some cases twenty days were occupied in dragging these cannon the distance, only a mile or two, which separated the camp from the fort. The route through the lanes and bazars being very narrow, the dwelling-houses and shops were pulled down to allow of the passage of the artillery. Within the fort there are said to have been thirteen hundred cannon, counting those of every kind. From these the garrison artillerymen (the *Bakṣariya*) kept up an incessant fire, not allowing themselves a respite even during the night. Damage was done on both sides. Even persons resorting to the river bank to draw water were fired on from the fort, and fell victims. The governor's mansion near the fort was destroyed, the mosque known as the Begam Sahib's, standing opposite to the citadel, was injured, the tower and marble steps being struck by shot, and the buildings of the Tirpoliya or triple gate, suffered equally. The besiegers returned the fire and injured the battlements on all four walls, doing also some damage to the Moti Masjid. Haidar Quli Khan, who had under his command many Europeans, whom he had brought from Surat, drove several saps towards the walls. Little effect was, however, produced on the fort ; nor did the garrison show any enterprize, or try to open a way through the investing lines and join their friends outside. The attacking force had succeeded in causing the besieged to withdraw within the fort ; but beyond this advantage nothing was gained, except that Ghairat Khan and Shamsher Khan, after a good deal of fighting, took the *chabutra* or police office at the fort gate.†

The garrison were evidently reserving themselves until they had learnt of the advance of their hoped-for allies. Time passed, and of these helpers there was no word or sign. After

* These guns had each a name, such as *Ghazi Khan* (Lord Champion), *Sherdahan* (Tiger-mouth), *Dhum-dham* (The noisy), and so forth. They carried balls from thirty Shahjahani sers to one and a quarter *man* in weight; attached to each were from one to four elephants, and from six hundred to seventeen hundred draught oxen.

† Shiu Das, 29a; *Risala-i-Muhammad Shah*, 76b; Qasim, 280.

a month provisions began to be scarce. Many of those who had joined from the country round began to desert, getting over the walls at night, only to be seized by the Nawab's sentries. These fugitives informed Husain Ali of the disheartened and suffering condition of the garrison and the depression in Mitr Sen's mind. All the good grain had been used up ; and nothing was left but inferior pulses, and these had been stored over seven years and smelt so strongly, that even the four-footed beasts would not eat them with avidity. Attempts were made to bring in small supplies of flour, which were dragged up by ropes let down from the battlement. Even some men of the artillery in the besieging force engaged in this traffic. After this fact was found out, the strictness of watch was redoubled, anything moving in the river at night was shot at, and expert swimmers were kept ready to pursue and seize any one who attempted to escape by way of the river.

Secret overtures were accordingly made to the garrison. In Husain Ali Khan's artillery a man was serving named Chura, who had acquaintances within the fort ; and through him a message was sent to these men guaranteeing to them their lives and property, if they delivered up Prince Nekusiyar together with the fort. Churaman Jat, who commanded at an entrenchment near the fort, opened up similar negotiations. The garrison called these two Churas within the fort, where they placed a pot of Ganges water on their heads and made them swear an oath to carry out faithfully the terms agreed on.*

About this time the *hazaris*, or captains of artillery, had told Mitr Sen that they could not continue the defence. Mitr Sen sent a confidential secretary, Nath Mal, to reassure them. This Nath Mal was the son of Bhukan Mal, who had been high in the service of Asad Khan, Alamgir's *Wazir*. Instead of listening to his remonstrances, the artillerymen seized Nath Mal and made him over to their friends outside. He was brought before Husain Ali Khan, and in his pen-box were found communications to Nekusiyar from many of the nobles holding commands in the besieging force or offices round the Emperor's person. Husain Ali Khan dissembled in this matter

* Shiu Das, 30a; Mhd. Qasim, 281, 286, 287.

as much as possible but his bosom friend, Asad Ali Khan, a connection of the celebrated Ali Mardan Khan, was publicly disgraced. Among the letters found were some from Samsam-ud-daulah and Zafar Khan Roshan-ud-daulah. [K. K. 836, *Siwanih*.]

Others captured were Rup Lal and his companions, seven men in all, who had been sent to some of the besieging nobles in the hope of winning their adherence to Nekusiyar's cause. Their captor was Khizr Khan Panni; Rup Lal was executed. Sayyid Firuz Ali Khan also made prisoners of Sulaiman Beg and six others. A large sum was offered by Husain Ali Khan to any one who would surrender the fort. [Kamraj, 696.]

Shortly afterwards Mirza Asghari, brother's son of Nekusiyar,* tried to make his escape from the fort (22nd Ramzan 1131 H., 7th August, 1719), with the hope of reaching Rajah Jai Singh at Amber, or Chabela Ram at Allahabad. He intended to come out on the side facing the river, but Manohar Jat, one of the garrison, sent notice to Churaman Jat, who commanded in that direction. From sunset Churaman took up his station near the river at the head of two hundred men. When Mirza Asghari, followed by twelve servants, made his appearance, he was forthwith seized and detained till the morning. At day-break he was taken before Husain Ali Khan, who ordered him to be kept a prisoner in the custody of Mutamad Khan. The money which he had brought out to bribe Churaman, was made over to that chief, together with an elephant.†

A plan was now devised to overcome Safi Khan's reluctance to give in, and to induce him to abandon the struggle. A letter purporting to be from his brother, Islam Khan, then a prisoner at Dihli, was prepared, and on it Qutb-ul-mulk impressed the seal of Islam Khan. It urged Safi Khan to resist no longer, but make over the fort and the pretender to Ghairat Khan. Safi Khan sent this letter on to Ghairat Khan, expressing his willingness to surrender, if he were promised a pardon. Ghairat Khan hurried off to Husain Ali Khan and obtained from him a written

* Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 69b, says it was the other son of Buland Akhtar, viz., Fath-ul-mubin, who tried to escape.

† *Siwanih-i-Khizri*, Khafi Khan ii. 836, Kamwar Khan 207.

promise of pardon, attested by his seal and signature. Thereupon Safi Khan came out of the fort and delivered up letters which he had received from many of the great nobles, instigating him to bring forward Nekusiyar as a claimant for the throne. Among the rest was one bearing the private seal of Husain Ali Khan himself. He was struck with amazement. On enquiring, he found that Mitr Sen at the time when he had access to the Nawab's *darbar*, had prepared it and sent it to Safi Khan. [*Siwanih.*]

SEC. 13.—SURRENDER OF AGRA FORT AND OF NEKUSIYAR.

At length on the 27th Ramzan 1131 H.* (12th August, 1719) the garrison surrendered. Ghairat Khan was sent in with a force to take possession, while Rajah Muhkam Singh and Samandar Khan brought out Nekusiyar and his other nephew, Baba Mughal.† At the gate of the fort the two Princes were placed on elephants and escorted to the camp. A great crowd had assembled to see them, through which they passed with hanging heads, looking neither to the right nor to the left. As they dismounted, Husain Ali Khan advanced to greet them and conducted them to the tent already allotted to Mirza Asghari. There they were made to sit on one carpet of honour (*masnad*), while the Bakhshi stood before them humbly, with folded hands. But Nekusiyar, whose life had been passed in the harem, rose at once, and in the dialect used by women began to beg and pray for his life, accompanying his words by prostrations utterly opposed to usage. Anxious to maintain the usual decorum, the Nawab took his hand, and remonstrating, said, "Let your mind be at rest, and count this place as your own. Until this time you were in the hands of infidels." Nekusiyar uttered bitter complaints against those who had made use of him for their own purposes; and asked that some eunuch might be sent at once to allay the terror of his mother and the other women, by

* It is the 29th Ramzan in Muhammad Qasim, 289, and so also in the *Tabsirat-un-nazirin*, year 1131 H., p. 129, where is to be found Abdul-jalil's *qasida* in honour of the occasion. The poet was present on the spot.

† Baba Mughal is, I suppose, the same as the Prince called Fath-ul-mubin by Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, fol. 69b.

informing them of the kind reception he and his nephew had received. They were then furnished with carpets, pillows and other necessities.*

Before the imperial soldiers could seize him, Mitr Sen had made an end of himself by plunging a dagger into his own breast. While still a little breath was left in the body, the soldiers, to prove their zeal, lifted it up and carried it into the presence of Husain Ali Khan. He ordered them to sever the head from the body and send it to Qutb-ul-mulk. For three days the drums were beaten in honour of the victory, and in the end Nekusiyar was sent to Dihli to be placed with the other captive Princes in Salimgarh: he died there on the 6th Rajab 1135 H. (11th March, 1723) and was buried at the Qutb.†

The next pressing work was to obtain possession of the hoards of treasure and other property. Husain Ali Khan in person proceeded to the fort, where he placed Haidar Quli Khan in general charge, and Ghairat Khan was told off to search for treasure. Trusty men were placed as sentries at the gates and no one, whether belonging to the army or not, was allowed to pass without being strictly searched. Ancient treasurers and guards of Alamgir's time, who had long left the service, were summoned from their homes. By much urging and the offer of rewards they were induced to point out the underground store-houses. In one place thirty-five *lakhs* of *tanka* minted in the time of Sikandar Lodi (1488-1516) were recovered; and in another seventy-eight *lakhs* of Shah Jahan's silver coinage, with ten thousand gold coins of Akbar's reign. The papers of account were also recovered. These showed that the money had been placed by Alamgir in the custody of Shaista Khan, Amir-ul-umara; but upon that Emperor's death in the Dakhin, no further notice had been taken of these hoards. They were not discovered in Bahadur Shah's or Jahandar Shah's time. In the wardrobe were a shawl studded with jewels which had belonged to Nur Jahan Begam, a sword used by the

* Kamwar 208, Shiu Das 30b, Khafi Khan 836, Qasim 289.

† *Burhan-us-safa*, 167b; Kamwar Khai. 208; Khafi Khan, 837; *Tarikh-i-Mhdi.*, year 1135; *Siwanih-i-Khizri*, p. 3.

Emperor Jahangir, and the sheet sprinkled with pearls which Shah Jahan caused to be prepared for the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal. One valuation puts the property at 1,80,00,000 Rupees (£1,800,000), 1,40,00,000 Rupees in cash and the rest in goods. Khafi Khan puts it still higher, namely, at two to three *laks* of Rupees (£2,000,000 to £3,000,000).*

SEC. 14.—THE EMPEROR AND QUTB-UL-MULK START FROM DIHLI FOR AGRA.

When news was received at Dihli that Jai Singh had so far declared himself as to move out from Amber in the direction of Biana and Agra, Abdullah Khan decided upon taking the field with the Emperor in person. Accordingly the advance-tents were sent out to Masjid-i-moth, a distance of three *kos*, on the 26th Shaban 1131 H. (13th July, 1719). Sayyid Khan Jahan† was left in charge of the city and the palace. On the 28th the Emperor visited the Qutb and next day he marched to Khizrabad. After three more marches they reached Sikri on the 8th Ramzan (24th July, 1719), and the rain being very heavy, a halt was made for two or three days. On the 19th Ramzan (4th August, 1719) they were between Karahka and Kori; and here Rajah Ajit Singh received permission to proceed to Mathura to bathe in the Ganges. At the stage of Kosi, about thirty miles north-west of Mathura, it was decided, from reasons of prudence, not to march straight towards Amber, but to keep more to the left and make for Fathpur Sikri. One camp was at Kuraoli, eight *kos* from Agra; thence the *Wazir* and his brother moved to Fathpur, eight or nine miles farther to the west.‡

SEC. 15.—FARRUKH-SIYAR'S WIDOW IS MADE OVER TO HER FATHER, AJIT SINGH.

At the time of setting out from Dihli, Ajit Singh had been appointed to command the vanguard. Thereupon he commenced

* Mhd. Qasim 292, Shiu Das 305, Khafi Khan 837, *Siwanih-i-Khizri* p. 3.

† Khan Jahan died on the 12th Shawwal 1132 H. (16th August, 1720).

‡ Mhd. Qasim, 282, 283; Kamwar Khan, 209; Khafi Khan, 833; Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 70a. Kori and Karahka I cannot trace on the *Indian Atlas*. Kuraoli is on sheet No. 50, about 15 m. west of Agra.

to make excuses, on the ground that if he left his daughter, Farrukh-siyar's widow, behind him, she would either poison herself or her name and fame would be assailed. Yielding to these pleas, Abdullah Khan mad the lady over to her father. She performed a ceremony of purification in the Hindu fashion, and gave up her Muhammadan attire. Then, with all her property, estimated to exceed 1,00,00,000 Rupees (£1,000,000) in value, she was sent off to her native country of Jodhpur. Great indignation was felt by the Muhammadans, especially by the more bigoted class of those learned in the law. The Qazi issued a ruling that the giving back of a convert was entirely opposed to Muhammadan law. But, in spite of this opposition, Abdullah Khan insisted on conciliating Ajit Singh, although on no previous occasion had a Rajput Princess been restored to her own people after she had once entered the imperial harem. [K. K. 833, *Siwanih.*]

SEC. 16.—THE EMPEROR AND ABDULLAH KHAN MARCH
TOWARDS AGRA.

When Husain Ali Khan learnt that his brother had left the capital, a movement undertaken without his previous knowledge, he wrote an urgent remonstrance. He begged that no advance might be made into Rajah Jai Singh's country, for he had already taken all the precautions that were necessary. His *Bakhshi*, Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan, with Mir Mushrif and Zafar Khan Turra-i-baz, had been sent early in the rains to reduce a fort called Fathpur, held by Khama Jat. This force had now been directed to block the way to Rajah Jai Singh, and nothing more was required in that direction. Abdullah Khan might either encamp where he was, or come on to Agra. [Qasim 283.]

On the 27th Ramzan (12th August, 1719) a messenger brought word to Abdullah Khan that his brother had just obtained possession of Agra fort, and was then busied in appropriating its contents to his own use. Although the victory was a cause of rejoicing, the thought of exclusion from his share of the booty depressed the *Wazir's* mind. An immediate advance was resolved upon. On the 29th Ramzan (14th August,

1719) the camp was at Sarsi, and on the 11th Shawwal (26th August, 1719) at Ol, where Ajit Singh rejoined from Mathura. On the 17th of that month they reached the village of Bidyapur, not far from Fathpur Sikri.*

On the 19th Shawwal (4th September, 1719) a report was received that Husain Ali Khan was near Kuraoli on his way from Agra with Nekusiyar and the other captives. Next day he arrived, and one day after his arrival he was presented in audience. The quarrel which had broken out between the brothers over the booty taken at Agra, was here made up through the exertions of Rajah Ratan Chand. Abdullah Khan received twenty-one, or, as some say,† twenty-eight *lakhs* of Rupees, a sum which was supposed to represent his half-share, after all the expenses of the campaign had been deducted. The sword of Jahangir and the shawl of Nur Jahan were retained by the Emperor, but the rest of the booty was granted to the two brothers.‡

SEC. 17.—ILLNESS AND DEATH OF RAFI-UD-DAULAH.

Rafi-ud-daulah turned out to be as sickly and weakly as his brother and predecessor, being like him given to excess in the use of opium. On ascending the throne he gave up the habit, but the sudden abstinence produced diarrhoea. About the time that he started from Dihli he fell seriously ill. Accusations of poison are freely made by some writers, notably by Kamwar Khan: but this man's views on the subject can be readily accounted for. He had risen in the service of Rafi-ush-shan, the father of this and the previous Emperor, and naturally he expected much personal benefit from their coming

* Kamwar Khan, 208. Sarsi I cannot trace: Ol is on the *Indian Atlas*, sheet 50, as Oll, about 27 m. n. w. of Agra and about 15 m. s. w. of Mathura. Bidyapur is not traceable on the *Indian Atlas* map; it was the birth-place of Khizr Khan Panni, the hero of the *Siwanih-i-Khizri* so often quoted. Through the kindness of Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, C.S., Commissioner of Agra, I learn that it is opposite mile-stone No. 17 on the metalled road from Agra to Fathpur Sikri. Kuraoli is about 15 miles w. of Agra.

† The *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* has 30 *lakhs* of Rupees.

‡ Khafi Khan 837, *Siwanih-i-Khizri* p. 4.

to the throne. In this he was entirely disappointed. From fear of the Sayyids, the two Princes had discouraged the applications of their own dependants, such as Kamwar Khan, and by reason of their shortlived tenure of the throne such hopes of preferment were dashed to the ground. Instigated by his sorrow for their early death and by regret at his own vanished prospects, is it to be wondered at that he lost his judgment, and too readily believed that his young masters had been made away with? He was ready to accept any assertion, however improbable it might be, about the two Sayyids. The only overt act he can adduce is the substitution of the physician, Ulwi Khan, for Mahdi-Quli Khan, as head of the royal kitchen. Then in a later entry, 20th Shawwal (4th September), he insists that the attack of diarrhoea from which the young Emperor suffered, was due to the Sayyids' "cunning devices." Finally, on the 28th Shawwal (12th September), when Masih-uz-zaman, Abdullah Khan, and other physicians were called to the Emperor's bedside, Kamwar Khan can only say that "they took counsel for his departure." These vague accusations cannot for a moment be entertained. To refute them it is enough to remember how much the Sayyids were interested in keeping the Prince alive, if they could. They could in no way benefit by such gratuitous iniquity as the poisoning of an inoffensive Prince, with whom they had no quarrel, and from whom they could anticipate no injury. The truth is that Rafi-ud-daulah was not only of a weak constitution, but was addicted to opium. This fact sufficiently accounts for his succumbing under an attack of the kind from which he was suffering, as that disease when once set up in an opium-eater is almost incurable. His death occurred in camp at Bid'yapur on the 4th or 5th Zul Qada 1131 H. (17th or 18th September, 1719) but the fact was concealed until the arrival from Dihli of some other Prince to be his successor. A week or more before his death the Sayyids' nephew, Ghulam Ali Khan, and other nobles had been despatched in all haste to Dihli for that purpose. [*T. Muzaffari* 166.]

According to one author, various stories more or less absurd were in circulation about the early death of these two Emperors. Some said that the Sayyids, having found the two youths devoid

of learning, deficient in knowledge of men, and wanting in valour, became convinced that they were useless as sovereigns, and had therefore removed them by poison. Again, others hinted that by reading the stars it was found that these Princes were doomed to misfortune, and the Sayyids were impelled to their removal by the fear of being themselves involved. Or, as some suggested, the Sayyids had resolved on killing out by degrees the whole of Taimur's race. When the way was open, they meant to claim the throne for themselves, Qutb-ul-mulk taking Hindustan, and Husain Ali Khan, the Dakhin and Malwa. The author in question sums up in favour of the third supposition, and blames the Sayyids for forgetting that :—

"He who chooses to leave the beaten path
Will never reach his journey's end." [*Ahwal*, 172a.]

APPENDIX.—RAFI-UD-DAULAH.

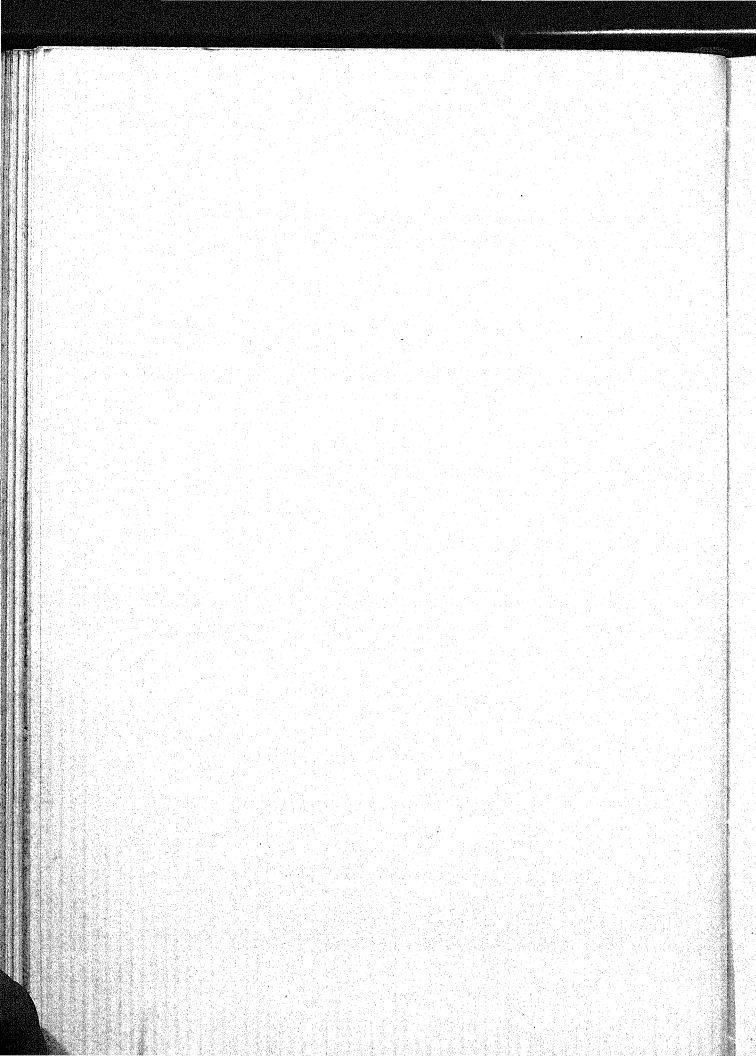
Length of reign.—Rafi-ud-daulah reigned four months and sixteen days. As the month or year of his birth is nowhere stated in any first-class authority, we do not know his exact age. If he was eighteen months older than his brother, Rafi-ud-darjat, he must have been between twenty and twenty-one years old at the time of death.

Title.—On his accession he received the title of Shah Jahan Sani (the second), but his full style is nowhere given.

Coin.—There are nineteen of this Emperor's coins in the three public collections before referred to ; three of gold and sixteen of silver, all circular. Except one, all are dated, bearing the year 1131 H. These nineteen coins come from ten mints in eight out of the twenty-one provinces : coins from Kabul, Kashmir, Multan, Ajmer, Oudh, Allahabad, Malwa, Orissa, and five out of the six Dakhin *subahs* are absent.

Family.—We do not know if Rafi-ud-daulah was married, or if he was, who his wife was ; nor do we hear of his having left any children. On the 13th Zul Qada (21st September, 1719) his bier was sent to Dihli, and he was buried beside his brother near the shrine of Qutb-ud-din.

Vol. 2
1719-1739



THE LATER MUGHALS

CHAPTER VI

MUHAMMAD SHAH: TUTELAGE UNDER THE SAYYIDS, (1719-1720).

SEC. I.—ACCESSION.

During the few days which elapsed between the death of Rafi-ud-daulah and the arrival of his successor, the *Wazir* and his brother made their usual daily visit to the imperial quarters and returned with robes of honour, as if newly conferred on them, thus deceiving the common people into the belief that the Emperor was still alive.*

At length on the 11th Zul Qada 1131 H. (24th September, 1719), Ghulam Ali Khan arrived in the camp at Bidyapur, a village three *kos* to the north of Fathpur Sikri. He brought with him Prince Roshan Akhtar, the son of the late Khujista-Akhtar, Jahan Shah, fourth son of the Emperor Bahadur Shah.† The death of Rafi-ud-daulah was now (26th September, 1719) made public, his bier brought out, and his body despatched for burial to Dihli. Arrangements were at once made for the enthronement of his successor.‡

This enthronement took place at Bidyapur§ on the 15th Zul Qada 1131 H. (28th September, 1719) and Roshan Akhtar

* Shiu Das, 32b. A newly-conferred *khillat* was worn for twenty-four hours, and nothing was allowed to be put on over it.

† Rustam Ali, *Tarikh-i-Hindi*, fol. 237a, says the Prince was brought from Dihli in three days, travelling in a boat down the Jamuna.

‡ Kamwar Khan, 211; Khafi Khan, ii. 840.

§ From the *tahsildar's* report kindly obtained for me by Mr. Reynolds as already stated, I find that there is a place Tajpur, four miles west of Bidyapur. From the name, and the fact that the village is a perpetual *muafi*, I infer that Tajpur may be the actual place of enthronement.

was proclaimed under the titles of Abul Fath,* Nasir-ud-din, Muhammad Shah, Badshah, Ghazi. He was a handsome and, at that time, fairly intelligent young man, and having been born at Ghazni on the 23rd Rabi I. 1114 H. (16th August, 1702), was now in his eighteenth (lunar) year. Coin was issued and the *khutba* read in his name ; and it was directed that the commencement of the reign should be antedated, and fixed from the removal of Farrukh-siyar from the throne. All other arrangements were continued as in the last two reigns, and no new appointments were made. All the persons surrounding the sovereign were as before the nominees of the two Sayyids, and Himmat Khan continued as before to act as tutor and guardian. Muhammad Shah deferred to him in everything, and asked of him permission to attend the public prayers on Friday or to go out shooting. On the march men in the confidence of the Sayyids surrounded the young Emperor and prevented any access to him.†

SEC. 2.—TERMS MADE WITH JAI SINGH.

It was now given out that the Emperor, after worshipping at the tomb of Shaikh Salim Chishti, in Fathpur, would march on to Ajmer and visit the shrine of Muin-ud-din Chishti. The hidden motive was to overawe Rajah, Jai Singh who, since the removal of Farrukh-siyar, had been at little pains to conceal his hostile intentions. He had received some aid in money from the Rana of Udepur, as is shown by his letter to that Prince's minister, dated the 4th Bhadon Sambat 1776 (9th August, 1719), wherein he asserts that Nizam-ul-mulk had started from Ujjain and Chabela Ram had crossed the Jamuna at Kalpi, both of which statements were false.‡ When he learnt of the rising at

* *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 166. But Ghulam Ali Khan, *Muqaddama-i-Shah Alam-nama*, 45a, states that on the 3rd Jamadi II. 1134 H. (20th March, 1722), the style was changed from "Abul Fath" to "Abul Muzaffar."

† Kamwar Khan, 213; Khush-hal Chand, Berlin MS. No. 495, fol. 995a has, for date, "middle of Zul Qada."

‡ He was further encouraged in his hostility by Tahavvar Khan Turani. Salabat Khan, the late *Mir Atash*, Ruhullah Khan, and the other refugees from Dilli already referred to.

Agra, he came out from his capital, Amber, with much ostentation. Following the Rajput custom when resolved on death or victory, he and his men had clothed themselves in saffron raiment and sprinkled their heads with green grass.* He announced publicly that he had bestowed the city of Amber on the Brahmans as a sacred gift (*dan* and *arthan*). He had marched as far as pargana Toda Tank, about eighty miles south-west of Agra, and there waited to see which way events would turn. He was watched by a force under Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan, which barred his further advance northwards. [Qasim 294, Tod i. 380.]

Maharajah Ajit Singh had offered himself as mediator, but his leisurely procedure, protracted in the way usual to him and his fellow-rajahs, did not accord with the fiery temperament of Husain Ali Khan. It was with a view to bring this matter to a head that an advance from Fathpur Sikri towards Ajmer was proposed. A few marches were made to places in the neighbourhood, but no real start was attempted. The camp was between Malikpur and Muminabad on the 24th Zul Qada (7th October, 1719) and here Husain Ali Khan came in from Fathpur to pay his respects. Another stage was travelled on the 26th (9th October).†

On the 1st Zul Hijja (14th October, 1719) the Emperor's mother, now styled Nawab Qudsiya, and other women of the harem, who had been sent for from Dihli arrived in camp. The Begam had acted most warily, avoiding everything that could arouse the suspicions of the Sayyids. When the messengers of the Sayyids came to Dihli to fetch her son, she bestowed on them, on the men who were to accompany him, and on all

* I read *gyahe*, "grass," in Muhammad Qasim, but Tod, i. 506, speaks of their wearing on such occasions the *maur* or bridal crown, which is probably much the same thing in other words—John Christian, *Behar Proverbs*, p. 197, No. 426, tells us that the bridegroom's head-dress "is made of talipot leaves and in some places of date (palm) leaves." That it is sometimes actually made of grass may be inferred from W. Crooke's *Tribes and Castes of the N. W. Provinces*, ii. 62.

† Qasim, 294. There is a Malikpur about five miles east of Fathpur. *India's Atlas*, sheet 50; Muminabad, I am unable to trace.

office-holders at Dihli, the customary dresses of honour. But learning that this assumption of authority had displeased the Sayyids, she sent away all subsequent applicants. In the same manner, when she arrived in camp, she warned all persons who had any connection with her late husband, Jahan Shah, to abstain from appearing on the road to greet or escort her. She studied the susceptibilities of the Sayyids in every particular. A sum of fifteen thousand Rupees monthly was set apart for her expenses and those of the other women. [Kamwar 214, K. K. 841.]

As the negotiations with Jai Singh were still in progress and no satisfactory terms could be arranged, Ajit Singh, who was extremely anxious to return home, offered to visit Jai Singh in person on his way to Jodhpur. Accordingly he was dismissed to his home, and on the 2nd Zul Hijja (15th October, 1719) the report came in that three days before (12th October), Jai Singh had quitted Toda on his return to Amber. The fugitive nobles, Tahavvar Khan, Salabat Khan, and Ruhullah Khan, were at his request pardoned and left with him unmolested. The great persuasive in his withdrawal was the large sum of money that he received. Some say the amount was as much as twenty lakhs of Rupees. This money was paid to him on the plea that it was required to buy back Amber from the Brahmans. To the public it was announced as a gift on his marriage with the daughter of Ajit Singh, to whom he had long been betrothed. As part of these negotiations Rajah Jai Singh obtained the government of *sarkar* Sorath (*subah* Ahmadabad). But the rest of Ahmadabad remained under Ajit Singh, with the addition of the whole of Ajmer. That Rajah's formal appointment to the latter *subah* was announced on the 23rd Zul Hijja (5th November, 1719). In this way the country from a point sixty miles south of Dihli to the shores of the ocean at Surat was in the hands of these two rajahs, very untrustworthy sentinels for the Mughals on this exposed frontier.*

* Kamwar, 214, 216; Khafi Khan, 838; Qasim, 297; Shiu Das, 32a.

SEC. 3.—THE EMPEROR MOVES FROM FATHPUR TO AGRA.

From the date of his arrival in camp, 11th Zul Qada (24th September, 1719) until the 20th Zul Hijja, Muhammad Shah had never moved far from Fathpur Sikri. He kept the *Id* festival (10th Zul Hijja) in his tents at Fathpur, and visited the tomb of Shah Salim Chishti, at that place on the 14th of the same month. On the 20th he started for Agra, and three days later (5th November, 1719) he camped at Talab Khela Nath. On the 15th Muharram 1132 H. (27th November, 1719) quarters were taken up for a few days at the palace within the fort of Agra, but on the 2nd Safar (14th December, 1719) the Emperor returned to his tents at his former encampment. At this time Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan, *Bakhshi* of Husain Ali Khan's army, was sent towards Jalesar and Sadabad in the *Duaba* to punish the Jats, who had lately carried off over one hundred of the imperial camels.*

SEC. 4.—CAMPAIGN AGAINST BUNDI.

As already mentioned, there had been for several years a dispute between Budh Singh Hada, and his relation Bhim Singh, about the country of Bundi in Rajputana. Budh Singh, who was in possession, had thrown in his lot with Farrukh-siyar and Rajah Jai Singh Sawai. Bhim Singh had sided with the minister and his brother. As a reward his restoration was now decided upon, Budh Singh having recently added to his former iniquities by himself assisting Girdhar Bahadur, the rebellious governor of Allahabad, and instigating Chhattarsal Bundela, to do the same. On the 5th Muharram 1132 H. (17th November, 1719) Bhim Singh was sent on this enterprise and Dost Muhammad Khan Afghan† of Malwa was, at the rajah's request, given a high *mansab* and placed under his orders. Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan, *Bakhshi* of Husain Ali Khan's army, who had lately returned from his expedition against the Jats, received orders to proceed to Bundi with a well-equipped force of fifteen thousand

* Kamwar Khan. 215; Qasim, 2nd recension, 402.

† Founder of the Bhopal State. At this time he was on bad terms with Nizam-ul-mulk, then *subahdar* of Malwa.

horsemen. Gaj Singh of Narwar was also ordered to join. In addition to the avowed object of their march, they carried with them secret instructions to remain on the borders of Malwa until it was known whether their services might not be required in that direction. Bhim Singh had been promised the title of Maharajah and the rank 7,000 (7,000 horse), with the fish standard, if he took part in a successful campaign against Nizam-ul-mulk in Malwa.*

On the 3rd Rabi II. 1132 H. (12th February, 1720) the report was received that Rao Bhim Singh and Dilawar Ali Khan had fought a battle with the uncle of Rao Budh Singh, in which their opponent was defeated and slain, along with five or six thousand of his clan. [K. K. 851, Kamwar 218.]

SEC. 5.—CHABELA RAM AND GIRDHAR BAHADUR AT ALLAHABAD.

Chabela Ram Nagar owed his fortunes entirely to Azim-ush-shan, fighting for whom his brother, Daya Ram, was killed in 1124 H., 1712, at Lahor. He had been one of the earliest to declare himself in Farrukh-siyar's favour, after that Prince's cause had been espoused by the Sayyid brothers. In reward for this zeal he had obtained high rank and various important appointments. He had never been well affected to the Sayyids, and had made a good deal of underhand complaint about them to Farrukh-siyar. At the time of that Emperor's deposition, he was governor of the Allahabad province. The downfall of his patron was distinctly opposed to his interests; but, as the saying is, "the earth is hard and the sky far off." From that moment he stood aloof from the Sayyids, in an attitude not far removed from rebellion; and his name was mixed up with all the rumoured projects having for their object the rescue of the late sovereign from the hands of the Sayyid ministers. His declared revolt against them may be dated from the middle of Ramzan 1131 H., (August 1719), just a little before the time that Agra fort was re-captured and the movement in favour of Nekusiyar suppressed. Troubles raised by Jasan Singh, zamindar of Kalpi, instigated by Muhammad Khan Bangash, and his agent, Rustam

* Khafi Khan, ii. 844; Kamwar Khan, 216; Khizr Khan, 41.

Khan Afridi of Mau-Shamsabad, had kept Chabela Ram busily occupied within his own province, and had prevented his marching to Agra. As the fort at that place had now been recovered and Jai Singh Sawai bought off, it was necessary to deal next with Chabela Ram, more especially as his contumacy barred the road to a remittance from Bengal, which had been detained at Patna. [Khush-hal Berlin MS. 999a.]

His nephew, Girdhar Bahadur, son of the late Daya Ram, had been summoned to Dihli just before Farrukh-siyar's removal from the throne ; and after that event, Chabela Ram's discontent becoming known, Girdhar Bahadur was detained at the capital in a sort of honorable captivity. When the *Wazir* started for Agra with the Emperor, Rafi-ud-daulah, Girdhar Bahadur was placed in charge of Lutf-ullah Khan Sadiq, and by him entrusted to his son, Hidayat Ali Khan. This custodian visited his prisoner daily. On one occasion he happened to mention that Husain Ali Khan would soon march to Allahabad, and put an end to Chabela Ram and his opposition. That very night Girdhar Bahadur fled, having bought over his guard. At dawn fifty horsemen started in pursuit, but no trace of the fugitive could be discovered. Soon it was learnt that he had reached Allahabad and joined his uncle, Chabela Ram. [Siwanih, 7.]

Girdhar Bahadur was sent out from Allahabad with a fresh force against Jasan Singh of Kalpi ; and after that rebel had been repeatedly defeated, the parties came to an agreement and Girdhar Bahadur returned to Allahabad. This place was already seriously threatened. Sayyid Abdullah Khan had detached Abdun-nabi Khan against it with six thousand horsemen ; and on Husain Ali Khan's part, Daud Khan, deputy of Muhammad Khan at Gwaliyar, was ordered on the same service at the head of three thousand men, with whom he marched through Karra to Allahabad. Diler Khan, a slave of the Bangash chief, joined Abdun-nabi Khan at Etawa with fifteen hundred men. [Ibid 8.]

Chabela Ram, leaving his nephew in charge of Allahabad fort, came out several *kos* and entrenched himself. The two forces were not yet in sight of each other, when Chabela Ram

was seized with paralysis and died before he could reach Allahabad.* His death took place in Zul Hijja 1131 H. (November 1719). The two brothers looked on this death as a special interposition of Providence, receiving the news with every demonstration of joy ; and they at once sent off a robe of honour for Girdhar Bahadur, with a request for the surrender of the fort of Allahabad. Active hostilities had meanwhile been suspended. Abdun-nabi Khan, as soon as he heard of Chabela Ram's death, halted at Shahzadpur† for further orders, and conveyed to Girdhar Bahadur the *Wazir's* offer that if he would come peaceably out of Allahabad, he should forthwith receive the province of Oudh with the *faujdar*-ships of Lakhnau and Gorakhpur.

Girdhar Bahadur, however, rejected all overtures. His excuse, an obviously insufficient one, was that he had not yet finished the funeral obsequies of his uncle, which could only be completed at the holy Tribeni (that is, Allahabad, *alias* Pryag), where the Ganges, Jamuna and Sarsuti are supposed to meet. For one year he would not be at liberty to leave the place. He employed this breathing space in active preparations for a siege, and in the accumulation of ample supplies within the fort walls. He is said to have dug a trench from the Ganges to the Jamuna and filled it with water from those rivers, thus protecting the fort on its most vulnerable side, that towards the west. Outside this channel he erected a number of small earthen forts.‡

At this time the Bundelas were active and troublesome, both to the south of their country on the borders of Malwa, and to the north of it between Allahabad and Agra. With regard to the first of these outbreaks, Nizam-ul-mulk, the *subahdar* of Malwa, was written to. For the protection of the country near

* Khush-hal Chand, Berlin MS., No. 495, fol. 999a, reports that some men suggested foul play. Their story was that "a letter arrived from the Sayyids, and as soon as he (C. R.) had opened the envelope, he gave up the ghost."

† In the Cawnpore district, Lat., 26°77', Long. 80°2', Thornton, 881.

‡ *Siwanih-i-Khizri*, p. 8; Kamwar Khan, entry of 25th Zul Hijja; the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* places the death of C. R. "at the end of the year 1131"; Qasim 300, 301, 302; Shiu Das, f. 33a.

the Jamuna, a force was ordered to assemble under Muhammad Khan Bangash, Aziz Khan Daudzai, Hasan Khan, *faujdar* of Kora Jahanabad, and other *jagirdars*. They were to await orders on the south of the Jamuna. Saadat Khan, Burhan-ul-mulk (who had been recently, 6th October 1719, appointed *faujdar* of Hindaun and Biana) was designated as commander of the imperial vanguard. About this time Mir Jumla Tarkhan, who had lately made his peace with the Sayyids, had been nominated (8th Zul Hijja 1131 H., 21st October 1719) to the office of *Sadar-us-sadur*, or superintendent of endowments, but found a difficulty in obtaining the issue of his patent of appointment, owing to the obstructive action of Rajah Ratan Chand. Mir Jumla invoked the aid of Saadat Khan who spoke to Husain Ali Khan. Ratan Chand was displeased, and soon succeeded in alienating Abdullah Khan from Saadat Khan. The command of the vanguard was taken from him and given to Haidar Quli Khan.*

With reference to Ratan Chand's interference, even in matters belonging to other departments, they tell the following story: One day Ratan Chand brought to Abdullah Khan a man whom he wished to be made a *Qazi*. Abdullah Khan said with a smile to a bystander: "Ratan Chand now nominates the *Qazis*." The courtier replied: "He has got everything he wants in this world, why should he not now look after the other world?" Or, as Fakhr-ud-din Khan, son of Shaikh Abdul-aziz, remarked one day to Abdullah Khan: "Now-a-days, through your favour, Ratan Chand is as great a man as was Himu, the shopkeeper."†

Haidar Quli Khan started for Allahabad on the 1st Muharram 1132 H., 13th November 1719. On the way he was joined

* Kamwar Khan, entries of 23rd Zul Qada and 8th Zul Hijja 1131 H.; Khizr Khan, p. 10; Shiu Das, 33. Kora Jahanabad is in the Fatehpur District: Thornton, 522; Hindaun (in Jaipur territory), Lat. 26°41', Long. 77°16'; Biana (in Bharatpur territory), Lat. 26°57', Long. 77°20', Thornton, 387, 119.

† *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, Irvine MS., p. 167. Khush-hal Chand, Berlin MS. 495, f. 1,000b. Himu Dhusar, *Wazir* of Adil Shah Sur, was defeated and taken prisoner in Muharram 964 H., November 1556, Beale, 160.

by Sher Afkan Khan Panipati, *faujdar* of Karra.* After a halt near Karra, they advanced to a place twenty-five *kos* from Allahabad. At this stage Shah Ali Khan arrived, bringing with him Daud Khan, an officer sent by Muhammad Khan Bangash. Shah Ali Khan was a Barha Sayyid who had been deputed by the *Wazir* and his brother to represent their interests.† Muhammad Khan Bangash excused himself from personal attendance, the Rajput clan of the Bamtelas having risen and tried to destroy the newly-founded town of Farrukhabad. But he vouched for the zeal and energy of his officers, Daud Khan and Diler Khan. [*Siwanih*, 11.]

By this time, at the instigation of Budh Singh Hada, of Bundi, a large number of Bundelas had taken the field. These men harassed Abdun-nabi Khan and Diler Khan in their advance. One day Abun-nabi Khan was taken prisoner, but rescued by Diler Khan after a severe struggle. Before the fight could be renewed on the following morning, Tahavvar Ali Khan marched in with two thousand men sent by Dilawar Ali Khan. The Bundelas now avoided a renewal of the engagement, but Tahavvar Ali Khan, out of bravado, disregarding Abdun-nabi Khan's advice, took the initiative. Diler Khan, scorning to be left behind, followed in his wake, and Abdun-nabi Khan felt bound to support them. The Afghans, when near enough, began to shout out abusive words until Bhagwant Singh, the Bundela leader, stung by these taunts, broke off his holy thread, put it on the point of his sword, and swore an oath to die or be revenged. Spurring his mare into the space between the armies, he selected Tahavvar Ali Khan as his opponent. Riding up to that officer's elephant, he brought down the driver with one arrow and pierced Tahavvar Ali Khan's arm with another. Diler Khan now attempted to take the Bundelas in the rear. Bhagwant Singh with two hundred men turned to face him. Diler Khan did not flinch, and after three-quarters of an hour's

* This man was the brother of Lutf-ullah Khan Sadiq. The *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 170, has *Kora*, instead of Karra.

† According to Khush-hal Chand, Berlin MS. No. 495, f. 999a, this man had been promised the succession to the governorship, if successful in ejecting Girdhar Bahadur. He had 4,000 men with him.

desperate fighting, Bhagwant Singh was cut down by the Pathan. The Bundelas dispersed and were pursued for two or three *kos* by the Afghan horse. Abdun-nabi Khan and his companions then rejoined Haidar Quli Khan by forced marches. [Khizr Kh. 11.]

All the reinforcements having now reached him, Haidar Quli Khan divided his army into three divisions: one under his own orders; one under Sher Afkan Khan Panipati, Bahadur Khan and Daud Khan; one under Shah Ali Khan Barha and Abdun-nabi Khan. An advance was then made. When the imperialists were five *kos* from the fort, the Chandela zamindars who had joined Girdhar Bahadur came out to oppose them, and a sharp engagement ensued. The Chandelas forced their way into the ranks of the second division, and the newly recruited men gave way, Shah Ali Khan being so severely wounded that he fell from his elephant. His troops fled in disorder. But Daud Khan, calling on his Afghans, maintained the struggle as long as there was any daylight, and during the night the third division reached the spot. The enemy being now outnumbered, took to their heels and retreated within shelter of the trenches outside the fort. [Khush-hal 999b, Khizr Kh. 13.]

Haidar Quli Khan hurried up with his own division, and two days were spent in restoring order in the force. On the third day he marched close up to the entrenchments with his whole army. As soon as they came in sight, they were received with a heavy fire of cannon and rockets, and from afternoon to sunset the fight continued. Girdhar Bahadur in person issued from his trenches and created a diversion by a bold attack. At length, owing to the darkness, they could no longer distinguish friend from foe, and each army returned to its own quarters. Fighting went on daily for two or three days. One night an attack was made on Abdun-nabi Khan's camp, and great damage was done before Sher Afkan Khan could arrive, when they jointly drove back the assailants to the very ditches of their entrenchments. Two men were taken alive. Their story was that within the fort there were food and supplies enough to last for ten years; Girdhar Bahadur's own men numbered ten thousand, and there were as many more belonging to Budh

Singh Hada, Chhattarsal Bundela, and the Hindu landholders of the adjacent country. Haidar Quli Khan reported all this to Husain Ali Khan, and asked for reinforcements. [*Siwanih*, 14.]

Nor did the commanders of the investing force act in unison. Abdun-nabi Khan declared that he would behead the two prisoners in retaliation for the loss of men that he had suffered. Haidar Quli Khan refused his consent. He said that he required these men in order to find out from them the condition of the fort and its defenders, subsequently, whatever order was given in regard to the prisoners by Husain Ali Khan, Amir-ul-umara, would be carried out. Beginning with civil words, the discussion was prolonged until they spoke harshly to each other. Abdun-nabi Khan thereupon withdrew his troops from the investment of the northern bastion, and that very night a reinforcement sent by Budh Singh Hada, passed through the abandoned post and entered the fort without let or hindrance.

As already stated, Husain Ali Khan, as soon as he learnt of Budh Singh's encouragement of the Bundelas and of Girdhar Bahadur's resistance, detached Dilawar Ali Khan and others into the Kota-Bundi country. At the same time Muhammad Khan Bangash, who had obeyed the command to proceed to Allahabad by sending some of the officers, was pressed to take the field in person. Accordingly, he soon arrived at Allahabad, and occupied the position vacated by Abdun-nabi Khan. One night, shortly after his arrival, two thousand men, an hour or two before dawn, made a sudden attack on him. The Nawab, whose eyes were inflamed, was unable to take the command himself, but Diler Khan, for whom an urgent message had been sent, was soon on the spot. In the confusion and darkness, some two hundred of the retreating enemy lost their way and fell into the river ; while Salim Singh, their leader, was wounded and made a prisoner by Nur Khan Khatak. But before he was recognized, he yielded up his accoutrements, his sword, his turban, and all that he had of value, and was allowed to go his way. Diler Khan received two severe wounds in the back, but escaped with his life. [*Ibid*, 17.]

The morning after this night surprise, Haidar Quli Khan ordered a general assault from two directions. One force he

took command of himself, the other was led by Sher Afkan Khan, Daud Khan Bangash, and Shah Ali Khan Barha. After repeated attacks, Haidar Quli Khan cleared the enemy out of the entrenchments at the foot of the north side of the fort. In the same way, Shah Ali Khan and the leaders with him drove those in front of them back to the very foot of the walls. Daud Khan, accompanied by Sher Afkan Khan, brought up the scaling ladders, hoping to make an entry, but after much struggle and effort he was compelled to abandon the attempt. Since the river flows close under the fort, and a number of boats were moored below the walls, it was feared that if the enemy saw the day going against them, they would use this means of escape. To prevent this manoeuvre, Muhammad Khan sent out his men and took possession of all the boats.

For three days the fighting continued. By the fourth day the imperial army had worked its way close to the fort and began to mine under the walls. Girdhar Bahadur, believing the day was lost, made overtures through Muhammad Khan ; in these negotiations a long time was consumed. Girdhar Bahadur then found out that Muhammad Khan had received a promise of the Allahabad province, if he, Girdhar Bahadur, could be ousted from it. Ceasing to believe any longer in that noble's impartiality, Girdhar Bahadur said he would treat through no one but Ratan Chand.

The retention of Allahabad in hostile hands was most detrimental to the Sayyids' power. It formed a centre round which disaffection could rally and grow troublesome. In itself it was as strong a fortress as Akbarabad, but in other ways many times more difficult to overcome. Instead of a revolted garrison having no competent leaders, it was held by a well-trying and valiant soldier at the head of a well-disciplined force ; instead of a miserably provisioned stronghold there was one with sufficient supplies for many years. Obviously some great effort must be made.

Husain Ali Khan ordered a bridge of boats to be thrown across the Jamuna at Agra, and sent his troops to the other side as a preliminary to his own advance down the Duaba. He had no reverence for the prognostications of astrologers, saying :

"Whatever is chosen by the Eternal Felicity is felicitous ; whatever is not adopted by Him is devoid of felicity." On the 3rd Safar (15th December 1719) he quitted his camp at Bagh Dahr-Ara, and proceeded by boat to the garden of Jahan-ara Begam. Negotiations continued at Allahabad ; day and night camel-riders came and went. But Girdhar Bahadur persisted that he had no faith in the Sayyids and could not trust their honour, or give up the place of refuge that he held. Several months elapsed, but no settlement was arrived at. [Qasim, 303.]

At length, on the 23rd Jamada I. 1132 H. (1st April 1720), Husain Ali Khan resolved to march on Allahabad ; and quitting the garden of Jahan-ara, his tents were put up on the grazing grounds of Bagh Buland.* But Abdullah Khan did not approve of this move. A few weeks before this, on the 1st Rabi II. 1132 H. (10th February 1720) the Emperor's advance tents had been sent off towards Dihli, but no start followed ; and on the 1st Jamada I. (10th March 1720), they were brought back from Sikandra Itala.† About this time the quarrel over the Agra booty broke out afresh between Abdullah Khan and his younger brother, and it was only through the strenuous exertions of Ratan Chand that a settlement was made ; and these differences were prevented from reaching the public ear. Still sore at the rôle played by his brother at Agra, Abdullah Khan, directly Husain Ali Khan moved towards Allahabad, swore that he would not be defrauded a second time. If Husain Ali Khan had appropriated the booty of Agra, he would take that of Allahabad. In short, he insisted on his right as *Wazir* to assume the supreme command. At length, a middle course was hit upon, both brothers remained at Agra, and Ratan Chand went as their emissary to Allahabad. [Qasim 306, K. K. 845, Kamwar 220.]

On the 25th Jamada I. 1132 H. (3rd April 1720) Ratan Chand started with many nobles in his train, taking sixty large guns each drawn by one hundred to two hundred oxen and three or four elephants. On his way the *faujdars*, the agents of the *jagirdars*, and the *zamindars* flocked to his standard. The

* Khush-hal calls it Moti Bagh, across the river, opposite the fort.

† Apparently the place west of Agra, and the site of Akbar's mausoleum, is intended.

rajah camped two *kos* from Allahabad fort and sent a message to Girdhar Bahadur that he had come thus far to see him, and was anxiously awaiting an interview. Rajah Girdhar Bahadur returned answer that to meet him was pleasure, but the period set apart for mourning on account of Chabela Ram's death not having yet expired, he must trouble his visitor to come and see him, which would also accord with the usages observed at condolences upon a death. Rajah Ratan Chand, leaving everybody behind him except Muhammad Khan Bangash, Haidar Quli Khan, and one or two of his most trusted subordinates, went into the fort. Rajah Girdhar Bahadur came as far as the door of his dwelling, and Ratan Chand on meeting him offered the usual condolences. Gifts were brought forward, of which Ratan Chand accepted an elephant and two horses ; then, having sat a moment, he left for his quarters. Next day Girdhar Bahadur came in full state to return the visit. Ratan Chand met him at the tent door and seated him on the right hand upon his own carpet (*masnad*), offering one elephant and five horses with rich trappings. Girdhar Bahadur, too, refused all except the elephant and two horses. [Kamwar 219, Shiu 34a, Khush-hal 1000b.]

After they had exchanged some conciliatory words in public, they sat apart and consulted. The terms offered were the Government of Oudh with all the divisions (*sarkars*) dependent thereon, and the right to appoint all the military and civil subordinate officers (*i.e.*, the *faujdar*s and *diwan*s), Mir Mushrif, the former governor, and the other officials being removed. To these appointments was added a gift of thirty *lakhs* of Rupees, payable from the Bengal treasure remittance, to replace the expenditure on his army and the defence of the fort, together with a jewelled turban ornament, a special dress of honour and an elephant from the Emperor. This conference took place upon the 25th Jamada II. 1132 H. (3rd May 1720). [Siwanih 19, K. K. 846, Shiu 35a.]

After binding oaths on Ganges water had been exchanged, Girdhar Bahadur accepted the above terms, and, with all his family and their belongings, his treasure and his goods, marched out of the fort on the 4th Rajab (11th May 1720) ; whereupon

Ahmad Khan, a brother of Muhammad Khan Bangash, entered with five hundred men and occupied the place. Leaving Shah Ali Khan in charge of Allahabad, Ratan Chand started on his return to Agra. The Bengal treasure, until now delayed at Patna, was sent for, orders being left that out of the total sum thirty *lakhs* should be paid over to Rajah Girdhar Bahadur, and the balance sent on to head-quarters.

On the 9th Rajab, upon the receipt of Ratan Chand's report, Abdullah Khan attended audience, where he had not been for some time, and received the Emperor's permission to beat the drums in honour of a victory. On the 16th Rajab (23rd May 1720) Husain Ali Khan recrossed the Jamuna and took up his old station in Bagh Dahr-Ara as before. Ratan Chand, on his arrival on the 2nd Shaban, 8th June 1720, was warmly congratulated by the two brothers and promoted to 5,000 *zat*, 5,000 horse, receiving a special robe and a very valuable pearl necklace. Haidar Quli Khan received 50,000 Rupees and a robe of honour; Muhammad Khan Bangash and Sher Afkan Khan, each twenty-five thousand Rupees and a necklace of pearls. During this period the Emperor had moved once (14th Jamada II. 22nd April 1720) to the village of Mumtazabad, in order to pay a visit to Shah Jahan's tomb; on the 17th of the same month (25th April 1720) the camp was brought back to Talab Khela Nath.*

SEC. 6.—FLIGHT OF NIZAM-UL-MULK FROM MALWA TO THE DAKHIN.

Between Nizam-ul-mulk and the Sayyids there were many reasons for mutual distrust. Spoiled in earlier years by the exceptional favour with which he and his father were honoured during the last part of Alamgir's reign, Nizam-ul-mulk was ever afterwards discontented with the treatment he received from that monarch's successors. In Bahadur Shah's reign he served grudgingly, more than once sending in his resignation. It was the same in Jahandar Shah's reign. His services to Farrukh-siyar at the time of Jahandar Shah's overthrow secured

* Kamwar Khan, 220; Shiu Das, 33b; *Bayan-i-waqi* 406; Khush-hal Chand, 1,000b; Khizr Khan, p. 20. Seventy-five *lakhs* of treasure from Bengal were received at Agra on the 19th Rajab (24th May 1720).

him the Government of the Dakhin, a region in regard to which, as there can be no doubt, he had cherished secret projects ever since the death of Alamgir. Nizam-ul-mulk, like his father, had won his spurs in the Dakhin campaigns, and, as Zulfiqar Khan unquestionably did, he must have seen that it offered a splendid opening for acquiring partial, perhaps even complete, independence of Dihli and its sovereign. He had held the six *subahs* for hardly more than two years, when he was superseded by Husain Ali Khan.

Apparently this supersession rankled in his mind, for he withdrew to his new appointment at Muradabad, and only returned to the capital at Farrukh-siyar's urgent request. Unable to work with Farrukh-siyar, he went over nominally, as we have seen, to the faction of the *Wazir* and his brother. Being anxious to secure his absence from Dihli, they offered him the Government of Bihar, a difficult charge which they hoped would fully employ, even if it did not exhaust, his strength. Before Nizam-ul-mulk had started for Patna Farrukh-siyar had been dethroned, and Malwa being then vacant was offered to him. The brothers thought that as their own nominees and relations held Akbarabad on the one side, and the Dakhin on the other, any danger from this able man's intrigues would be obviated by thus placing him between two fires. Remembering how short his tenure of the Dakhin had been, Nizam-ul-mulk made his acceptance of Malwa conditional on a solemn agreement that he should not be removed again. The promise was given and the Nawab started for Ujjain on the 24th Rabi II. 1131 H. (15th March 1719), a few days after the accession of Rafi-ud-darjat, taking the precaution to remove the whole of his family and possessions, thus leaving no hostages behind him in the Sayyids' hands.

Ever since his departure rumours had been rife that he had helped to instigate the abortive rising at Agra. Although he was guilty of no overt act of hostility, he failed in some matters to study the susceptibilities of Husain Ali Khan. Owing to a slight offered by him to Husain Ali Khan, Marahmat Khan had been superseded in his command at Mandu by Khwajam Quli Khan. Difficulties arose about giving over that fort, and after

these had been overcome, Marahmat Khan, instead of being removed by Nizam-ul-mulk, was employed in ejecting Jai Chand Bundela from Ramgarh. The Nawab then applied for the offender's pardon. Husain Ali Khan disregarded these requests in favour of Marahmat Khan. Soon afterwards the news-writers reported to head-quarters that Nizam-ul-mulk was enlisting men and collecting *matériel* of war in excess of his requirements as a provincial governor.

On receipt of these reports, Husain Ali Khan sent for the agent who represented Nizam-ul-mulk at Court, and, after abusing him and his master, told him to report to his employer what had been said to him ; the grievances alleged being the above-mentioned matter of Marahmat Khan, the removal of a *zamin-dar* in *pargana* Nalam,* and some other disputes about lands. Nizam-ul-mulk acknowledged the letter by writing direct to Husain Ali Khan. After complaining of the enmity of the official reporters, he points out that people who had never been in Malwa, could not know its condition ; but Husain Ali Khan having lately passed through it must know the facts well. The Mahrattas, with over fifty thousand horsemen, were harrying it ; if troops in large numbers were not entertained, what hope was there of defending the country from their ravages ? For this reason he had added to his resources in men and *matériel*. He also objected to giving up Malwa just as the instalments of the *Rabi* harvest were falling due, this being the time when most of the revenue was paid, forming his only hope of getting back his heavy expenditure. None but his evil-wishers could have accused him of intending adverse action. If that had been his wish he could have gratified it when at Agra, where several times messengers came to him from Nekusiyar. He had no such purposes in his heart, and his detractors ought to be silenced. The allusion to what he could have done at Agra, if he had chosen, only incensed Husain Ali Khan still more against him. [K. K. 851, T. Muz. 174.]

A *farman* was now issued to Nizam-ul-mulk recalling him from Malwa, on the plea that it was necessary for the protection

* Probably a misprint for Talam, *sarkar* Sarangpur, *Ain* ii. 203.

of the Dakhin that Husain Ali Khan should take charge of that province. He was offered the choice of any one out of the four provinces of Akbarabad, Allahabad, Multan, or Burhanpur. This was a distinct breach of faith, and no doubt confirmed Nizam-ul-mulk in the belief that he was to be destroyed. He had already some reason for apprehension, due to the movements of Husain Ali Khan's *Bakhshi*, Dilawar Ali Khan, who was hovering on the western border of Malwa, attended by Rajah Bhim Singh of Bundi, Rajah Gaj Singh of Narwar, and other chiefs. The secret instructions of these generals were that after they had settled the matter of Salim Singh who, with the connivance of Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, had attempted to usurp Bundi, they should keep the proceedings of Nizam-ul-mulk under observation and await further orders. Dilawar Ali Khan was told to announce publicly that he had a commission to proceed to Aurangabad in the Dakhin, to conduct thence the family of Nawab Husain Ali Khan.

This movement could not be construed otherwise than unfavourably by Nizam-ul-mulk. Nor was other instigation to action wanting. His cousin, Muhammad Amin Khan, wrote from Agra that the Sayyids were only waiting for the suppression of the Nekusiyar party and the recovery of Allahabad, when their next task would be to uproot and destroy him, Nizam-ul-mulk. With his own letter Muhammad Amin Khan sent one written by Muhammad Shah's own hand, and one bearing the seal of that Emperor's mother. These letters complained of the Sayyids, of their entire usurpation of authority, of their leaving no personal liberty to the Emperor; and called on Nizam-ul-mulk to espouse his cause and effect his deliverance. [K. K. 850-852, Qasim 307.]

Further details of Nizam-ul-mulk's stay in Malwa are obtained from another source. The night following his arrival at Ujjain there was heavy rain; "this was, indeed, to him God's gracious rain, for from that day he never ceased to prosper." Ujjain became to him in fact as well as name the *Dar-ul-fath*, the Abode of Victory. After the rains (of 1719) had ended, he set out to reduce his province to order. It was then that the friends of Husain Ali Khan wrote alarming letters

about the strength of his army and complained that mischief was brewing, as he was tampering with the Court intelligencer's reports. Upon hearing this Husain Ali Khan broke out into strong language. He asserted that Nizam-ul-mulk should never have been allowed to leave the Court, and now one "Nizam-ul-mulk" had multiplied into a thousand; it would be found as difficult to deal with him as to tackle a young tiger in an open plain.

To this Qutb-ul-mulk (Abdullah Khan) replied with the saying, "The past is beyond remedy, fate does its own pleasure." Some way must be devised. After many consultations, a *farman* of recall was despatched by the hands of mace-bearers, while a force was moved across the Chambal. If the governor submitted, all would be well; if not, they could still fight or negotiate. If he fled to the south, their general could pursue. Alim Ali Khan at Aurangabad was warned to be on the alert. Thus Nizam-ul-mulk would inevitably be caught between two fires.

It had already been a subject of remark at Nizam-ul-mulk's *darbar* that disturbed times were at hand, that probably the first difficulty would arise in Malwa. Nizam-ul-mulk began to prepare for an emergency, as the only hope of being left undisturbed. He argued that, though in position a great noble, Husain Ali Khan was in character a mere soldier, who, as soon as he hears anything unfavourable, burns with anger and becomes at once an enemy. In that case, "the Lord be our keeper." There is nothing for it but to make ready to fight.

When the advance of Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan was announced, Nizam-ul-mulk consulted his most trusted officer, Muhammad Ghiyas Khan. This man said there was no use in losing one's head, the matter could easily be carried through. Fortune had always been favourable, and to resist was best. The Nawab rejoined: "Why speak thus! Still, I am in perplexity, that I have done no wrong is plain, nor need I feel ashamed. I have lived respected from the days of the late Alamgir until now, and for the few more days that may be vouchsafed me, I trust I may be saved from dishonour. Why do these *parvenus* try to harm me, merely because they are puffed up by their

sudden elevation. Such an attitude is becoming in an Emperor ; if others gain a little rise in life, why need they lose their heads. Thanks to God on High, who is there that shall not himself receive what he has done to others? But it is not for me to begin. If in spite of my quiescence they attack me, there is no help for it. After all, I am human. What man is there holding my high station who would not defend his honour? Victory lies hidden from us, it is the gift of the Most High, and is not gained by the greatness of a host. I swear by the God that made me, that they may bring all Hindustan against me and I will still resist undaunted. If longer life has been decreed me, no harm will arrive ; if the hour of departure is at hand, nothing can avail me."

Ghiyas Khan approved these words, pointing out that he had only meant to suggest that preparation was necessary, "a blow after the fight" meant mere dishonour. The Nawab's kinsmen approved, and preparation was decided on. Ghiyas Khan proposed a march from Mandeshwar to Ujjain, where they should await the *farman* and leave in safety their superfluous baggage. The *farman* ought to be received with outward honour, to be followed by a march towards the capital. If they were to fight, they could fight as well there as here ; nay, at Court the position was better. When men have once resolved on death they can fight even against heaven ; as to any other low wretches, of what account were they? The Sayyids were not angels having wings and able to take flight ; men with bodies, however much fenced in, can be reached. Right was on their side. If a gracious God shielded them, Right would triumph. If, before they reached the vicinity of Sironj, things took another turn, what would it matter? On hearing of their ostensible return to the capital, would not their opponents be forthwith put off their guard. Muhammad Amin Khan, Hamid Khan and others at Court should be addressed, as also Iwaz Khan and others in the Dakhin. The commandant of Asirgarh should be gained over, money might be offered him for the cession of that fortress. That place could be easily reached from Sironj, "and when Asir is ours, God has given us the key of the kingdom of the Dakhin." Reayat Khan, Abdur-rahim

Khan, Qadir Dad Khan and Mutawassil Khan supported Muhammad Ghiyas.

Letters were written in all directions, as agreed on, and after a delay of two or three days they started in the direction of Dihli. Of this move the news-reporters immediately sent off announcements to the Court. Stage by stage they advanced as far as Doraha. Letters came from the chief men in the Dakhin, but no fresh orders were issued, and the soldiers rejoiced at being on their way to Hindustan. Suddenly they were marched back by the way that they had come ; the men were amazed, but the secret was well kept, and at last, by a night march on the 8th May 1720, they reached and crossed the Narmada. [Ahwal 155b.]

Nizam-ul-mulk had heard that mace-bearers were on their way to enforce his return to the capital. A *farman* to this effect had indeed been sent, in which it was added that the province of Akbarabad would be given to him as soon as he arrived. On the 9th Rajab 1132 H. (16th May 1720), news came to Agra that he had left Malwa. It was then reported that in the middle of Jamada II. 1132 H. (about the 23rd April 1720), at the head of five or six thousand horsemen, and attended by Abdur-rahim Khan, Marahmat Khan, Reayat Khan, Qadir Dad Khan Raushani, Mutawassil Khan, grandson of Sadullah Khan, Wazir, Inayat Khan and others, Nizam-ul-mulk had left Mandeshwar and marched back to Ujjain. There, giving out that he was on his way to Sironj, one or two marches were made as far as the village of Kayath ; thence he made straight for the Narmada, which he crossed on the 1st Rajab 1132 H. (8th May 1720) by the ford of Akbarpur. [K. K. 852, 860 ; Qasim 308 ; Kamwar 221.]

Husain Ali Khan was for immediate action ; he wished to go in person. On the other hand, Abdullah Khan and Samsam-ud-daulah (Khan Dauran) counselled delay ; for, as the saying is, "Delay is of God ; haste, of the Devil." Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan and the officers with him, in one direction, and Alim Ali Khan, in the other, would suffice to retrieve everything. Even if Asir fort had been taken, there had been no time to

place it in a state of defence and it could be easily recovered ; "cleverness is a good thing, be you as strong as Rustam."

Husain Ali Khan continued unappeased and blamed his brother's want of energy. The latter stuck to his own opinion and protested that it was not adopted through want of courage. He was surprised at being called a coward. "Am I not your brother? Am not I, too, a Sayyid?" Let his brother be a little reasonable, and he would agree to anything. He had said over and over again that the imprisonment of Farrukh-siyar was a mistake. But his words were put aside, and his brother had done his own pleasure. They could but reap what they had sown, and this rising of Nizam-ul-mulk was only the first-fruits. In the end the brothers sent off urgent orders to Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan to follow instantly in pursuit, taking with him Rao Bhim Singh Hada, Rajah Gaj Singh Narwari, Dost Muhammad Khan Afghan, and others. In anticipation of some such movement, these men were already close to the borders of Malwa, and were thus able to start without delay. Alim Ali Khan, a youth about twenty years of age and a nephew of the Sayyids, who was acting at Aurangabad as deputy governor of the Dakhin, received orders to bar the way to the Nawab's advance. [*Ahwal* 157b, Kamwar 221.]

One of Nizam-ul-mulk's first acts was an attempt to buy over the garrison of the strong fortress of Asirgarh, which lies about forty-five miles south of the Narmada and not far from Burhanpur. Khusrau, one of his slaves, had a friend in the garrison named Usman Khan Qadiri, to whom he was sent with overtures. The very day that the Nawab crossed the Narmada, Khusrau came back with Usman Khan, who stipulated that he should be appointed to the command of the fort. Money for paying to the garrison the arrears of two years pay was provided, and Usman Khan, accompanied by Hifz-ullah Khan, *Bakhshi*, and the Nawab's eldest son, Ghazi-uddin Khan Firuz Jang, returned to Asirgarh. Nizam-ul-mulk followed as quickly as possible by way of Bijagarh Kahrgaon. The fort was delivered up on the 13th Rajab 1132 H. (20th May 1720), and the commandant, a very old man named Abu Talib Khan, was made a prisoner. About this time Rustam

Beg Khan of Kahrgaon and Fath Singh, Rajah of Makrai, came in and joined. Ghiyas Khan was sent on to occupy the town of Burhanpur, lying at a distance of about twelve miles. After a visit to Asirgarh, to the top of which he ascended, Nizam-ul-mulk, leaving behind him his two sons and his spare baggage, followed to Burhanpur and encamped in the Lal Bagh at that place.*

Hearing that Nizam-ul-mulk had crossed the Narmada, Alim Ali Khan sent off Anwar Khan, Qutb-ud-daulah, *faujdar* of Burhanpur, who was then on leave at Aurangabad. With him was joined Rao Rambha Nimbalkar, a Mahratta leader who owed his release from imprisonment at Dihli to the intercession of that officer. They were at Adilabad,† twelve *kos* south of Burhanpur, when they heard that Ghiyas Khan was already there and preparing to invest the town, of which Nur-ullah Khan, *diwan* of the province and brother of Anwar Khan, was in charge. Ghiyas Khan tried to intercept the relieving force by sending troops across the Tapti : but, favoured by the darkness of the night, they evaded his men and taking to by-paths passed in to the town, their litters (*palkis*) and other property falling into the hands of plunderers. Soon after the *faujdar's* arrival, the citizens assembled and protested against a resistance for which they alone would suffer. The walls would be escaladed by Ghiyas Khan, their lives endangered, and their property destroyed. The *faujdar* was advised by them to fight outside in the open, for, if he did not, the city would be surrendered by the citizens to his

* Khafi Khan, ii. 853, 865; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, p. 180, and *Siwanih-i-Dakhin* by Munim Khan, Aurangabadi, Irvine MS. No. 396, ff. 131 and 152. The *Barhan-ul-futuh*, 167b, gives Islam-ullah Hazari, as the name of the man who was treated with, and that of Sharf Khan as the new commandant. According to this author the surrender took place on the 15th Rajab. Kahrgaon is about 55 miles n. w. of Burhanpur, and Makrai is about 70 miles n. e. of the same place. Lal Bagh, about two miles north of the town, is close to the present railway station. *Bombay Gazetteer* (Khandesh), pp. 589, 591.

† It is in the Khandesh district, and is spelt Edilabad in *Bombay Gazetteer*, xii. 447; it lies about 15 miles n. e. of the Bhusawal station of the G. I. P. Railway.

opponents. Anwar Khan, who was far from courageous, lost his head altogether, and on the 16th Rajab (23rd May 1720) applied to Ghiyas Khan for terms. The next day Nizam-ul-mulk arrived in person. Anwar Khan and Nur-ullah Khan, with all the officials and citizens, attended and made their submission. The town and citadel were then occupied. By the acquisition of Asirgarh and Burhanpur, Nizam-ul-mulk's position was rendered very strong.*

At this time the mother of Sayyid Saif-ud-din Ali Khan Barha, younger brother of the *Wazir*, had reached Burhanpur with her grand-children on her way from Aurangabad to rejoin her son at Muradabad, *subah* Dihli, where he was now *faujdar*. When Nizam-ul-mulk appeared and occupied the town, the men of her escort were overcome with terror, and proposed to send to the Nawab all the jewels and valuable property which they had in their charge, on condition that the family honour was saved and their lives guaranteed. Nizam-ul-mulk refused to accept the offer of the property, spoke kindly to Muhammad Ali, the Begam's agent, conferred on him a dress of honour, and sent him back with a present of fruit for the children. The Begam was then allowed to depart, an escort of two hundred horsemen going with her as far as the banks of the Narmada. [K. K. 873.]

As soon as Alim Ali Khan received at Aurangabad the letters sent by his uncles, Abdullah Khan and Husain Ali Khan, he set to work to collect an army of Mahrattas and of new men. All the neighbouring *faujders* were called in to the capital. His idea was that when Dilawar Ali Khan appeared from the north, he would march from the south, thus taking Nizam-ul-mulk between two fires. To encourage his men he gave liberal promotions, and tried in every way to win over the people of town and country. Alim Ali Khan then reported to headquarters at Agra that he had seven thousand cavalry of his old establishment, two to three thousand men brought in by the *faujders* and zamindars, and more than six thousand newly

* Khafi Khan, 853, 871, 872; *Burhan-ul-futuh*, 168a, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, p. 181.

entertained men. In addition he counted on the aid of about fifteen to sixteen thousand Mahratta horsemen sent by Rajah Sahu. Amin Khan, late governor of Nander, *i.e.*, Berar, although he had previously expressed great enmity towards Husain Ali Khan, was bought over by gifts of money, elephants and jewels.* Altogether Alim Ali Khan reckoned his army at thirty thousand horsemen, of whom he intended to take command in person. He commenced his march early in Shaban (1st=7th June 1720). [K. K. 874.]

On his side Nizam-ul-mulk had proposed to suspend further active operations until the cessation of the rains, the interval being passed at Deogarh in an attempt to gain over or conquer the zamindars of that place. But, as it was pointed out, it would be difficult to keep the troops together for four months without more money than was available. In consequence, immediate action was resolved on. When Nizam-ul-mulk heard that Alim Ali Khan had sent his tents out from Aurangabad, he marched from the Lal Bagh on the north of Burhanpur, crossed the Tapti, and pitched his camp on the east side of the town. But at the end of Rajab (30th=6th June 1720) he learnt that Dilawar Ali Khan, following in hot pursuit, had crossed the Narmada somewhere about Handiya.† Dilawar Ali Khan had got as far as Husainpur in the Handiya *sarkar*, about fourteen *kos* from Burhanpur. Considering this opponent to be the more formidable, Nizam-ul-mulk decided to encounter him first. [K. K. 875, *Ahwal* 160a.]

It seems that the Sayyids had sent their general a letter in which they accused him of cowardice. Stung by the imputation, he wrote to Nizam-ul-mulk when drunk, as he often was, in the following strain: "What manly virtue is there, nay is it not a death-blow to honour, thus to flee from death; and for the sake of saving this paltry life, to climb so many moun-

* Amin Khan was a brother of Khan Alam Dakhini; he was killed in 1137 H. (1724), fighting under Mubariz Khan against Nizam-ul-mulk. *M. U.* i. 352.

† In the Hoshangabad district, on the south bank of the Narmada, about 92 miles n. e. of Burhanpur. It is on the old high road from the Dakhin to Agra, *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 201.

tains and cross so many deserts? Would it not be well to confide in the All Powerful and come out to meet the writer, so that side by side we might return to the Presence, where exceeding exertion will be made for the pardon of that exalted one. Otherwise, be it thoroughly understood, this slave at the head of twenty thousand horsemen thirsting for blood, follows like a wind that brings a destructive tempest; and if imitating a deer of the plains you escape and flee to the mountains, this pursuer will, like a panther, spring on your back and make wet the teeth of desire with the blood of his enemy." Unable to bear the provocative language of this letter, Nizam-ul-mulk had begun to retrace his steps. [Warid, 1596.]

Nizam-ul-mulk marched northwards early in Shaban (1st = 7th June 1720), sending his family and dependents together with his heavy baggage for safety to Asirgarh.* Ahead of him went his artillery under Ghiyas Khan and Shaikh Muhammad Shah Faruqi; he soon followed in person (9th Shaban, 15th June). When they had gone sixteen or seventeen *kos* from Burhanpur, and were within two or three *kos* of Ratanpur, belonging to the Rajah of Makrai,† he encamped. Dilawar Ali Khan's camp was then at a distance of two or three *kos* from him. Nizam-ul-mulk proposed an amicable arrangement, but Dilawar Ali Khan rejected all his overtures.‡

Dilawar Ali Khan's force, although not a very large one, consisted of thoroughly tried and well-equipped men. As he was the *Bakhshi*, or paymaster, he knew the quality of all the Sayyid's troops; and when he was sent on this enterprise, he had selected six thousand of the best armed and best mounted horsemen out of seventeen or eighteen thousand who were present with the Sayyid. They were mostly Barha Sayyids,

* Or to Burhanpur, as stated on fol. 132b of the *Gulshan-i-ajab*.

† A small independent chieftainship in the Handiya sub-division of the Hoshangabad district; its present area is 215 square miles. Makrai itself is about 30 miles s. of Handiya, *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 256.

‡ Khafi Khan, 875; Khush-hal f. 1002a; Qasim, 311; *Bayan-i-waqi*, Irvine MS., f. 406. The *Siwanih-i-Dakhin*, p. 163, says the site of the battle was near Raipur in pargana Charda of *sarkar* Handiya, and twelve *kos* to the south of the Narmada.

Hindustanis, and Afghans. Two of the chief men placed under him were Babar Khan and Sayyid Shamsheer Khan,* cousin of the two Sayyids. There were also the mail-clad Rajputs of Maharao Bhim Singh, of Bundi, and Rajah Gaj Singh, son of Anup Singh, of Narwar. The latter chief brought between two and three thousand men. Dost Muhammad Khan Rohela (afterwards of Bhopal),† also joined with three thousand five hundred men. The total force could not have been less than thirteen thousand, and may have amounted to eighteen thousand men. [K. K. 877.]

SEC. 7.—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF DILAWAR ALI KHAN.

On the 13th Shaban 1132 H. (19th June 1720), Nizam-ul-mulk marched four *kos*, then drew up his army ready to give battle. Ghiyas Khan was placed in command of the vanguard, having under him Shaikh Muhammad Shah and his brother, Nur-ullah Faruqi, heads of the artillery. In the right centre was Iwaz Khan, *nazim* of Berar (Ilichpur) and the Nawab's uncle by marriage, with his son, Jamal-ullah Khan, Anwar Khan, Hakim Muhammad Murtaza and others. Marahmat Khan, Fil Jang, was on the left centre. To the right wing was posted Aziz Beg Khan Harisi; and to the left, Abdur-rahim Khan (uncle of Nizam-ul-mulk) and Qadir Dad Khan Raushani; while Mutawassil Khan (grandson of Sadullah Khan), Ismail Khan Khweshgi, Kamyab Khan and Darab Khan, Sad-ud-din Khan and Mir Ahsan, *Bakhshi*, took their place in the centre. Reayat Khan, Nizam-ul-mulk's first cousin and the brother of Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, was left in charge of the town of Burhanpur, while Rustam Beg Khan was told off to protect the rear of the army. Fath-ullah Khan Khosti, and Rao

* Elsewhere, p. 879, Khafi Khan has "Sher Khan," which is also in the copy of Nizam-ul-mulk's *tumar* (despatch) in Sahib Rai, *Khujista-kalam*, where the name of Farhat Khan is added.

† The *Barhan-ul-futuh*, f. 168a, calls him the "Zamindar of Bhakra." This is a place in *sarkar* Kanauj, *subah* Malwa, *Ain* ii. 200. On the other hand Malcolm, *Central India*, 1st ed., 231, says Mir Muhammad Khan, a brother, was in command and was slain.

Rambha Nimbalkar, the Mahratta, with five hundred men, acted as skirmishers.*

The site of the battle, as we are told, was in the hilly country called Pandhar† between Burhanpur and the Narmada, and Nizam-ul-mulk himself says that he had marched forty *kos* from Burhanpur. He moved out four *kos* from his last camp before he met the enemy, and the battle did not begin until the afternoon (13th Shaban 1132 H., 19th June 1720). Dilawar Ali Khan had occupied a rising ground to the east of the Nawab. Leaving his baggage at the foot of this hillock, Dilawar Ali Khan sent out his advanced guard, consisting of some three thousand horsemen and about eight thousand matchlockmen, under the command of Sayyid Sher Khan and Babar Khan. Then, surrounded by his principal officers on their elephants, he followed in person at the head of the main body. [K. K. 876, Kamwar 223.]

The action began after midday with artillery fire and the discharge of rockets. Ghiyas Khan and Iwaz Khan advanced from two different directions to attack Dilawar Ali Khan. They were unable, however, to effect a junction, and Iwaz Khan was left to meet alone the full force of the Sayyid, Rajput, and Afghan onset. In spite of his elephant turning round and the flight of many of his men, Iwaz Khan kept the field manfully until he was severely wounded and forced to retire. With shouts of exultation, Sayyid Sher Khan and Babar Khan, riding

* Khafi Khan ii. 876; *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 877; *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 154b; Kamwar Khan, entry of 17th Shaban; *Gulshan-i-ajajib*, 132b. The date is the 11th (17th June) in *Khush-hal f.* 1002a, and in *Burhan-ul-futuh*, f. 168a.

† For the position of Pandhar, and its possible connection with the Pindharies, see my article in the *Indian Antiquary* for May 1900. Rustam Ali, *Tarikh-i-Hindi*, 240b, says the battle was fought near Qasba Khandwa, which is not far from Asir. This place was about 32 miles n. of Burhanpur and about 60 miles s. w. of Handiya. It is now the civil station of the Nimar district of the Central Provinces (*C. P. Gazetteer*, 383). The *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, p. 181, has "Husainpur, 14 *kos* from Burhanpur," which is also the name in the *Asiatic Miscellany* (1785), an account of Asaf Jah (Nizam-ul-mulk) translated by Henry Vansittart (the younger) from a Persian work, of which the title is not given.

rein to rein, started in pursuit. Qadir Dad Khan in spite of his wounds fought on. Aziz Beg Khan and his brother were also wounded. Then Azmat Khan, one of the principal officers under Iwaz Khan, dismounted and continued the contest on foot. Mutawassil Khan now brought up reinforcements. Thus one attack followed another and the fortunes of the day varied at every turn. At length, both Sayyid Sher Khan and Babar Khan were cut down.*

Dilawar Ali Khan in person now led an attack on the centre. Here he was struck in the chest by a bullet and killed, many of the Barha Sayyids losing their lives at his side. Rao Bhim Singh and Rajah Gaj Singh still kept the field. Soon Bhim Singh was shot.† Then Gaj Singh of Narwar, a fine-looking young man, dismounted with forty or fifty of his brethren, and attacked at close quarters. Taking sword and shield in hand, they pressed the Nawab's vanguard very hard. But Marahmat Khan charged them vigorously from the left. In the end, after the death of the remaining Rajput chief, four hundred Rajputs and many Barha officers, and in all some four thousand soldiers, fell a prey to the arrows, spears, and swords of their opponents. The broken remnant of survivors, among them Dost Muhammad Khan Afghan, withdrew from the field and made good their retreat into Malwa, pursued and plundered by the Mahratta auxiliaries of Nizam-ul-mulk. This somewhat unexpected victory gives an opening to one author to quote the lines :

* Farah Khan was killed on Dilawar Ali Khan's side. See *Aḥwal-ul-khawāqin*, 159a; it is "Farhat" Khan in *Gulshan-i-ajāib*, 132b.

† Tod's account of Bhim Singh's death, ii. 487, affords us a more than usually noticeable instance of his flagrant inaccuracy. The fight is made out to be undertaken by Bhim Singh without allies, while the scene is laid in the broken ground along the Sind river, near the town of Korwai Borasu. An additional touch of grotesque error is given by the assertion that Jai Singh Kachhwaha, of Amber, gave the order to Bhim Singh and Gaj Singh to bar Nizam-ul-mulk's road! The town referred to is evidently Kurwai in Malwa (Thorton, 520) on the right or east bank of the Betwa with Borasu immediately opposite. A slight misreading of Khandwa, the true place, may have given the hint to connect the battle with Korwai Borasu.

*Bakht bawar gar bavād,
sindan zi dandan bi-shkanad,
Tali-i-bargashtah ra
faludah dandan bi-shkanad.*

"The fates aiding, you may bite a bit off an anvil.

With the stars against you, your teeth break over flummery."*

Nizam-ul-mulk ordered his drums to beat for victory. On his side the losses were few, the only men of any note who fell being Badakhshi Khan and Diler Khan, an officer serving under Iwaz Khan. Among the wounded were Iwaz Khan himself and Ghiyas Khan. In addition to the guns and elephants appropriated by Nizam-ul-mulk to his own use, much booty fell into the hands of the soldiers and plunderers. The victors encamped where they were, the night being disturbed by a false alarm caused by an unruly elephant which broke from his chains and rushed about the camp, destroying as he went, until his progress was arrested by an arrow from the bow of Mutawassil Khan. [K. K. 881.]

The above is the official account and is, no doubt, the one most favourable to Nizam-ul-mulk and his army. Other writers describe the event differently and tell us of an ambushade. Such a device would not only accord with Nizam-ul-mulk's scheming habits, but would also more satisfactorily account for the great loss sustained by the other side, more especially among its leaders. From these other sources we learn that between the two forces lay deep ravines where a large army could have been effectually concealed. Nizam-ul-mulk sent out his guns and placed them in position so as to command from both sides the only road across this ravine. His advanced guard was concealed in the hollows on each side. Then two or three men, closely resembling the Nawab in beard, features and age were dressed up, placed on elephants, and sent out to represent Nizam-ul-mulk at the head of his main body, which showed itself beyond the entrance to the ravine. Dilawar Ali Khan's

* *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, f. 183. We have Nizam-ul-mulk's official report or *tumar* of the battle in Sahib Rai's *Khujista-kalam* (Irvine MS., p. 323). A copy was sent to Muhammad Khan Bangash of Farrukhabad, under cover of an exulting letter. *M.U.* iii. 370.

men came straight at their foe, and were drawn on and on by a simulated retreat. Anxious to slay or capture the opposite leader, who, as they believed, was in command, they pursued steadily, disposing on their way of several of the pretended Nizam-ul-mulks. When Sayyid Sher Khan at length brought his elephant close to that of Iwaz Khan, the Mughal, by a sign, caused his elephant to kneel, and by this trick escaped with his life. The ravine having been reached, the guns did their work ; and their leaders having been killed, the rest of Dilawar Ali Khan's army dispersed. [Shiu 37b, Qasim 314.]

The morning after the battle the bodies of Dilawar Ali Khan and of Sayyid Sher Khan were prepared for burial and despatched to Aurangabad, where the sons of the former were serving with Alim Ali Khan. The same day a report was brought in that Alim Ali Khan had arrived at Talab Hartala,* seventeen kos to the south of Burhanpur, and Mutawassil Khan was sent off at once with three thousand horsemen to reinforce the garrison and protect that town, where the families of many of the men had been left. Mutawassil Khan marched forty kos in one day and thus prevented the surprise of Burhanpur. Alim Ali Khan, who had not anticipated such a prompt movement, was perplexed and therefore halted where he was. [Qasim 318, K. K. 881.]

NOTE.—*Another version of the fight taken from the "Ahwal-ul-khawaqin," f. 162a.*

Dilawar Ali Khan, after crossing the Narmada, made four or five marches till he was near to Nakti Bhawani. As the *Shab-i-barat* (14th Shaban, 20th June 1720) approached, they made three or four halts, intending to resume their advance when that festival was over. But hearing of Nizam-ul-mulk's movement in their direction, the Sayyid came out and ranged his men in battle order one kos from his camp.

Nizam-ul-mulk's scouts reported that the Sayyid was facing eastwards, with his guns in front. Nizam-ul-mulk thinking a

* Hartala, a lake of 440 acres on a tributary of the Tapti, four miles s. w. of Edilabad in the Bhusawal sub-division, Khandesh district. Edilabad is about 30 miles south of Burhanpur. *Bombay Gazetteer*, xii. vi. 142, 449.

frontal attack dangerous, enquired if the rear could be reached. The scouts said that by a *détour* of six *kos* this could be effected; the sun was not yet in the meridian, they had time to make the movement. Changing direction they arrived at the Sayyid's rear in about three hours and were then at a distance of one *kos*.

When Nizam-ul-mulk's standards began to show faintly in the distance, Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan was amazed and accused his head spy of treachery. This accusation the man, an old Barha Sayyid, vigorously repudiated. As there was no help for it in this sudden emergency, the artillery was left behind, and the front changed to meet the enemy. The artillery was ordered to follow as quickly as it could.

Ghiyas Khan, commanding Nizam-ul-mulk's vanguard, was attacked by Bhim Singh, Gaj Singh, and "Be-dost Rohela" (Dost Muhammad Khan); while Sayyid Sher Khan, Babar Khan and Farah Khan turned against Iwaz Khan. Gaj Singh and Bhim Singh Hada dismounted and at the head of two thousand Rajputs fought hand to hand, breast to breast. Quresh Beg, Khwaja Masum, and a few others resisted, but they were hardly more than a pinch of salt in flour. Against two thousand mail-clad Rajputs what were forty men! Bhim Singh and Quresh Beg fought in single combat; then some forty Rajputs attacked the latter. In spite of these odds the Beg succeeded in killing Bhim Singh before he fell himself under numberless wounds. The bodies of the Rajputs lay piled on the top of each other.

Meanwhile Iwaz Khan was engaged with Sher Khan and Babar Khan. The fighting was so hot that it was like the coming of the Day of Judgment. It went on for two hours, and the Sayyid's men did their best, until he and four thousand five hundred of his men were killed. Dost Muhammad Khan Rohela was the only one who turned and fled.

Nizam-ul-mulk was not even wounded, but Khwaja Masum, Mirza Naim and others of his men were killed. Sayyid Musafir Khan especially distinguished himself in repulsing an attack on Ghiyas Khan, in which he was greatly aided by Yalras Khan. Khwaja Abdul-haman, Mir Qutb-ud-din, Khwaja Ibrahim and

some others, one hundred and twenty-five men in all. Some of the Panni Afghans, too, were killed and wounded while defending Iwaz Khan. Altogether some thirty men were killed and about one hundred wounded on that side ; while of the Sayyid's army four thousand five hundred were killed and the number of wounded was not known.

Nizam-ul-mulk's officers asked for orders to pursue, but he refused. He collected the wounded near his tent and sent them surgeons, healing salves and clothes. For some he provided horses, for some palankins, for some litters. On their recovery he asked them to enlist with him. As their master, Husain Ali Khan, was still alive, they refused ; their road expenses were then paid and they departed. The body of Dilawar Ali Khan was decently buried ; those of the Hindus were burnt under the supervision of Rajah Indar Singh. Nizam-ul-mulk and his troops returned to Burhanpur.

SEC. 8.—PERPLEXITY OF THE SAYYID BROTHERS.

By the end of Shaban (29th=5th July 1720) Abdullah Khan and his brother received intelligence of the disaster which had befallen them in Khandesh. Not only had they failed to arrest Nizam-ul-mulk's progress, not only had they lost a general and an army, but the whole of Husain Ali Khan's family was likely to fall into the victor's hands. Saif-ud-din Ali Khan's children had been intercepted, as we have seen, at Burhanpur, though they were passed on in safety ; but Husain Ali Khan had left his wife and family behind him when he quitted the Dakhin, and they were still at Aurangabad. At all hazards, the family name and fame must be preserved. Both brothers agreed to write again to Alim Ali Khan and also try to pacify Nizam-ul-mulk. To the former they wrote ordering him to delay any decisive action until the women were safe and Husain Ali Khan had arrived.

As we learn from a statement of Diyanat Khan, once *diwan* of the Dakhin, but at this time a semi-prisoner in the custody of Husain Ali Khan, overtures to Nizam-ul-mulk were very reluctantly undertaken. On the day that the disastrous news

arrived, Husain Ali Khan professed to seek Diyanat Khan's advice in this difficult conjuncture. This noble, referring to a Hindi proverb, which tells you to draw your hand out gently if it is caught beneath a stone, said that in this case the Nawab's own head was in danger, for was not his family in peril? They should, without an instant's delay, issue a patent for the Government of the whole Dakhin in favour of Nizam-ul-mulk and thus conciliate him, leaving warfare and revenge until a better opportunity.

Glancing towards Rajah Ratan Chand with a sneering smile, Husain Ali Khan said: "I have sent sums of money to the East. From this place (Agra) to the Dakhin, crowd after crowd of swift horses will be laid out at every stage. I will have ready twelve thousand torch bearers. Not for one instant, neither by day nor by night, will I stay my course or cease to gallop on." Diyanat Khan admitted that the Nawab's strength would enable him to undergo even more than that exertion, but in this hasty advance how many troops would keep up, and even then, what strength would be left in man or horse? Knitting his brows, Husain Ali Khan replied: "The summit of a soldier's ambition is to die. Alas for us! when a leader with a reputation like yours speaks cowardly words, and is like a man who has lost all heart." The Khan retorted with an Arabic saying equivalent to "Man proposes, God disposes." In the end these heroics were seen to be out of place, and other means were tried. To Nizam-ul-mulk they enclosed a *farman* in a long letter, both of which I proceed to give. [M. U. ii. 75.]

The *farman* began by expressing His Majesty's surprise at hearing that the Nawab had left Malwa without orders. What could be the cause? What apprehensions had he? Why had he not submitted a representation to the Throne, and acted according to the reply that he might receive? In what matter had his requests ever been refused? If he longed to travel and shoot in the Dakhin, how was it possible that such a request should not be granted, or if he had asked for it, the Government would have been made over to him. A patent would have reached him, so that he might not be exposed to censure from evil-speakers. His Majesty was in no way ill-disposed towards

him, but he should have avoided the appearance of offence. "As the disorders of the Dakhin are frequently reported to him, His Majesty contemplated making over to you all the *subahs* of that country. Praise the Lord ; this purpose has come to pass of itself, and by God's help, His Majesty's intention and your desire will both be satisfied. 'Heart finds its way to heart under this vault of heaven.' A formal patent is in preparation. When you have taken charge you will send off Alim Ali Khan and the family of the *Bakhshi-ul-mamalik*, *Amir-ul-umara*, from whom he has been long separated, granting them a proper escort and seeing to their safety." [Shiu, 33b.]

With the *farman* was a letter from Husain Ali Khan. He wrote that Dilawar Ali Khan had been sent to Aurangabad to escort the writer's family to Hindustan. It was now reported that, pretending orders for which there was no foundation, the said Dilawar Ali Khan had interfered with Nizam-ul-mulk, but, the Lord be praised, had only received what he deserved. It was also said that several persons, led by love of mischief-making and devilish devices (*shaitanat*), had written untruly of several matters in a manner likely to sow discord between them. Alas ! that such suspicions should arise between old friends ! Envious persons, by sowing dissension, hope to open a way for themselves. If, which the Lord forbid, the writer had a grievance, he would have written direct. "No doubt, many things had been brought up, which might have angered His Majesty ; and short-sighted men had tried to impress him unfavourably, but the writer, knowing your loyalty, made a detailed representation. By this means, I am thankful to say, your enemies were cast down and your friends made happy. His Majesty has graciously resolved to issue to you a patent for the Government of the Dakhin. Accept my congratulations. Alim Ali Khan, my (adopted) son, and my family propose to return to this country ; kindly furnish them with an escort and see that they are not molested on the way." [Shiu 39a.]

Such was the state of consternation into which the Sayyids had been thrown, that every day produced some new plan of action, only to be discarded in its turn for one still more new. First, they resolved to march together to the Dakhin with the

Emperor ; then, that Husain Ali Khan should go with Muhammad Shah, while Abdullah Khan returned to Dihli ; next, that Muhammad Shah should return with the *Wazir* to the capital. At another time, they thought they would make terms with Nizam-ul-mulk, as in the letter just quoted, and postpone an attack upon him to a more favourable opportunity. According to these varying decisions, the advance tents of the Emperor and of the two ministers were sent out first in one direction and then in another.

SEC. 9.—ATTACKS ON MUHAMMAD AMIN KHAN.

One of the Sayyids' main difficulties was the strength of the Mughal element in their own army. They did not know what to do with Muhammad Amin Khan, cousin of Nizam-ul-mulk and head of the Mughal soldiery. At one time they thought of leaving him behind, at another of taking him with them. By some accounts they tried to poison him. However much Muhammad Amin Khan may have rejoiced inwardly at the troubles now accumulating on the luckless Sayyids' heads, he continued to attend their *darbars*, and spoke there freely of the wickedness of Nizam-ul-mulk's conduct. [K. K. 882, Shiu 45a, Bayan 319.]

It is said Muhammad Amin Khan had taken the Sayyids' part for fear of losing his great wealth. He also had a very high idea of his own superiority to everybody else, and his power of finally coming out the victor. After he had become very intimate with Husain Ali Khan, the latter's friends warned him that Muhammad Amin Khan was acting in a double-faced manner. The Sayyid answered : "What power has he to fight against me ! And at the worst, I shall easily escape from his clutches."

Muhammad Amin Khan carried at once to Husain Ali Khan every insulting story he heard, hoping that the Sayyid, being put off his guard, might give him a chance of plunging a dagger into him. But Husain Ali Khan was suspicious of his covetous Mongol eyes. In spite of this, Muhammad Amin Khan continued assiduous in his attendance. Those who prided themselves on their strength of understanding said, over and over again, that he was at the root of all the trouble and the real

cause of Farrukh-siyar's deposition. "The truth or falsehood of this rests on the relater! The author must record the essential facts, though his enemies may taunt him. If he should turn evil into good, the whole story would become faulty, but only the Knower of all hidden things can reveal the true kernel of the matte.." [Ahwal, 146b.]

But at length the Sayyids were supposed to have decided to rid themselves of this "old wolf," also of Abdus-samad Khan, governor of Lahor, another strong pillar of the Mughal faction, and connected by marriage with Muhammad Amin Khan. Abdus-samad Khan they intended to exile to Balkh or Bukhara. Informers told Muhammad Amin Khan of his danger, and one day his soldiers thought he had been seized or killed in the *darbar*. They raised a disturbance, which was not allayed until they saw their general come forth unmolested. He was spared chiefly on the advice of Ikhlas Khan, whose opinion had great weight with both brothers, but more especially with Husain Ali Khan. Ikhlas Khan argued that his removal would stir up a spirit of revenge among a set of men who were not easy to appease. The clan of which he was the head was a large one, and if this "wasps' nest" was disturbed, there would be no one left to pacify or soothe them after Muhammad Amin Khan was killed.

But before a reconciliation in accordance with this advice had been effected, the Sayyids attempted to fight the matter out with the Mughals. The dispute was brought to a crisis by the news of Sayyid Alim Ali Khan's defeat and death, under the circumstances which will be related presently. Camel-riders brought the news of this catastrophe to Agra on the 22nd Shawwal (26th August 1720), sixteen days after the date of the battle. In their rage the Sayyids resolved to wreak their vengeance on Muhammad Amin Khan. At once M. Amin Khan fortified the house which he occupied in the quarter of Rajah Bhoj in Agra city. On one side of it the Jamuna flowed; on the other three sides he dug a ditch. Husain Ali Khan held his troops in readiness for an attack, but was dissuaded from carrying the idea into execution. Then Muhammad Amin Khan, when he heard this, came out at the head of his men and sent

a challenge to the brothers, that if they wanted him he was there and willing to meet them. But the Sayyids now denied that they had intended to harm him. [Shiu, 45a.]

On another day they planned to send the Emperor to the Taj accompanied by a large force, the house occupied by Muhammad Amin Khan being not far from Tajganj. They gave out that His Majesty had only come to visit the tombs and spend a day or two in recreation. As is well known, it was the custom for nobles to take it in turn to mount guard. The brothers agreed that when their turn came they would proceed to Tajganj with their troops, ostensibly upon this duty only, but in reality with the intention, after having placed the Emperor in safety within the mausoleum, of leading their troops against Muhammad Amin Khan. That noble must have received some hint of what was in the air, for, seizing all the boats to be found on the Jamuna, he crossed the river and camped on the other bank, leaving enough men to defend his house. More moderate counsels now prevailed, Ikhlas Khan was listened to, and Abdullah Khan dissuaded his brother from further violence, pointing out the danger to themselves that might result. Muhammad Amin Khan was invited to a feast, they all ate together, and an understanding, at any rate outwardly, was arrived at.

SEC. 10.—NIZAM-UL-MULK'S CONTEST WITH ALIM ALI KHAN.

Having disposed of Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan and his army, Nizam-ul-mulk reached again the Lal Bagh at Burhanpur on the 21st Shaban 1132 H. (27th June 1720). In regard to his negotiations with Alim Ali Khan, we are told that Nizam-ul-mulk informed him that as he refused to yield him possession, he would go instead on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Accordingly he had turned off towards Surat and pretended to have discharged his men, leaving two to three hundred of them behind him at every town or village. By a public order he directed his cavalry to go wherever they pleased and take service where they could. But secretly they were instructed to halt where they were or go over to the enemy. When he wanted them they must either return to his standard, or desert him in the

battle. He proceeded on his journey like a mere traveller or the member of a caravan. Induced by reports that Nizam-ul-mulk was almost alone, Alim Ali Khan came out to bar his way. Nizam-ul-mulk admonished him, writing that his heart was now cold for worldly things, he knew nothing of public place or power, and only dreaded the unjust shedding of Muhammadan blood. At length when these remonstrances were not listened to, he determined to fight and recalled his troops. [Yahya, 126a.]

As already stated, Alim Ali Khan, when he heard of the approach of Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan, set up his tents in the Muhamdi Bagh on the 12th Rajab (19th May 1720) and left the city of Aurangabad at the head of thirty thousand horsemen. He marched *viâ* Phulmari.* Early in Ramzan (May 1720) on reaching the pass of Fardapur,† which is half-way between Aurangabad and Burhanpur, he provided for the transport of his artillery through the pass, and sent an advance guard beyond it. The Mahrattas and some troops under Tahavvar Khan, with half his guns only, were through the pass, when two thousand or more Barha Sayyids, fugitives from the late Dilawar Ali Khan's army, made their appearance, bringing the disturbing intelligence of that officer's defeat and death. Most of the Mahrattas and some of his own officers counselled Alim Ali Khan, under these circumstances, to retreat to Aurangabad or even Ahmadnagar, there to await the arrival of Husain Ali Khan, leaving the Mahrattas outside to harass Nizam-ul-mulk's army by the methods of which they were such perfect masters.‡

Alim Ali Khan, looking on a retreat as a disgrace, brought the rest of his army through the pass. Nizam-ul-mulk, on hearing of this movement, sent him the biers of Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan and Sayyid Sher Khan : and along with them a letter advising him to cease resistance and march off to join his two

* A town 16 miles n.e. of Aurangabad, see Hossain Bilgrami and Willmott, *Sketch of Nizam's Dominions*, ii. 705.

† A village at the northern foot of the Ajunta ghat, 20 miles south of Pachoda station on the G. I. P. Railway; see S. Hossain and C. Willmott, ii. 467, and Constable's *Hand Atlas*, plate 31.

‡ *Barhan-ul-futah* 166a; *Ahwal* 165b—170a; K. K. 885.

uncles with the ladies of the family. This communication produced no effect. After this Nizam-ul-mulk marched out of Burhanpur to the banks of the Purna river, which flows some sixteen or seventeen *kos* to the south and south-east of Burhanpur. There he encamped. From the other direction came Alim Ali Khan and pitched his camp at Talab Hartala, which is not far from the same river. [K. K. 886, Kamwar 226.]

They remained in these positions for several days. The constant rain, the muddy roads, the flooded river and the absence of means to cross (a bridge of boats having been swept away) made it impossible for either side to move. Then Nizam-ul-mulk finding it necessary to change his place of encampment, made several marches up the stream towards Malkapur* in Berar, with the hope of finding a ford. At length, after eight marches, Iwaz Khan succeeded in obtaining through some neighbouring landlords information of a crossing-place at a distance of about fourteen or fifteen *kos*, in the direction of the district of Balapur† in *subah* Berar. Alim Ali Khan had followed along the other bank, and shots had been exchanged daily across the river. In the middle of Ramzan (15th=20th July, 1720) Nizam-ul-mulk crossed with his whole army to the opposite or south side of the river. Although in places the water was up to the men's waists, or even to their chests, no lives were lost or baggage swept away by the current. For one day they encamped on the river bank to allow the camp-followers to assemble. Then the following day they started to find a favourable position for giving battle. The camp was pitched and entrenched in a precipitous position full of thorny scrub close to Seogaon, a village in *subah* Berar.‡

* Malkapur lies about 40 miles south of Burhanpur. It is on the Nagpur branch of the G. I. P. Railway, and some miles south of the Purna.—Constable's *Hand Atlas*, plate 31.

† Balapur is 16 miles west of Akola, 16 to 18 miles south of the Purna river, and about 72 miles east (up stream) from Edilabad. The field of battle lies between the villages of Kolhari and Pimpri Cauli, about 65 miles s. e. of Burhanpur and about the same distance n. e. of Aurangabad.—*Berar Gazetteer*, 163.

‡ Seogaon is in the Akola district; it is now a station on the Nagpur branch of the G. I. P. Railway, and is about ten miles south of the left

Exposed to incessant rain and living in the middle of deep black mud, they passed several days in extreme discomfort. First, owing to the heavy rain and the swollen streams, no supplies could arrive from either Khandesh or Berar. Secondly, the Mahrattas of Nagpur, who had crossed over from Alim Ali Khan's army, were plundering all round the camp; not a single camel or bullock could be sent out to graze, much less could any supplies be brought in. Prices rose until for thirteen or fourteen days there was nothing left to feed the cattle but the leaves and young shoots of trees, which were pounded with stones and given them as forage. "The smell even of grass or grain did not reach the four-footed animals." Many of them, standing up to their shoulders in mire, starved to death. As for food, it could only be obtained by the wealthy, who paid one Rupee for two to four pounds of flour. Many soldiers of small resources left the army and returned to their homes. [K. K. 888, *Ahwal*, 166b.]

Many things contributed to the confusion in the camp—the rising of the streams, the hunger of the soldiers, the falling of tents, and the incursions of the Mahrattas, who ventured themselves as far even as the edge of the camp market. Seeing that their soldiers were worn out and dispirited, the officers made complaints. Accordingly, when the rain held off for a little, the army marched to a deserted village three *kos* from Balapur, and there encamped again. As the Mahrattas had become exceedingly troublesome, Iwaz Khan, Ghiyas Khan and Rambha Nimbalkar, were sent against them. After some fighting the Mahrattas were driven off, leaving behind them many of their mares, spears and umbrella standards. They were pursued for three or four *kos*. [K. K. 888.]

The festival of the *Id* (1st Shawwal 1132 H., 5th August 1720) was celebrated at this new place, where supplies of grain arrived in sufficient quantity; but grass could not be got for the horses. It was as dear as saffron; if any camp-follower went out to gather it, he came back with his nose cut off. A further march became imperative. Before they moved away,

bank of the Purna, and 11 miles n.w. of Balapur, *Berar Gazetteer*, 164; K. K. 887; Kamwar 226; *Burhan-ul-fatah*, 168a; Qasim, 327.

several large cannon were buried here, the muddy roads and the bad condition of the draught oxen rendering their removal an impossibility. The next camp was at Balapur itself, where supplies were plentiful. A halt of three days was made to allow the troops to rest and recruit their strength. [K. K. 889, *Ahwal* 167a.]

[ALIM ALI KHAN'S PREPARATIONS.]

Instructions had been received by Alim Ali Khan from his uncles to collect a strong force, and prevent their family and dependents from falling into Nizam-ul-mulk's hands. Money, they wrote, must be liberally spent, and rank and promotion accorded freely. The measures he took to carry out these orders had soon resulted in the assembling of a large army round his standards.

As he had been married to a young girl nearly related to the late Daud Khan Panni, the partisan leaders of that clan, who were very numerous in the Dakhin, readily joined him; even Umar Khan, the nephew or cousin of that deceased noble, attended, although Daud Khan's blood still cried for vengeance. Other leaders of note were Johar Khan and Muhamdi Beg. The latter had long been deputy *faujdar* of Gulshanabad [Nasik], and when Nizam-ul-mulk previously held rule in the six *subahs*, he had been put in fetters and imprisoned by that governor as a punishment for his exactions. Subsequently he was pardoned and appointed to a subordinate post in the Nawab's army. At this time Alim Ali Khan bought him over with an absurdly high title, the rank of 5,000, and the right to beat kettle-drums. Others gained over in a similar manner were Matti Khan, his brother Latif Khan Banwar, and his nephews Sayyid Wali Muhammad and Muhammad Ashraf of Nandurbar. These were all promoted to the rank of 5,000, and were placed under Tahavvar Khan, commanding the vanguard. Ghalib Khan, son of Rustam Khan, whose family had been for generations in the Dakhin, joined along with Apa Pandit, his *diwan* or chief official. [Shiu 40, Qasim 325, K. K. 890.]

Others were Mirza Ali, a noted warrior, and Sayyid Alam Barha. Among the rest came Amin Khan, the brother of Khan

Alam Dakhini. This man was very ill-disposed towards the Sayyids, owing to the injury caused to him a few years before, at the time he was deputy governor of the Bidar *subah*, when at Husain Ali Khan's instigation, he was suddenly attacked by the adopted son of Rajah Sahu, the head of the Mahrattas. Amin Khan, propitiated by the gift of money and of two or three elephants, now became a doubtful ally in the campaign. Other half-hearted adherents were Turktaz Khan and Fidai Khan, *diwan*, both secret adherents of Nizam-ul-mulk. Among the other leaders were Ashraf Khan, *Bakhshi* of the Dakhin, Rafihat Talab Khan, Khwaja Rahmat-ullah Khan (Shujaat Khan), commander of Alim Ali Khan's artillery, and Shamsheer Khan. The Mahratta commanders were Santaji Sindhia, Khanduji Dhabariya, the *senapati* or Mahratta commander-in-chief sent from Satara, Shankraji, Mulhar,* Kanhuji and others. Rajah Sahu had sent some of these men at the head of seventeen to eighteen thousand horsemen, and they all proclaimed themselves sworn friends of Husain Ali Khan. Anwar Khan, acting the part of a double traitor, wrote to Alim Ali Khan from Nizam-ul-mulk's camp, pointing out that the latter's strength being as yet unconsolidated, now was the time to strike a blow, and the sooner it was done the better. The letter was intercepted and the result was the disgrace of Anwar Khan, followed by his imprisonment and the confiscation of all his property.†

* The *Burhan-ul-futuh*, 167a, and Khush-hal Chand, Berlin MS. 495, f. 1,003a, say that all power in the Dakhin under Alim Ali Khan had centred in Shankraji, who had lately come back from Dihli. Grant Duff, 206, says he was at Aurangabad as the envoy of Rajah Sahu. He was originally a clerk (*karkun*) under Shivaji, subsequently in 1690 appointed by Ram Raja to be *Sucheo* (formerly called *Surnis*). This was one of the eight principal offices of the Mahratta State, with the duties of record-keeper and examiner of letters. He retired from office during the siege of Jinji 1698, and went to Benares. Although an old man, he grew tired of this idle life and entered the service of Husain Ali Khan when he came to the Dakhin. Grant Duff, 105, 164, 171, 197, 198.

† *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 186; Khafi Khan, ii. 899. The *Gulshan-i-ajajib*, 130b, adds some other Mahratta names: Babaji (Baji Rao) son of Balaji Bishwanath, the Peshwa; Tukuji Gujar; Pila Jadu; Dawalji Sombanshi; Chitnaji Damodar; Mankaji Dana. The names in Khush-hal, 1003a,

[NIZAM-UL-MULK REPLIES TO THE LETTERS FROM AGRA.]

Nizam-ul-mulk, with his usual ability in such matters, soon sowed dissension and distrust in the huge but badly wielded force opposed to him. The letter from Husain Ali Khan, forwarding a patent for the Government of the Dakhin, was received with all due form and ceremonial; a special enclosure was erected, the Nawab rode out to meet the bearer of it, and it was publicly read with the proper observances and the beating of drums. These documents were at once put to a use that had not been foreseen when they were despatched. A copy of the *farman*, duly attested by a *Qazi's* seal, was sent to Alim Ali Khan, and a letter informed him that, since Nizam-ul-mulk was now appointed governor, it was useless for him to keep in the field. He ought to disband his troops at once and relieve himself of that unnecessary expense. Should he desire to return to Hindustan, Nizam-ul-mulk would furnish him with as many men as were necessary. The news of Nizam-ul-mulk's appointment took the heart out of the local leaders and the newly enlisted soldiers, who sought their own safety either by flight to their homes or by joining the new *subahdar*. Or, as one writer puts it: "On the way many of the idle boasters and valiant trencher-men deserted." In short, Nizam-ul-mulk, up to this time a fugitive and a rebel, henceforth assumed, in full reliance on the *farman*, the attitude of a legally appointed governor, loyally fighting for his sovereign's rights. [Shiu 40b, Qasim 327.]

Long answers were sent to the Emperor's *farman* and to Husain Ali Khan's letter. As usual in such cases, the comedy of outward deference was played through unblushingly to the end. After thanks for his new appointment, he met the accusation that he had left Malwa without orders, by the audacious assertion that his action was due to the disorders caused by the Mahrattas round Aurangabad, which led him to fear for the safety of Burhanpur and even of Malwa; still more, for the safety of the family of the Amir-ul-umara, Husain Ali Khan.

The great distance precluded his asking for orders or awaiting an answer, and for this reason he had marched at once, and the Mahrattas had dispersed at his approach. His acts had been misrepresented. Newly-risen men, who had not yet learnt the reverence due to His Majesty's high rank, might be guilty of such things ; to ancient servants like himself, whose every limb and very bones were built up of the salt that he had eaten, they were impossible. His Majesty knew the disordered state of the Dakhin, in spite of all that the Dweller in Paradise (Alamgir) had done. As it was now devoid of a ruler, what more likely than that some disaster should happen there? The only remedy was a hasty advance. It had been his desire, for many a day, to make a pilgrimage to the holy *Kaba*, and he had meant, as soon as he had defeated the Mahrattas, to ask for leave of absence. But now, his appointment to the Dakhin having been sent, he could not dream of disobeying orders ; to carry out his sovereign's wishes he held to be far above the worship of God, he would soon be on the spot, and by God's help and His Majesty's good fortune, would carry out the necessary measures. [Shiu, 41a.]

To the Amir-ul-umara, Husain Ali Khan, after quoting the letter sent to him, in which he was told that Dilawar Ali Khan had been sent only to fetch the Sayyid's family from Aurangabad, he wrote : "Nawab Amir-ul-umara ! May you be preserved ! In spite of his knowing your kindness and friendly feeling, and of my writing several times and my sending trusty messengers, the said Khan (Dilawar Ali) would not listen to reason, and in the end brought on himself what happened to him. My feelings of friendship to you remain unchanged." He then repeats the story about marching to the Dakhin merely to protect Aurangabad and save the Amir-ul-umara's family from dishonour, the latter involving the suggestion, a very galling one to a proud and high-placed man like Husain Ali Khan, that he was too weak to protect them himself. "Praise be to God ! all has passed off harmlessly. As soon as my troops arrived the rebels, making no stand, fled in all directions. The envious have represented the matter contrary to the truth and induced His Majesty to be displeased with me. I thank

God that the truth has been re-established and my word accepted. A report in answer to the *farman* is enclosed, and I trust it may be brought forward at a proper moment. By God's aid I will soon reach Aurangabad, whence I will forward your family and your other belongings with the greatest care." [Shiu, 42a.]

[THE BATTLE WITH ALIM ALI KHAN.]

On the 5th Shawwal (9th August 1720), leaving his baggage in Balapur, Nizam-ul-mulk ranged his army in order of battle at a distance of two or three *kos* from that town.* To the advanced guard were appointed Mhd. Ghiyas Khan, Muhammad Shah, commanding the artillery, Shaikh Nur-ullah, his brother, Yalburz Khan Aghariya, Anwar Khan and others. On the right, where the opposing Mahrattas showed in the greatest strength, were posted Iwaz Khan and Jamal-ullah Khan, his son. With the main body and left wing were Ghazi-ud-din Khan, the Nawab's eldest son, Marahmat Khan, Nimat-ilahi, Abdur-rahim Khan (Reayat Khan), Mutawassil Khan, Sad-ud-din Khan, Qadir Dad Khan, Darab Khan and Kamyab Khan (two sons of Jan Nisar Khan), Ikhtisas Khan (grand nephew of Khan Alam, Dakhini), Ruhullah Khan, Mutahavvar Khan, with many other nobles and Rajput chiefs. The command of the rearguard, with charge of the baggage, was made over to Rambha Nimbalkar, and Antaji, the *deshmukh* of *pargana* Sanesar. [K. K. 889.]

On the other side Alim Ali Khan, mounting his elephant and taking his own place in the centre, with Ghiyas-ud-din Khan in the seat behind him, sent forward his artillery, supported by fourteen or fifteen thousand horsemen from the Karnatik. The battle began on the 6th Shawwal 1132 H. (10th

* The *Berar Gazetteer*, 163, says the battle-field lies between the villages of Kolhari and Pimpri Cauli, close to Balapur town (Akola district), Long. 75°80', Lat. 20°40'. The *Siwanth-i-Dakhin*, 133, describes it as in the *taluka* of Pain Ghat in subah Berar. Kamwar Khan, 226, says it was *dar saवाद-i-Balaghat*. According to the *Berar Gazetteer*, Berar Balaghat is the country above the Ajanta ridge, sloping down south to the *ghats* or passes which lead up to it, while Berar Painghat lies between the Gaurigarh hills on the north and the outer scraps of the Ajanta hills on the south.

August 1720), the first movement being made by Nizam-ul-mulk. Alim Ali Khan replied by two or three shots from his guns, which fell to the ground without hitting any one. The first shot returned by Nizam-ul-mulk fell close to the elephant on which Latif Khan was riding, the *howda* was upset and the rider thrown to the ground. Before the smoke could disperse, Mutahavvar Khan, who commanded Alim Ali Khan's vanguard, followed by seventeen or eighteen elephants and fourteen to fifteen thousand horsemen, fell suddenly on Nizam-ul-mulk's vanguard and caused many of the Mughals to give way. When Muhammad Shah, Nizam-ul-mulk's general of artillery, saw the day going against them, he, his brother Nur-ullah, and his other officers, following the usage of Hindustan, dismounted and continued the contest on foot. Nizam-ul-mulk's vanguard had been thrown into great disorder. Shaikh Nur-ullah was slain and Muhammad Shah wounded. Muhammad Ghiyas Khan, who commanded it and was already blind of one eye, received a wound in his other eye. Yalburz Khan Aghariya and other leaders were also wounded. The division retreated. [K. K. 891, 893.]

At this moment the other divisions from the right and left of Nizam-ul-mulk's army advanced to the attack and closed upon the enemy. Alim Ali Khan, with the chiefs immediately under his orders, hurried forward the centre of his army with such rapidity that a portion of his division was outstripped and left behind. Iwaz Khan, Marahmat Khan, and Qadir Dad Khan met and repelled him wherever he turned. But Alim Ali Khan though wounded kept the field. Then Mutawassil Khan, a youth of Alim Ali Khan's own age, drove his elephant to close quarters with that of the Barha leader. He assailed Johar Khan,* and the other eight or nine chiefs on elephants who accompanied Alim Ali Khan. He fought on until compelled to retire by wounds and loss of blood. Qadir Dad Khan supported him bravely in this *mêlée*. [K. K. 894.]

* According to the *Ahwal-ul-khawagin*, f. 168, this man had borne the first brunt of the attack, the first shot knocked over his elephant-driver and carried away half his *howda*.

Alim Ali Khan's elephant-driver, who was the brother-in-law of Mutahavvar Khan, was killed ; Ghiyas-ud-din Khan commanding his artillery had fallen ; so also had Ghalib Khan and Apaji, that officer's *diwan*, Shamsheer Khan, Sayyid Wali and Sayyid Alam Barha : in all eight or nine of the chief men. The Mahrattas, however, had reached Nizam-ul-mulk's baggage and carried off some of his treasure of gold coins. At one time Alim Ali Khan's elephant had stuck in a marshy place, from which it extricated itself with great difficulty and came out on the farther side alone. The first thing its rider saw was the dead body of Mutahavvar Khan. Then between thirty and forty Barha Sayyids, sword in hand, forced their horses through the mud and rejoined their leader.

Soon afterwards the elephant ridden by Alim Ali Khan turned tail, unable to bear any longer the rain of arrows. But Alim Ali Khan, his wounds dripping blood, persisted and turning round in his seat continued to face his foe, exclaiming : "The elephant may turn to flee, but I do not." Three times did he succeed in renewing the attack, seeking everywhere for the invisible Nizam-ul-mulk ; and unsuccessful in his search, was forced to beat a retreat. His stock of arrows being exhausted, he drew out those sticking in his face or his body or in the elephant trappings, and shot them resolutely at his opponents. At length Ikhtisas Khan disabled him by a sword stroke, which cut to the bone the fingers of his right hand. A fourth time he renewed his challenge to Nizam-ul-mulk, calling out how strange it was that the leader kept out of the way. Nizam-ul-mulk drew his bow to the full and shouting, "I am Nizam-ul-mulk," let his arrow fly. Alim Ali Khan was again wounded, he was surrounded, and Ikhtisas Khan cut off his head. Thus at the age of twenty-two he bravely gave up his life a sacrifice on behalf of his two uncles.*

* Khafi Khan, 894 ; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 189 ; *Maqaddama* by Ghulam Ali Khan, 34b ; Khush-hal f. 1005a. Yahya Khan, f. 126b, says the Sayyid was struck in the forehead by a musket ball. His head was laid before Nizam-ul-mulk, and after being identified and displayed in public, it was forwarded to the Emperor.

Altogether seventeen or eighteen noted chiefs, "riders on elephants," and a large number of men fell in the battle ; while many more were wounded. Amin Khan, Umar Khan, Turktaz Khan, Fidai Khan, *diwan* of the Dakhin, and some other men of note transferred their services at once to Nizam-ul-mulk. Shankraji, the chief officer of Rajah Sahu Mahratta, was wounded and taken prisoner. The elephants and artillery of the defeated army became the property of the victorious general ; the rest of their equipage was given up to plunder. The drums were then beaten to announce the victory. Muhammad Qasim Aurangabadi thinks that Nizam-ul-mulk's case was desperate, if Alim Ali Khan had not been killed. The Mahrattas were in his rear, and against his ten thousand were ranged fully eighty thousand men. Six hundred and thirty-four Mahrattas were killed. [K. K. 895, *Ahwal* 169a.]

Except Sayyid Sulaiman (known as the grandson of the saint Ghaus-ul-azam) Shaikh Nur-ullah, and two or three less important men, no one was killed in the army of Nizam-ul-mulk. Iwaz Khan was slightly wounded, and the other principal men among the wounded were Mutawassil Khan, Qadir Dad Khan, Mhd. Ghiyas Khan, Muhammad Shah and Kamyab Khan. When the fatal news reached Aurangabad, the ladies of Husain Ali Khan's family and those dependent on Alim Ali Khan became afraid, and asked for shelter from the commandant of the Daulatabad fortress, some ten miles north-west of the town. This man was descended from Murtaza Khan and Sayyid Mubarik, relations of Sayyid Jalal of Bukhara ; and the appointment had been in his family from the reign of Shah Jahan (1627-1658). In spite of the fact that Husain Ali Khan had reduced him in rank and appointed others in his place, this officer gave the ladies a refuge with all their property. A few days after the battle, Mubariz Khan, governor of Haidarabad, and his brother, Dilawar Khan, who had announced that they were marching to the aid of the Sayyids, came in and joined Nizam-ul-mulk. With their adhesion to his cause ended all possibility of further danger to the usurper, so far as any opponent in the Dakhin itself was concerned. [K. K. 896, *Warid* 161a.]

SEC. 11.—THE NEWS FROM THE DAKHIN REACHES AGRA.

Swift camel-riders reached Agra on the 22nd Shawwal (26th August 1720), bringing information of the defeat and death of Alim Ali Khan near Balapur. Four days before this date Husain Ali Khan's advance tents had gone out to Kuraoli, seventeen or eighteen miles from Agra, as a preliminary to his starting for the Dakhin. One encampment was formed at the village of Sihara near Sarai Khoja, five *kos* from Agra, there being a good supply of sweet water from a masonry tank or reservoir.*

The new disaster threw the Sayyids into a state of consternation. When the letters were put into Abdullah Khan's hand, he was so agitated that he was unable to read them, and could do no more than gather the facts from the oral statements of the messengers. He then broke forth into lamentation. Husain Ali Khan bore the blow with more outward calm, though he was not completely successful in suppressing all signs of grief. Both brothers at once quitted their public audience room. Husain Ali Khan really felt the blow more acutely than his brother, nor did he recover his equanimity until he heard about a week afterwards that his women with their property had received a refuge in the fort of Daulatabad. Consultation now succeeded consultation, plan followed upon plan. As already described, they had made an attempt to rid themselves of Muhammad Amin Khan, head of the powerful clan to which Nizam-ul-mulk belonged. But finding that they were not strong enough to effect their purpose, they did their best to make friends with this important chief. On his side, Muhammad Amin Khan had endeavoured to lull their suspicions to sleep by talking loudly in *darbar* of the baseness of Nizam-ul-mulk's conduct and his wickedness generally. [K. K. 896, Kamwar 226, Qasim 319, *Ahwal* 171b.]

At length it was decided that Muhammad Shah in person, with the imperial artillery and all head officials, should proceed to the Dakhin in charge of Husain Ali Khan ; while Abdullah

* Sihare ki sarai, *Indian Atlas*, sheet 50, about 7½ miles from the city on the way to Kuraoli and Pathpur.

Khan returned to Dihli to maintain order in the northern half of the Empire. Husain Ali Khan, who had quite outstripped his elder brother in real power, had insisted on taking with him the offices and establishments of *diwan*, *Bakhshi*, and *Sadar-us-sadur* for all the twenty-two provinces, with the two head *diwans*, leaving to Abdullah Khan only a small office staff. Abdullah Khan objected, but the dispute was kept secret, and at last it was arranged that the complete establishment of four *subahs* only in Hindustan, that is Akbarabad, Ahmadabad, Ajmer and Malwa, and of all the six Dakhin *subahs*, with a small staff for the other provinces, should accompany His Majesty and Husain Ali Khan. [K. K. 897, Qasim 322, Yahya 127b.] Taking his imagery from the game of draughts, Yahya Khan's comment on this separation of the two brothers is that, in the general opinion, the player had made a wrong move by scattering his men, and thenceforward his piece could not be protected; and so it turned out in the end.

Instead of the more direct road through Gwaliyar and Narwar, the longer route through Ajmer was chosen, with the object of meeting Rajah Ajit Singh and reinforcing the imperial army by his Rajputs. Accordingly the imperial tents were sent out to Sarai Sihara on the 1st Zul Qada 1132 H. (3rd September 1720), and on the 9th (11th September) the first march was made. On the 10th they moved to Kuraoli, the camp being pitched on a high mound beside a sheet of water. Here Abdullah Khan had his audience of leave-taking and departed for Dihli, Rajah Ratan Chand remaining at Court as his agent and representative. The nobles who accompanied Abdullah Khan to Dihli were: Sayyid Salabat Khan *Bakhshi*, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Ghalib Jang, Hamid Khan, Hamid-ud-din Khan, Nimatullah Khan, Bairam Khan, Qilich Muhammad Khan, Baqir Khan (son of Ruhullah Khan, deceased), Hifz-ullah Khan, Murid Khan, and Amir Khan.

Outwardly the Sayyids strove to preserve an attitude of unconcern. When any one condoled with them on the loss of their young nephew, they would say, "Praise be to God! no one of any importance has been lost," and express their joy that the youth had borne himself in a way to uphold the Sayyid

name. But some of their chief men began to lose heart, and on pleas of sickness or other lame excuses declined to go on active service, among these being Sayyid Firuz Ali Khan, uncle of Alim Ali Khan. Husain Ali Khan, still full of confidence, thought nothing of these desertions, holding that his troops and those of his near relations were sufficient for every emergency. It was intended to raise the total numbers to 100,000 men; and urgent letters were sent by the hand of Sayyid Muhammad Khan, son of Asad-ullah Khan, to the most noted of the Barha Sayyids and the Afghans, calling upon them to join the column at once. But the numbers did not rise beyond fifty thousand men, including both the old and the new troops. [K. K. 897, Qasim 328.]

SEC. 12.—THE EMPEROR'S ADVANCE TO THE DAKHIN.

On the 13th Zul Qada (15th September 1720) the camp was at a place between Mahaur and Gopalpur; next day it was moved on to between Kanwari and Muminabad. Four days (15th to 18th) were spent in celebrating the anniversary of Muhammad Shah's enthronement, and on the 19th (21st September) a visit was made to the shrine of Shah Salim Chishti at Fathpur Sikri. The succeeding marches were Jalwa (21st), Nabahra (23rd), Salihabad (26th), Bajahra (28th), Bahadurpur (29th). At Qasba Bahadurpur, about four miles north of Hindaun, the camp was under the shade of pleasant trees and the water was sweet and wholesome. In the two previous marches the rough country, full of thorny shrubs, and the want of water, had caused great suffering. Two days for rest were allowed. They marched thence on the 2nd Zul Hijja (4th October 1720), and arrived at a place between Mahwa and Muhkampur. Next they passed through the Lakhi *darra* (or pass) and encamped at the foot of some hills in a very lonely and desolate country. Thence they marched on the 6th Zul Hijja (8th October 1720) to a position between Jiund and Biund, about two *kos* to the east of Toda Bhon (or Bhim), a place now in Jaipur territory, about seventy-five miles south-west of Agra and about sixty miles east of Jaipur.*

* Kamwar; Qasim 345, 346. Mhd. Qasim was with the army and serving under Rai Surat Singh Multani. The map of the *Rajputana States*,

During these marches there were, to all outward appearance, agreement and friendship between the Mir Bakhshi and his principal rival. Muhammad Amin Khan tried to procure terms for Nizam-ul-mulk, offering himself as security that the Sayyid ladies and children would be brought home in safety. He offered to send his own son, Qamar-ud-din Khan, to act as their escort. The proposed campaign would then be unnecessary. But Husain Ali Khan's pride debarred him from assenting to these proposals. Then Mhd. Amin Khan brought up the objection that the army, especially his division, was full of soldiers who had served for years under Nizam-ul-mulk. No loyal service could be looked for from these men, they would do harm instead of good, and it would be better to leave him and them behind. In secret, however, Muhammad Amin Khan said to his confidants that, in any case, he meant to strike at the Sayyids. If he were ordered to go on to the Dakhin, he would either seek an opportunity on the way, or withdraw from the battle-field when victory was trembling in the balance. If left behind, he would make certain that the two brothers never joined forces again. Husain Ali Khan, who was not altogether blind to the difficulty in which he was placed, for to take the Mughals on or to leave them behind was equally dangerous, exerted himself to the utmost to keep Mhd. Amin Khan in good humour, addressing him whenever they met as "Respected Uncle." A large sum of money was advanced to him by way of pay for his Mughals. [Qasim 324.]

Haider Quli Khan was also taken into special favour, and on the 4th Zul Qada (6th September 1720), he replaced Sayyid Ghulam Ali Khan as *Mir Atash*, or general-in-chief of the imperial artillery, of which there was a very large display, some sixteen hundred cannon, large and small, besides *gajnal*, *shutar-nal*, *kaharwal* and rockets.* This man professed to be devoted

1859, marks the pass as Kurralee Ghaut, possibly the same as the Kariti of the *Indian Atlas*. Mahwa is on sheet 50 of the *Indian Atlas*, as Mhow, six miles west of Bahadurpur, on the Gambhir river. Jiund (Jond) is shown five miles n. w. of Mhow, Biund (Bond) about three miles n. w. of "Jond" and Toda Bhon (Toda Bhim) seven miles w. of "Jond."

* Khafi Khan, 898, says the previous incumbent was Sayyid Khan Jahan. He had just died. Perhaps Ghulam Ali Khan was only his deputy.

heart and soul to the Sayyids, and Husain Ali Khan had formed a high opinion of his ability as an artillery officer. The men about the Mir Bakhshi hardly shared his fancy for this man. They spoke scornfully of his "low stature but high fortune" and afterwards the line was applied to him, "Who would have thought this tempest could arise from an empty oven." Muazzam Khan Afghan, Sayyid Ghairat Khan, Mir Mushrif, and others bade the Nawab beware, for there was a plot on foot among the Mughals. He ought not, they said, to allow their officers to attend audience with a crowd of armed men. Husain Ali Khan retorted angrily that they were thwarting him in his effort to win over Mhd. Amin Khan, adding: "Who is there who could raise a hand against me, what plot is there, what reason for my assassination?" It only meant that they did not like to see the artillery pass from the hands of a Sayyid into those of a Mughal. Then he would launch forth in praise of Haidar Quli Khan. The new general justified his appointment in the eyes of the army by the alterations which he at once introduced. Among other things he re-established the practice of former reigns, adopted from European models, of firing off a salute of ten to twenty field-pieces (*rahkhalas*) whenever the Emperor entered his quarters from a march or a hunting expedition. In this way notice of His Majesty's movements could be communicated to the whole camp. [Qasim 344, Kamwar, Khush-hal 1007a.]

Another new favourite was Saadat Khan, a Persian from Naishapur, then chiefly known as a relation of Ganj Ali Khan, lately deceased; he had been appointed a few weeks before to be *faujdar* of Hindaun and Biana, some fifty to sixty miles south-west of Agra, and as the route of the army lay through his district, he remained in attendance. He paraded his troops daily before Husain Ali Khan and made such a great show of

According to Rustam Ali, *Tarikh-i-Hindi*, 242b, Haidar Quli Khan was appointed during the halt at Bhosawar, but that does not agree in date or place with Kamwar Khan. Warid, 161b, calls Haidar Quli Khan a *Shirazi*. He was really a native of Isfahani, a town in Khurasan; but he may have been for a time at Shiraz on his way to India. In one place he is called an Isfahani.

zeal that his requests for more money and new *jagirs* were willingly complied with. Perhaps, in spite of the many favours now conferred by the Sayyid, he may have retained in his heart a grudge for the way in which he had been reprimanded only a little time before. A poor man's buffalo had been taken from him, the only thing he had in the world. On the march a report of this was brought to Husain Ali Khan. The *faujdar's* agent at Court was sent for and warned that if an acquittance were not produced from the owner of the buffalo, it would not go well with his master. Saadat Khan thereupon told the peasant to take his buffalo and write his receipt. The man replied: "You took it forcibly, I am not content." "Take two buffaloes then." This offer also was refused, and in the end fifty buffaloes were given him before he would sign any paper. This interference may possibly have been rankling in Saadat Khan's heart; otherwise, being a Sayyid, a Shia and protégé of the Mir Bakhshi, it is surprising that he should have gone over to the other side. But being a pushing, energetic man, with his way still to make, he may have thought that there was more to gain on the side of the malcontents in the commotion attending a change of régime. [Rustam Ali 234b.]

SEC. 13.—ASSASSINATION OF HUSAIN ALI KHAN.

During this time, between the 9th Zul Qada (6th September 1720), the date of starting from Agra, and the 6th Zul Hijja 1132 H. (8th October 1720), a plot had been hatching for the destruction of Husain Ali Khan. The chief conspirators were Muhammad Amin Khan, Haidar Quli Khan, Abdul-ghaffur and Mir Jumla. It would be thought that the last-named, after his unfavourable experience in Farrukh-siyar's reign, would have declined to enter into any more projects of this sort; and he does not figure as a very active sharer in the plot.* Sayyid Muhammad Amin Saadat Khan, the new *faujdar* of Biana, was also entrusted with the secret. A willing instrument was found in the person of Mir Haidar Beg Dughlat, a man from Kash-

* Khafi Khan, 903, 905, denies that Haidar Quli Khan, Qamar-ud-din Khan, or the Emperor, knew anything; but this is more than doubtful.

ghar.* Muhammad Amin Khan is reported to have made an appeal to the loyalty of his Mughals. Unable as they were to overcome Husain Ali Khan's army, would any brave man devote his life to the Mir Bakhshi's removal? If the assassin survived, the Nawab would be his slave for life; if he were killed, his family should be liberally cared for. At first no one spoke. Then Mir Haidar Beg offered himself: "I am a Sayyid and he is a Sayyid: if brother kill brother what matters it?" [K. K. 902, *Ahwal* 175a.]

Communications were opened with Muhammad Shah's mother through Sadar-un-nissa, head duenna of the harem, the intermediary being one Shah Abdul-ghaffur, a faqir from Tattha in Sind, who passed to and fro disguised in woman's attire as a seller of milk. We shall hear more of this man later in the reign. Muhammad Amin Khan also made hints several times to Muhammad Shah in the Turki tongue, which they both understood. Once this was done in Husain Ali Khan's presence. He asked what had been said. Muhammad Shah replied that the noble had asked for leave to withdraw as he had a pain in his stomach. As Muhammad Shah thus kept his secret, Muhammad Amin Khan inferred that he was not unfavourable to the plot. Once after they had left Fathpur Sikri behind, Saadat Khan, in the darkness of night, came to the tent of Mhd. Amin Khan, and it was decided that an attempt upon the life of Husain Ali Khan should be made next day while they were on the march. Bringing up their divisions on his right hand and on his left, they were to envelop him and his retinue, and slay him. Qamar-ud-din Khan supported this proposal warmly. But the next day it was found that Husain Ali Khan had descended from his horse and had mounted an elephant. An attack was thought inadvisable; and another plan was now devised. [K. K. 903, Warid 42, Yahya, Khush-hal 1009a.]

* The brother of Shapur Khan (Kamwar Khan, 230). Khafi Khan, 903, calls him of Chaghatai race. His family bore the epithet of *Mir-i-shamsher*, and he was commonly called Mir Haidar Beg. Mirza Haidar, governor of Kashmir and author of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, is said to have been his great-grandfather.

The day before his assassination Husain Ali Khan uttered a foolish speech about making an Emperor of any one on whom he chose to cast his shoe. That night Muhammad Amin Khan and Haidar Quli Khan met, and it was decided that the next morning their plot should be carried into execution. It is said that when Mhd. Amin Khan had left, Husain Ali Khan chanced to come on a visit to Haidar Quli Khan, and began to ask his advice on some point. Haidar Quli Khan, who was by nature a man of cunning, saw an opening for securing his own safety whatever happened. He told Husain Ali Khan that as a rumour prevailed through the camp of his (the speaker's) supersession in the command of the artillery, Mhd. Amin Khan proposed to come to his (Haidar Quli's) tent next morning. After he, the Mir Bakhshi, had escorted the Emperor to the door of the female apartments, he could on his way to his quarters call at his, the *Mir Atash's*, tents, and there through someone ready to risk life for him could procure the assassination of Mhd. Amin Khan. This plan having been agreed on, Husain Ali Khan departed. Haidar Quli Khan's idea was that whichever side got the upper hand, the winner would be grateful to him for his suggestions and take him into special favour. [Yahya, 128a.]

It was the custom for Nawab Husain Ali Khan to present himself before the Emperor at the end of every march and make his morning obeisance. The ceremony was known by the Hindi name of the *Juhar*. Accordingly on the morning of the 6th Zul Hijja 1132 H. (8th October 1720), on reaching the new camp pitched two *kos* to the east of Toda Bhim,* Husain

* Toda Bhim (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 50) lies about six miles west of a pass through the hills. Khafi Khan, ii. 903, calls the place Tora, and says it is 35 reputed *kos* from Fathpur Sikri. It is really about 45 miles s. w. in straight line from that town. The British Museum MS. No. 1746, (Elliot collection) fixes the site at Ghat Karbali (*query*: Karkari or Kareli), near the village Jonda (*query*: the Jon Bond of the *Indian Atlas*), in the district of Bhusawar. This must be the village Kareli to the east of the pass (see *Map of Rajputana States*, 1859). The *Indian Atlas*, sheet 50, has Kariti quite close to the pass, and the village Kharela about five miles north-east of it. Khush-hal f. 1008a, speaks of the *darra* or pass of Lakhri. This name may be taken from the Laker ke pura of the *Indian Atlas*, which lies about two miles south of Karela. Bhusawar was a *pargana* in

Ali Khan and other great nobles followed Muhammad Shah as usual to the entrance of his tents, made their bow, and departed to their several camps. Husain Ali Khan entered his litter within the imperial enclosure (*jali*), having in attendance seven or eight servants and two relations. Muhammad Amin Khan, Saadat Khan, and several others were present. Then Muhammad Amin Khan, who is said to have filled his mouth beforehand with raw blood, put his fingers into his mouth, simulated vomiting, and complained of vertigo. He laid himself down at full length on the ground. Husain Ali Khan sent for rose-water and a preparation made from an odoriferous willow (*bed-mushk*), supposed to be a restorative; and after these had been administered, Muhammad Amin Khan made signs that they should carry him into Haidar Quli Khan's tent, which by reason of his office of *Mir Atash* was close to the imperial gateway. Round Husain Ali Khan there then remained no more than two or three persons. The time was about midday. [Shiu 49b.]

As the palanquin issued from the imperial precinct, Haidar Beg Dughlat, with one or two other Mughals, appeared on one side shouting, "A complaint! a complaint!" and drew from his sleeve a paper in the nature of a petition. As the *Bakhshi* knew the man by sight, he was allowed to approach, when he launched forth into imprecations upon Muhammad Amin Khan, the second *Bakhshi*, who bore the deserved reputation of being exceedingly harsh and miserly. Coming closer, the man said that their general embezzled their pay and, with this *Dakhin* campaign before them, they were dying of hunger and their horses were at the last gasp. Would not the Nawab, as chief *Bakhshi* and noted for liberality to his troops, do something to help them? A body-servant advanced to take the petition, but the Mughal made a gesture of refusal. Husain Ali Khan, in his usual considerate way, said: "Come here and give it." The petitioner came close and put the paper into his hands.

sarkar Agra of subah Akbarabad, Jarrett, *Ain*, ii. 132. The town lies about 13 miles north-east of the pass (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 50). Toda Bhim was itself the chief town of a *pargana*, Jarrett, 133; Khush-hal f. 1009a, says that after leaving *pargana* Bhusawar, camp was at Qasba Paota, which is eight miles north-east of Toda Bhim, and five miles north of the pass.

A pipe-bearer appeared at the other side of the palanquin ; the Nawab turned his head that way, took hold of the mouthpiece of the pipe-snake and began to read the petition. The *Bakhshi*'s attention being given to the reading of the paper, the assassin in an instant drew from his waistband a long dagger-like butcher's knife, and plunged it into Husain Ali Khan's side. The wounded man struck with his feet at his murderer's chest, so that he fell and his turban tumbled off ; then exclaimed : "Bring a horse ! I must mount." Recovering himself Haider Beg laid hold of the Nawab's feet, dragged him from the palanquin to the ground, sat on his chest, and began to cut off his head.*

On foot near the palanquin was Sayyid Nur Ali, entitled Nur-ullah Khan, a boy of fourteen or fifteen years of age. He was the son of Asad-ullah Khan Bahadur, called Nawab Auliya, and one of Husain Ali Khan's cousins. As soon as he saw what had happened, the boy shouted out, "The wretches have killed the Nawab," quick as lightning drew a pistol from his belt and with a shot from it wounded Haider Beg. Then, with three blows from his sword, he stretched the murderer on the ground dead at the side of his victim. But, before the boy could escape, he was attacked by the other Mughals, and fell lifeless across the mangled body of his cousin. Husain Ali Khan's head was borne in triumph to the small tent (*rawati*) of Haider Quli Khan, whence he and Mhd. Amin Khan had hurriedly emerged barefoot when the shouting began. [K. K. 904, Qasim 349, Khush-hal 1009a, Shakir 10b.]

Muhammad Amin Khan made his way at once to the imperial quarters, and called on the Emperor to come out and take command of his troops. The head of the murdered *Bakhshi* was thrown at his feet in the space before his private tents. Muhammad Shah, whether he had been in the secret or not, now showed some inclination to draw back, and began to remonstrate. His mother, too, though she had no doubt intrigued to get her son freed from the galling tutelage of the Sayyids, was now afraid for his personal safety and drew him

* Qasim. 347 ; K. K. 903 ; Khush-hal, 1008a, 1009b ; Warid, 162a.

back within the women's apartments. Then Sayyid Ghulam Ali Khan, cousin of the *Wazir* and of the *Bakhshi*, and superintendent of the privy audience chamber, who had come inside the private enclosure with Islam Quli, a slave, and some gunners (*hazari*) in his pay, cut through the canvas walls and tried to obtain possession of the Emperor's person. Muhammad Amin Khan and some Mughals drove them back, and Saadat Khan then captured and confined them.

Further delay was dangerous. Brushing aside all the restraints of etiquette, Saadat Khan threw a shawl over his head, pushed his way into the harem, took Muhammad Shah in his arms, and dragged him by force to the scene of the assassination. It was still free of men. Elephants were called for and they mounted, Muhammad Shah on Qamar-ud-din Khan's elephant, Buland Bakht, with Mhd. Amin Khan in the seat behind him. They took up their station at the gateway of the street of shops dependent on the guardhouse where the kettle-drums were played. Husain Ali Khan's head was held aloft on the end of a long pole.

Orders were given for the general plunder of Husain Ali Khan's tents and treasure. There were at first only forty or fifty of Mhd. Amin Khan's cavalry and some artillerymen present, between one and two hundred men altogether. Haidar Quli Khan sent urgent messengers to collect elephants, horses, and men, while Mhd. Amin Khan busied himself in writing urgent notes to the various commanders. "Now is the time to display your friendship. He who comes now will do a great service and obtain great rewards." No man of any rank appeared; there were only Muhammad Amin Khan himself, Qamar-ud-din Khan, his son, Haidar Quli Khan, and Saadat Khan. The imperial artillery began to play upon the Sayyid's camp. Just before the fight was over Khan Dauran appeared on the scene with some troops, but Zafar Khan, Turra-i-baz, continued to keep discreetly out of the way of danger.*

Unconscious of what was happening, the officers and

* Qasim, 350, 351; Khush-hal f. 1010a, *Bayan-i-waqi*, 424; Kamwar 231; Warid, 162b; K. K. 906, 908; Shakir Khan, 10b.

soldiers of the Sayyid's army were engaged in putting up their tents or obtaining their supplies for the day. The sound of firing did not alarm them. It was, they assumed, nothing more than the usual salute notifying the Emperor's arrival at his quarters. The first intimation of the assassination was brought to Sayyid Ghairat Khan, the nephew* of the victim, just as he had taken off his weapons and had begun to eat his breakfast. Putting back into the dish the morsel he had just taken up, and not even washing his hands, but wiping one hand upon the other, wearing nothing but a thin cotton coat, he ran out and mounted his elephant. He was followed by a few men, not more than forty or fifty altogether.† The need of delay and caution was impressed on him by older men; but he would listen to no dissuasion. Like a roaring tiger just wounded by an arrow, he hurried on, venting loud oaths and curses, until he reached the imperial enclosure (*jali*); and as he came face to face with the force drawn up there, most of his companions were shot down and he himself received two arrow wounds. In the struggle part of the canvas wall enclosing the Emperor's camp was knocked down.

Seated alone in his iron-clad canopy, Ghairat Khan pressed on, shooting his arrows, until he came near the elephant of Haidar Quli Khan. Stinging reproaches for base ingratitude were hurled at the latter. On his side Haidar Quli Khan retorted: "O man, untrue to the salt you have eaten! descend from that elephant and submit, and I will obtain for you His Majesty's pardon." The young Sayyid advanced and shouted: "I await your commands," adding in the most scornful tone: "Fie upon your faithfulness and upon the quality of your friendship!" Ghairat Khan then shot an arrow which fixed itself so firmly in Haidar Quli Khan's bow, that after the

* According to the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* his father was Sayyid Nasr-ullah Sadat Khan Bahadur Barha, and his mother was Husain Ali Khan's sister. The *Burhan-ul-futuh*, 168b, calls him the son of Sayyid Khan Jahan Barha. Khafi Khan, throughout this part of his story (pp. 901, 902, 905) distinguishes between Ghairat Khan and Izzat Khan; according to him Izzat Khan was killed and Ghairat Khan survived.

† Khafi Khan, 905, says there were four or five hundred.

fight it was withdrawn with difficulty. Behind Haidar Quli Khan was an Abyssinian slave named Haji Bashir, holding a loaded European matchlock. His master turned and said angrily to him: "What are you waiting for?" The slave fired, the ball entered the breast of Ghairat Khan, and he fell from the elephant dead.*

Sayyid Karim-ullah Khan, who had succeeded to Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan's office of *Bakhshi*, headed another onset and reached the entrance of the imperial enclosure (*jali*), but his men were soon killed. Shaikh Najm-ud-din, entitled Nekandesh Khan, superintendent of the *adalat*, also fought his way with five or six horsemen into the enclosure and tried to carry off the Amir-ul-umara's body. But, after receiving two or three wounds on the shoulder-blade and side, he fell down insensible and was carried away by Haidar Quli Khan's men. Meanwhile, Rajah Muhkam Singh himself, with a troop of his men, stood looking on as a mere spectator; but Churaman *Hazari*, a man long in the service of the Sayyids, did his duty well and forced his way to the private entrance (*deorhi*) of the Emperor's tents, but could do nothing more. Khwaja Maqbul Ahmad the Sayyid's *nazir*, followed by a water-carrier and a sweeper, attacked the imperial group with drawn swords, and these three courageously made their way as far as the imperial chapel-tent (*tasbih-khana*) where they were cut down. The Khwaja died of his wounds three or four days afterwards. In another direction Mustafa Khan, the paymaster of Rajah Muhkam Singh, without consulting his master, made his way with some men to the gate of the enclosure; repulsed there, he turned off and cut through the canvas walls of the privy audience chamber, entering it with shouts and curses. But after losing a few men, he was ejected by the Mughals. During this scrimmage Muhammad Shah hid behind Sadar-un-nissa, wife of Riza Quli Khan, Jahandar-Shahi. [Qasim 354, K. K. 910, Khush-hal 1009b.]

Rai Surat Singh Multani, and his son, Lala Anand Singh, did nothing but provide for the safety of their own persons and

* Khush-hal f. 1010a, says the slave handed the gun to his master. Qasim, 352; K. K. 905-908; Yahya 128a; Shakir 9b; Warid 162a and b.

property. Lala Jaswant Rai, son of Sahib Rai Munshi, escaped by allowing his father's hoards and much of his own property to be plundered. Another man who escaped was Rai Saroman Das, Kayath, *wakil* at Court on behalf of Sayyid Abdullah Khan. He shaved, rubbed his face with ashes, and turned himself into a *faqir*. Then, hiding a few valuables in his waist-cloth, he lay concealed in his friends' tents until he was able to escape to Sayyid Abdullah Khan. Muazzam Khan, a man from the east country, although of high rank did nothing, but Umar Khan, his brother, was killed by the plunderers. Sayyid Jan Ali, brother of Mir Ali Khan, superintendent of horse-branding, fought his best and lost his life; while his brother escaped for a time, only to be made a prisoner a few days afterwards.

The confusion lasted ten to twelve hours, and during this time countless treasure was plundered and much property was destroyed. The dead body of Husain Ali Khan was subjected to unspeakable indignities at the hands of the low scoundrels and hangers-on of the army. The event yielded striking evidence of the want of cohesion in an Indian army under the pressure of any sudden disaster. When the plundering was done, not a trace of the Sayyid's vast encampment or his mighty host could be seen. It was impossible to believe that there had ever been a heel-rope or a tent peg on that ground. Everything had been burnt or carried off, and the men had disappeared.

Muhammad Amin Khan held it wiser not to check the plundering, in which both friends and foes were busily occupied, for thereby the chance of any resistance was obviated. As an incident in this reckless plundering we are told that a common soldier carried off two bags of coin, and supposing them to be Rupees, he took them to a money-changer, and asked for gold in exchange, as being lighter to carry. When the bags were opened they were found to be full of gold coins! Before the assassination the money-changers' shops, most of Husain Ali Khan's equipage, and carts said to contain a *kror* of Rupees, had arrived in camp from the march. All these were plundered and carried off. But the Bakhshi's jewels and some money chests, which were still on the road, were saved and confiscated

to His Majesty's use. [K. K. 904-910, Yahya 129b, Warid 162b, Shiu 49a, Khush-hal 1009b.]

Rajah Ratan Chand Banya, who was much more hated by the general public than the Sayyids themselves, knew not which way to turn. The armed array of his foes barred his flight, and he was not the man to take the field and meet blow by blow. As the saying is: "A prancing ass and a shopkeeper are equally worthless." He told the beads of his rosary with one hand and with the other used his handkerchief to wipe the tears from his eyes. Abdur-rahman Khan and other Afghans of Sarhind offered to rescue him, saying: "Mount, mount." He refused with idle phrases. All that he could do was to write a hurried note of a line or two to Sayyid Abdullah Khan, and send it off by a camel-rider. Soon Rajah Daya Ram, the agent of Muhammad Amin Khan, came for him and he submitted at once. On the way some Mughals and low fellows from the bazars surrounded his palanquin, dragged him out, beat, cuffed, and kicked him, and tore his clothes to tatters. Brought in this pitiable naked condition before the new *Wazir*, he begged piteously that his life might be spared. Muhammad Amin Khan, after sending for a suit of clothes, ordered the Rajah to be put in chains and kept a prisoner. His case was an example of the saying: "As you do, so shall it be done unto you." In spite of all their efforts Ratan Chand made no disclosure of the Sayyid's treasure or buried hoards. A short time afterwards, while they were on the march, he tried to escape. The Mughals who were guarding him pursued him, cut him down, and would have liked to slay him. But he was reserved for formal execution.*

Muhkma, the son of Chura Jat, was brought in a prisoner, and in his despair offered to turn Muhammadan if his life were spared, but Muhammad Shah declined his offer and treating him kindly sent him away. Sayyid Asad-ullah Khan was also captured and was long kept in confinement, until he received permission to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and started for the

* Qasim, 355; Shiu Das, 48a; Khush-hal f. 1010b; Yahya Khan, 129a; K. K. 909.

Dakhin. Ghulam Ali Khan, because he had been the emissary sent to Dihli to bring Muhammad Shah to Agra to be enthroned as Emperor, was spared and protected ; but in a few days made use of an opportunity, and escaped to Abdullah Khan. [Shiu 48a, K. K. 910.]

The death of such a highly placed and powerful noble as Husain Ali Khan gave rise, as usual in such cases, to many myths and legends. One man said he dreamt that he was in the audience-hall of the Imam Husain. Husain Ali Khan, in blood-stained raiment, presented himself at the door. He was brought in with honour, the Imam greeting him with the words : *Balagha wadaḳa, wa ghalaba adaḳa*. Strange to say these words yield, taken as two chronograms, the year of the Sayyid's martyrdom. Other chronograms were found, meaning "The month Muharram of Husain arose anew" and "In the Indian Karbala a second Husain was martyred by a second Yazid."

SEC. 14.—ABDULLAH KHAN HEARS OF HIS BROTHER'S DEATH.

As we have seen, Abdullah Khan left the imperial camp on the 12th Zul Qada (14th September 1720) on his way to Dihli. He halted for a few days at Sikandra near Agra. On the 7th Zul Hijja (9th October 1720) he was at a halting place near Sarai Chath, about forty-eight miles north-west of Agra and about sixty-four miles from Dihli, when at midnight, within eighteen hours of the event, a camel-rider brought the scrap of paper from Ratan Chand announcing the overwhelming news of Husain Ali Khan's assassination. Revenge was his only thought. Summoning to his presence the nobles in his train, he told them his heart-rending story, beseeching and imploring them to throw in their lot with him. Some from their hearts, others only out of prudence, agreed to stand by him.

A few of the more ardent spirits proposed an immediate trial of strength, before Muhammad Shah could be reinforced, or Husain Ali Khan's troops be bought over by him. But Abdullah Khan, reflecting that Muhammad Shah was in full possession of the throne, while his own army was out of heart, decided that to take the field without any claimant to the throne was undesirable. It was better, he thought, to proceed first to

the capital, there to collect an army, select a candidate, and restore the confidence of his adherents.

That same day the march for Dihli was resumed. Disregarding the attacks of the Mewatis and the Jats, who daily plundered their baggage and slew their camp-followers, they pushed on until they came to Faridabad, twenty-one miles from Dihli. Shujaat-ullah Khan, son-in-law of Abdullah Khan, Murtaza Khan, and Sita Ram, a man in the *Wazir's* confidence, were sent forward in haste to the capital with orders to consult Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, the *Wazir's* brother, and select one of the imprisoned Princes of the house of Taimur for elevation to the throne. Disturbances had broken out at once in the *jagirs* held by the Sayyids, their agents were ejected, and the cultivators refused the instalments of rent due on the autumn harvest.*

SEC. 15.—MUHAMMAD SHAH'S MOVEMENTS.

On the day following Husain Ali Khan's death a formal audience was held by Muhammad Shah. In the interval Muhammad Amin Khan had posted pickets of Mughals to arrest deserters, and instructions were given to the armed villagers to stop any one who tried to leave the camp. In this way many men, though partisans of the Sayyids and anxious to escape, were forced to remain. Muhammad Amin Khan went among them in person to try and secure their adhesion. In spite of his Muhammadan bigotry, he visited the quarters of Rajah Muhkam Singh, one of the Sayyids' principal officers. As the Rajah saw he was in the Mughal's power, he made his submission and at his first audience was presented by Daya Ram, the agent of Muhammad Amin Khan. He was promoted to the rank of 6,000 with the right to beat kettle-drums. Mir Mushrif of Lakhnau, another of the Sayyids' chief men, after rejecting the first overtures made to him, was also propitiated and promoted. Inayat-ullah Khan Kashmiri, the *Khan-saman*, Rajah Gopal Singh Bhadauriya, and twenty-one other nobles laid their offerings at the Emperor's feet.

Muhammad Amin Khan was promoted to 8,000 *zat* and

* Kamwar 214, 238; Warid 163a; Shiu Das, 54a; K. K. 901, 911-913.

was loaded with gifts. Khan Dauran, although at the critical moment his fear of the Sayyids had prevented his declaring himself, received the same exalted rank. The grade of seven thousand had been hitherto the limit for any person not of the blood royal. Qamar-ud-din Khan, Haidar Quli Khan and Saadat Khan were made respectively 7,000, 6,000, and 5,000 in rank. Zafar Khan and Rajah Gopal Singh Bhadauriya also received promotion. To celebrate the Emperor's emancipation from the Sayyid bondage, some poet found a chronogram :

"He was a bright star (*Roshan Akhtar*) and is now a moon ;
Like Joseph he left prison to become a king."

The camp was about seventy-two miles from Agra, about one hundred and twenty-eight miles from Dihli, and the nearest point on the Jamuna, to the north-east, was distant about sixty-eight miles. Under the altered circumstances any further advance in the direction of the Dakhin was useless. There was some doubt and debate as to whether they should return to Agra or make for Dihli. At last it was decided to move northwards till they struck the Jamuna. Churaman Jat, although he owed a great deal to the Sayyid brothers, was for the moment persuaded by the offer of great rewards to join Muhammad Shah with a large force. A cunning answer of his has been preserved. Muhammad Amin Khan said to him : "Thou art a creature of the Sayyids, I have no reliance on thy service or good will." Swearing by his Hindu gods, he replied : "Nawab Sahib ! it is true that those great men have conferred on me such benefits that if I had a thousand lives and a thousand times my wealth, I would have offered up all, including my family and children, on their behalf. But now I am under the imperial flag, the true lodestone, and I swear by Bhagwan I will do such service on the day of battle that the Nawab himself will acknowledge it." He spoke the truth, for on the day of battle he plundered the imperial baggage and the goods of many others. [Qasim 366, Kamwar 236.]

As the route chosen would have passed through Churaman's villages, he persuaded the Emperor to change it. Leaving his own villages on the right, he led them across Jai Singh's territory, and took them over high hills and through thorny

jungles. There was a great scarcity of water: it had to be brought from immense distances and used most sparingly, as if it were oil and not water. Many were unable to quench their thirst and endured great hardships. On the 9th Zul Hijja (11th October 1720) the camp was moved to a place between Bhusawar and Kharida, where the festival of the Sacrifice was celebrated. In answer to a letter from Khan Dauran, written by the Emperor's special order, Sayyid Nusrat Yar Khan Barha, *faujdar* of Mewat, who was on his way to the army on a summons from Husain Ali Khan, presented himself and was well received, and promoted to the rank of 7,000. Sabit Jang (Jafar Beg), a protégé of Khan Dauran's, was another valuable adhesion. He joined a little later, just before the battle of Hasanpur. When the dust raised by his march was seen across the Jamuna, all exclaimed: "Rajah Girdhar Bahadur has come!" He and his men then crossed the river by a ford. Dost Ali Khan, Abid Khan, and Ghalib Khan, formerly superintendent of branding for the Emperor's own troops, all three officers of the late Husain Ali Khan's army, also came in, submitted, and were promoted.*

On the 11th (13th October 1720) there were many presentations with the attendant promotions and appointments; and on this day the biers of Husain Ali Khan, Ghairat Khan, and Nur-ullah Khan, after the bodies had been wrapped in cloth of gold, were despatched for burial of the bodies at Ajmer in the tomb of Abdullah Khan, the Nawab's father, which lies outside the city wall close to Abdullahganj. At the time fixed, no bearers to carry the biers could be found; and after this difficulty had been overcome, robbers, believing that the coffins contained treasure, seized them, but finding nothing threw the bodies away. After a time they were recovered by the *faujders* of those parts, and in the end, as was reported privately, they reached Ajmer and were buried.†

* Qasim, second recension, 429; Shiu Das, 50, 51b, 2a; Khush-hal f. 1014a; Rustam Ali, f. 245a; K. K. 910.

† Khafi Khan, 910, on the authority of Sayyid Abdullah Khan himself, who made the statement several times in open audience in Khafi Khan's hearing. See also *Jauhar-i-samsam*, B.M. Oriental MS. No. 1898, (Fuller's

The Emperor's next stages were Ramgarh (12th) and Gopalpur (13th). Here Saadat Khan was further promoted to 6,000 and named to the Government of Akbarabad. Other stages were Mandugarh (15th), Malkahri (21st); next a place between Jalauri and Malikpur (22nd), then near Khorī (23rd), Salgaon (25th), Qasba Kama (27th), and between Nandgaon and Barsana (28th). All towns, such as Narnol, Alwar, Tijara and Khohari had been avoided.*

At Barsana on the 2nd Muharram 1133 H. (2nd November 1720) Muhammad Khan Bangash, at the head of two or three thousand men, and Aziz Khan Bahadur Chaghatai, appeared from Akbarabad. Before Husain Ali Khan's death, Muhammad Khan had sought an interview with Abdullah Khan while he was still near Agra, at which he demanded fifty thousand Rupees in addition to previous advances. He then, though very reluctantly, began his march, professedly to join the imperial army already on its way to the Dakhin. Both officers had come as far as Sarai Chath on the direct road from Agra to Dihli. Their attitude was doubtful; and if they were hostile, they could bar the Emperor's way to Dihli. Abdullah Khan, who was Muhammad Khan's patron, had also called to his mind the benefits he had received, trying to win him over thus to his cause.† So grave were the apprehensions of the other side, that Haidar Quli Khan and Qamar-ud-din Khan were sent to interview the Bangash chief. Their mission was successful, and they brought the two Afghan nobles into the imperial camp. In addition to promotion in rank, Muhammad Khan received an assignment of four *krors* of *dams* on the revenues of Allahabad. *Parganas* Pali, Baira, and Bawan of *sarkar*

translation, MS. 30,784, f. 79) and Rustam Ali, fol. 244a. Mr. Eustace Kitts, formerly Assistant Commissioner at Ajmer, informs me that Abdullahganj and the tombs lie outside the town to the east, not far from where the Railway station now is.

* Kamwar 236, Qasim 367. All the above places, except Mandugarh and Salgaon, will be found on the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 50.

† For the letter see Sahib Rai *Khajista-kalam*, Irvine MS. There is a detailed account of the adventures of Abdullah Khan's messengers in *Siwanih-i-Khizri*, Irvine MS. pp. 68-72.

Khairabad, and *pargana* Harha and part of Sandila in *sarkar* Lakhnau, all in *subah* Oudh, were granted to Aziz Khan.

At Pahari, Sher Afkan Khan Panipati, the *jaujdar* of Kora and Jahanabad, *subah* Allahabad, also marched in and joined the imperialists. When near Agra, on his way from Allahabad to his *jagirs* at Sikandra, he had met some messengers riding from Court, and asked the news. They told him that two days previously Husain Ali Khan had been killed. Khush-hal Chand, who was near his elephant, saw his face flush with joy at the emancipation of Muhammad Shah, the son of his old master, Jahan Shah. Not long after this, a letter came to him from Nawab Qudsiya, the Emperor's mother, written by her own hand, in which he was distinguished with the epithet "brother". Other arrivals were Bayazid Khan Mewati, a powerful man in that country, and Khema Jat, one of Churaman's chief officers. This Jat was placed in charge of the imperial rear-guard.*

One of Muhammad Shah's first tasks had been the issue of reassuring letters to the provincial governors, and demands for reinforcements from those known to be opposed to the Sayyid faction. Among the men written to were Nizam-ul-mulk, Rajah Girdhar Bahadur, Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, and Abdus-samad Khan, the governor of Lahor. To a certain extent these letters were in identical terms,† and as was natural, a note of triumph is perceptible in them. "Praise be to God! Husain Ali Khan has obtained the punishment of his deeds and the penalty for his acts; his suppression and removal, as my heart desired, has been effected in the easiest manner," and so on, in the same strain, then the date and place of assassination are given with other details added, Ghairat Khan appearing as the "Devoid of Honour."‡ Husain Ali Khan's head was

* Kamwar 237; Shiu Das 57b; Khafi Khan 900, 920; Khush-hal f. 1012b. For the *parganas* named see *Ain*, ii. 176, 177, 178, 179, and *Oudh Gazetteer*, i. 247; ii. 72; iii. 50, 292.

† For one of these *farmans* see *Majma-ul-insha* (lithographed edition), p. 85, to the effect that H. A. K. was killed on the 6th Zul Hijja of the 2nd year, when Ghairat Khan and Mir Mushrif attacked the imperial camp, but were repulsed and slain.

‡ *Be-ghairat*, a play upon his name.

sent with the letter to Nizam-ul-mulk, and that noble was called upon to march at once to join His Majesty. Girdhar Bahadur, Jai Singh, and Abdus-samad Khan were, in the same way, urged to join as soon as possible. [Shiu 49a.]

In answer to these orders Rajah Jai Singh, instead of coming in person, sent his *diwan*, Jag Ram, with a force of three or four thousand men, horse and foot, and wrote that he was busy enlisting more men, and as soon as this was finished he would attend himself. Abdus-samad Khan replied that without delay he had begun to prepare for a march. But lately he had been forced to suppress a revolt by Husain Khan, head of the Afghans of Qasur, and for the pay of the troops he had enlisted on that service he still owed four *lakhs* of Rupees. The soldiers had mutinied and hindered him from marching. The *diwan* of the province, in spite of his, the governor's, offering to execute a bond, would not disburse the money from the imperial treasury. Until some order was issued or provision made for the money, he was unable to move. Girdhar Bahadur promised a speedy arrival, and Nizam-ul-mulk reported that he was about to start. [Shiu 49a, K. K. 921].

SEC. 17.—ABDULLAH KHAN REMONSTRATES.

As soon as he learnt of his brother's death, and before he resumed his march to Dihli, Abdullah Khan addressed a letter of complaint to the Emperor. It was couched in the customary language of respect. After referring to the disturbances in the Dakhin and Lahor, reports of which had already been laid before His Majesty, and the arrangements made by which Husain Ali Khan, his younger brother, undertook the former business and he himself had started to take charge of the capital, Abdullah Khan goes on to say: "Although separation from my younger brother was distasteful to me, still in obedience to the exalted order, we made no objection, and of the two brothers one set out for the capital, the other for the Dakhin, in attendance on Your Majesty. This faithful one was still on his journey and had not yet arrived at Dihli, when finding their chance and seeing my brother alone, men acting unfairly and without justification from the law, have done him, Ghairat Khan, and the

son of Nawab Auliya, to death in Your Majesty's very encampment, and all their goods and property have been plundered. O *Qibla* of the world and its inhabitants! may you be preserved! If so be that all this has been carried out by Your Majesty's order, and these men have done all this harm, and spilt all this blood, by your direction, there is nothing further to be said. What has a slave to say against the order of his master? But if it was not done by your order, and they of themselves did these vile deeds, I rely on your acting according to justice and equity by ordering the murderers to be imprisoned, so that they may not escape. This faithful one and the heirs of the deceased are coming. We rest assured that this complaint will be dealt with before Your Majesty according to the precepts of the Holy Law. This devoted one's prayer is that until he arrives they be not be released. If, by any chance, any one asks for their release, let not the request be granted." [Shiu, 54a.]

Muhammad Shah answered by asseverating his extreme grief and regret at recent events; God alone knew the extent to which he felt them. By God's help, Haidar Beg Khan, the culprit, had been killed on the spot. "By God's name I swear that I knew absolutely nothing of this affair. When the outbreak occurred, strict injunctions, such as were appropriate, were issued; but as that wretch had carried out his purpose, they were of no avail. Haidar Beg Khan is dead, the names of the others are not known, nor do you give those names. If you write precise details, action will be taken. The extreme loyalty and the clearness of the thoughts of that Pillar of the State are more evident than the sun itself, and are impressed on my heart. By the aid of God I, too, will soon reach that place; that Loyal One also purposes to come to the Presence. If it please the Lord Most High, this matter will then be decided in the most perfect and satisfactory manner according to the Holy Law and to Justice." [Shiu 55a.]

After a little time had elapsed, and the rumours of Abdullah Khan's preparations grew louder, the Emperor addressed a *farman* to him. His Majesty was still awaiting his arrival at Court, as promised in his letter, and had looked for him every

day. "Now comes the unexpected report that he has hurried off to Dihli, has brought a royal Prince from the State prison, has placed him on the throne and enlisted a great army. If the cause of this conduct be the death of his brother, (although against God's decrees man is helpless), the Holy Law provides for retaliation (*qisas*). Through God's favour the man in fault has received his punishment. If at first, owing to human weakness, angry thoughts arose, he must now submit himself to God's decrees. To place reliance on an army and cannon is not only to resist God's vicegerent, but is unfitted to the character of such a mighty noble. Let him come himself to the Presence, and whatever he wishes shall be done. He has not made any application. Let him come without delay and lay his case, in his own way, before His Majesty. His Majesty has no other thought than his subjects' welfare, and his heartfelt desire is that such a nobleman may not come to be evil-spoken of among the people. Thus it is fitting for him to give attentive ear to these words; and having understood them and well reflected, let him act accordingly." [Shiu 56a.]

To this admonishment Abdullah Khan sent a final answer. "Certainly this true one's arrival in the presence of that Source of Beneficence will be to him a joy equal to that of the worship of God. But the things which happened to *Amir-ul-umara*, the brother of this one of lowliest qualities, are apparent to Your Majesty. If this faithful slave had been at Court, he, too, would have undergone the same; nay, God alone knows what might have occurred. From these causes, this slave sees no safe course or refuge for himself except in turning his face away from Your Majesty's presence. Although a sovereign is God's vicegerent upon earth, still that power is deputed to him only for the welfare and protection of created beings. If there were safety where Your Majesty is, how were it possible for a lowly thing like me to disobey the exalted order. Guardian of the Realm! Muhammad Ibrahim, too, is of Your Majesty's family and brethren. Yea verily, in him I have provided an instrument for my safety. If it please the Most High God, in a short time, attending on his stirrup, we shall be honoured with the felicity of an audience, and the true state of the matter

will be laid before you. To say more would be to transgress the rules of politeness." In these more or less ironical terms the gauntlet was thrown down by Abdullah Khan before Muhammad Shah and his supporters. [Shiu 56b.]

SEC. 18.—PRINCE MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM RAISED TO THE THRONE.

Abdullah Khan's letter to his brother, Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, instructing him to begin enlistments, reached Dihli late on the 8th Zul Hijja 1132 H. (October 10th, 1720). Before the bad news could spread, he gave out a report the very contrary of the truth, and sent the head of the police with cavalry and infantry to the house of Muhammad Amin Khan. By midnight the house had been surrounded. But Muhammad Amin Khan's people had by this time learnt the truth, and, erecting defences, had made ready for resistance, rejoicing and singing all the while, and announcing to everybody what had really happened.

The news spread like wildfire through every street and lane of the city. Soon, either a note came from Abdullah Khan forbidding interference with the women and family of Muhammad Amin Khan, or else Najm-ud-din Ali Khan changed his mind. At any rate, the troops investing the house were withdrawn. During the night the death occurred of Kesu Rai, husband of Ratan Chand's sister, and himself chief official of the Dihli *subahdar*; and although he had been then on his death-bed for several days, it was given out that he had poisoned himself. On the day of the *Id* (10th Zul Hijja, October 12th, 1720), Najm-ud-din Ali Khan attended the great mosque, his eyes full of tears, and as he was returning home Abdullah Khan's emissaries greeted him.

Forthwith he repaired to the prison-house of the Princes and sent men to the dwelling of Jahandar Shah's sons. At first the Princes shut their gates in the faces of the messengers, but after a long altercation, admission was accorded. On learning their purpose, the Princes gave a harshly expressed refusal. Some say the messengers next addressed themselves to Neku-siyar, and were again repulsed. Lastly, proposals were made

to Prince Ibrahim, from whom they met with a more favourable reception. [K. K. 913-14.]

Before Abdullah Khan arrived at Dihli, Prince Ibrahim was brought out of prison and placed upon the throne, the *khutba* was recited with the titles Abul Fath Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Ibrahim, and coin was issued in his name. On the latter the inscription was:—

Sikka bar sim zad dar jahan

Ba fazl-i-Muhammad Ibrahim, Shah-i-shahan.

Silver was stamped in the world

By favour of Muhammad Ibrahim, king of kings.

This enthronement took place on the 15th Zul Hijja, 1132 H. (October 15th, 1720). The Prince, then about twenty-three years of age, was the eldest son of Rafi-ush-shan, third son of the Emperor Bahadur Shah; and was therefore the brother of the Emperors Rafi-ud-darjat and Rafi-ud-daulah. He* had been designated by the Sayyids as the latter's successor, but Sayyid Khan Jahan, *subahdar* of Dihli, with whom the final choice rested, dreading Ibrahim's reputation for violent temper, had substituted Roshan Akhtar, now become Muhammad Shah. [K. K. 914, Qasim 361, Warid 161a.]

Two days after the enthronement of the new sovereign, Abdullah Khan reached the capital, and possession was taken of the imperial treasury. The money found there, added to Abdullah Khan's own accumulations and Ratan Chand's hoards, which were now dug up, was devoted to enlisting an army. It is said that over one *kror* of Rupees was disbursed

* The *Jam-i-jam*, a modern work, places his birth on the 26th Rabi I. 1115 H. (August 9th, 1703), thus making him the youngest of the three brothers. It also gives him the same mother, Nur-un-nissa Begam, and assigns the enthronement to the 28th Zul Hijja, 1132 H. (October 28th, 1720). As however, Danishmand Khan's *Bahadur Shah-nama*, under date of 7th Ramzan, 1119 H. (December 2nd, 1707), tells us Prince Ibrahim was then given the rank of 7000, (2000 horse), he could hardly have been born later than 1107 H. (1695-6), twelve years being the earliest age at which *mansabs* were granted to Princes. The *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* gives his age at his death in 1159 H. (1746) as about fifty; this places his birth in 1109 H. (1697-8), and makes his age twenty-three at his accession. On the other hand, Rustam Ali *Tarikh-i-Hind*, f. 246b, says he was then forty.

in the next few days. Urgent orders were sent out far and near, and every Barha Sayyid, whether in the service or not, made it a point of honour to appear. Many Jats, Mewatis, and Rajputs had been collected on the way back to Dihli. As much as thirty thousand or forty thousand Rupees were advanced to each leader to meet the demands of new troops. Asked why he was scattering so much money, Abdullah Khan replied: "If I win, the realm and its treasures are mine; if otherwise, it is better to give the money away than let it fall into the hands of my enemies." For a man with one horse the pay was eighty Rupees, with two horses, one hundred and fifty Rupees a month. Each foot-soldier received ten Rupees for the same period. On enlistment payment was made for one or two months in advance. Every animal, whatever its size or condition, was branded and taken into the service, donkeys only being refused. Every man who presented himself, whatever his antecedents, was accepted as a recruit. [K. K. 914-17, Shiu 55b, Qasim 361.]

In the end this liberal increase of pay to the troops produced as much harm as benefit. The increase was made recklessly, without regard to the man's length of service, the old soldier receiving no more than one newly enlisted. The veterans were disgusted at being treated the same as the recruits, and men-at-arms with good horses worth two or three hundred Rupees were angry at receiving no more pay than any butcher, cook or cotton-carder who presented himself, mounted on some wretched pony that he had picked up for ten or fifteen Rupees. This carelessness was especially prevalent in Najm-ud-din Ali Khan's division, and many of the bazar loungers, as soon as they had received their month's pay in advance, were seen no more; nay, many of the regular soldiery disappeared in the same way. In spite of the immense expenditure, it was noticed that the private servants and clerks of Prince Ibrahim had no saddles for their horses.

In a few days as many as fifty thousand men had been registered. The force was poorly provided with artillery, having only a few large guns, about two hundred small field-pieces (*rahkala*), and five-hundred swivel-guns (*jazair*). In their

boastful way the Sayyids said that cannon were not needed ; they meant at the very first onset to come to close quarters. Khafi Khan, from the Bakhshi's records, to which he had access, and also from what Abdullah Khan told him, found that there were over ninety thousand horsemen recorded ; out of this number perhaps fourteen or fifteen thousand new men with ponies, or other miscellaneous levies, had disappeared. This account does not include Churaman Jat's, and Rajah Muhkam Singh's men, nor the fugitives of Husain Ali Khan's army and the *zamindari* contingents. It was the general estimate that one hundred to one hundred and thirty-five thousand men were assembled. [K. K. 918, Qasim 362.]

Ghazi-ud-din Khan Ghalib Jang, who since Farrukh-siyar's death had retired into private life, was won over by Abdullah Khan. He was flattered and styled "brother," and brought back with the rank of 7000 (7000 horse *duaspa*), the title of Amir-ul-umara, and the office of first *Bakhshi*. Great efforts were made by the other side to detach him from the Sayyid's party, as can be seen from the long letter addressed to him by Amin-ud-din Khan Sambhali, who had once more come to the front. Abdullah Khan, he wrote, could only collect the same troops that had already fled in a cowardly manner after Husain Ali Khan's death ; it was a true saying, "Beaten once will be beaten again," and the common people looked on the easy destruction of the one brother as an omen for the speedy defeat of the other. Is not the voice of the people a sign from God ?* In spite of these arguments, Ghazi-ud-din Khan was steadfast in upholding the Sayyid.†

Another adherent of some note was Hamid Khan, nicknamed "Jangali Shahzada" or Rustic Prince, uncle of Nizam-ul-mulk and cousin of Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, the new *Wazir*. Although so nearly related to the leader of the opposite

* *Halq-i-khalq, kos-i-Khaliq*, literally : 'The throat of the created, the drum of the Creator,' i.e., *Vox populi vox Dei*.

† Shiu Das, 55b; Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 362; *Inshae Yar Muhammad*, p. 44.

side, Hamid Khan was on very bad terms with his cousin, and he was thus willing enough to support his cousin's enemies.*

Najm-ud-din Ali Khan was promoted to 7000 (7000 horse), and made second *Bakhshi*; Sayyid Salabat Khan, son of Sayadat Khan, and Bairam Khan, son of Ruhullah Khan Nimat Ilahi, were made third and fourth *Bakhshis*. Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, who arrived from Muradabad when his brother Abdullah Khan was at Palwal, was promoted to 5000, (5000 horse). Other promotions were those of Shahamat Khan (Sayyid Taj Mahmud), 5000 (5000 horse); Sayyid Rafaat Khan, 7000 (7000 horse); Itibar Khan, Darya Khan, Shaikh Sibghat-ullah Khan (alias Shaikh) Lakhnawi, who joined with four sons, Sayyid Muzaffar Ali Khan, Sayyid Akbar Ali Khan, Said Muhammad Khan, Masum Khan, Rustam Ali Khan, Sayadat Khan. [Shiu 55b, Qasim 363, K. K. 914.]

Even men who had been in disgrace with the Sayyids were offered employment. Among them Itiqad Khan (Mhd. Murad Kashmiri); Mhd. Yar Khan, former governor of Dihli; Shaista Khan and Saif-ullah Khan, two connections of the late Emperor Farrukh-siyar; and the two brothers Islam Khan, once Mir Atash, and Safi Khan, lately commandant of Agra fort. Muhammad Yar Khan, Islam Khan and Safi Khan declined, but Itiqad Khan and Saif-ullah Khan accepted *mansabs* and money to pay troops. As, however, Itiqad Khan was not treated according to his pretensions, he returned to Dihli after he had marched a stage or two. [K. K. 915.]

By the 26th Zul Hijja (October 28th, 1720) Abdullah Khan's camp was formed just outside Dihli in the direction of the

* Muhammad Qasim Lahori, 363. The nickname above-noted explains what Tod, *Annals*, ii. 100, could not understand, viz., the presence of a Prince with the Mahrattas in Ahmadabad, Hamid Khan figuring as an ally of those plunderers a few years after this time. For authorities see Khush-hal f. 1012a, and *Sharaif-i-Usmani*, Irvine MS., p. 319. The name was one given him by Farrukh-siyar's courtiers. One day in the imperial hunting preserves Hamid Khan dismounted and, rushing forward, shouted, "Long live the Emperor!" and made his obeisance. The explanation leaves us nearly as much in the dark as before; I presume there was some breach of etiquette involved, which laid him open to the depreciatory epithet, B.M. MS., 1832, f. 33a.

Idgah.* He moved on the 1st Muharram, 1133 H. (November 1st, 1720) from Sarai Sahil to the Qutb, and then next day to Sarai Bakhtawar Khan. Abdullah Khan's first intention had been to wait near the capital the attack of the other side, supposed then to be marching through the Rajput States. But he soon learnt that the Emperor was not advancing direct upon the capital, while the nearness of the city facilitated the secret return of the soldiers to their homes. He therefore changed his direction. Ghulam Ali Khan, who had escaped from Muhammad Shah's camp, was left behind in charge of Dihli, having with him Najabat Ali Khan, nephew and adopted son of Abdullah Khan, a boy of fourteen years of age.

On the 10th (November 10th, 1720) camp was at Faridabad ; they then moved on to Palwal, where he was joined by Saif-uddin Ali Khan, Shahamat Khan, his sons and relations, Sayyid Muhammad Khan, the eldest son of Asad-ullah Khan, Nawab Auliya, and Zulfiqar Ali Khan. The last two had been sent up by Husain Ali Khan to raise a corps of Barha Sayyids for service in the Dakhin. They brought in over twelve thousand horsemen. In their train came cartload after cartload of Sayyids who although unable to raise a horse to ride on, were eager for the fray and looked forward to the day when they would be riders on elephants. Finally Abdullah Khan fixed on Bilochpur, a village close to the Jamuna in *pargana* Palwal, as the place at which he intended to give battle. The inhabitants were turned out of the villages, and he entrenched himself. [Shiu 57, 68a ; K. K. 917.]

At this time the strain upon Abdullah Khan's mind was so great that, meaning to say one thing he would utter something else. If he asked a question no one listened, and if he wanted a thing no one brought it. The men round him had quite lost their heads. This was seen by what happened at the Qutb. Following an old custom, Prince Ibrahim was taken to that shrine to have a turban bound round his head. The same was

* The old Idgah is about three-fourths of a mile from the city wall, and to the west of it; see Constable's *Hand Atlas*, plate 47. Yahya Khan, *f.* 129b, says the first march was towards the Qutb, and Khafi Khan, 917, places the move to the Idgah on the 17th Zul Hijja.

done to Abdullah Khan. A sword was then attached to the Emperor's waist, followed by a prostration at the Khwaja's shrine. It was usual when an Emperor went forth to war to loosen the string of a bow and place it near the blessed shrine. If the string returned of itself to its place, it was a sign of coming victory. Someone reminded Abdullah Khan of this observance. A bow was sought for, and the demand for one became known even outside the shrine. They waited from half to three quarters of an hour, but no attention was paid to the order, and no bow was brought. [Yahya 129b.]

Before the armies met there were many desertions from Muhammad Shah's army, and the scattered soldiers of Husain Ali Khan began to rally round his brother. Rajah Muhkam Singh Khatri, after collecting as many as he could of the secret adherents of the Sayyids, fled from the Emperor's camp at midnight, leaving his tents standing and all his property behind. With him came Bahadur Khan, Ghaus Khan, Sayyid Kamal Khan, Sayyid Muhammad Khan, and others. Churaman Jat, in response to letters sent him by Abdullah Khan, had also deserted Muhammad Shah earlier and had begun to plunder, he and his advisers holding that in case of the Sayyids' defeat, it would be much easier to secure pardon from Muhammad Shah, than it would be, in the reverse case, to save themselves from the Sayyids' vengeance. The Jat brought in with him several elephants and horses that he had taken. This booty was offered to Abdullah Khan but returned as a gift to the captor. To Churaman was confided the duty of harassing the imperial force and plundering wherever he could. His orders were to blow up, if possible, the imperial powder magazines or carry off the draught oxen of the gun carriages. But in this he was foiled by the watchful care of Haidar Quli Khan. [Shiu 58a; K. K. 919-21; *Siwanih* 67, 76.]

SEC. 19.—THE EMPEROR MUHAMMAD SHAH'S ADVANCE.

We left Muhammad Shah encamped (October 30th, 1720) between Nandgaon and Barsana, about twenty miles from the Jamuna. In that poorly watered country it was imperative to acquire as speedily as possible a position commanding access

to that river. They marched ten miles north-east to Deothan on the 3rd Muharram, 1133 H. (November 3rd, 1720). Two days afterwards they moved another twelve miles to Majhwi on the Jamuna. The heavy baggage was sent back to Shergarh, a village owned by Biloch zamindars, six or seven miles to the rear, and some of the greater nobles and richer traders sent their families and dependants to the town of Mathura, over thirty miles away to the south. On the 11th Muharram camp was moved northwards six miles to near Shahpur, and again on the 12th (November 12th, 1720) five miles farther to a place near Hasanpur. Bilochpur, Abdullah Khan's position, is about six miles to the north of Hasanpur. Both places are on the right bank of the Jamuna in *pargana* Palwal.*

SEC. 20.—PREPARATIONS FOR BATTLE.

The force told off to take the field with Muhammad Shah was under the command of Muhammad Amin Khan and his son Qamar-ud-din Khan, Haidar Quli Khan, general of artillery, Khan Dauran, Sher Afkan Khan, Hizbar Khan, Hizbar Afkan Khan and Amin-ud-din Sambhali. Haidar Quli Khan went on in advance of the main body for several miles, and placed his artillery in a strongly entrenched position. The rear-guard with camp and baggage was left in charge of Rajah Gopal Singh Bhadauriya, Rajah Bahadur Rathor, of Kishngarh,† Jag Ram, *diwan* of Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, Mir Jumla, Mir Inayat-ullah Khan, Ikhlas Khan, Zafar Khan, Roshan-ud-daulah, Muhammad Khan Bangash, Aziz Khan Chaghatai and Mir Mushrif. These leaders had under them 37,000 horsemen. The total numbers are not given, but three of the other contingents amounted to 27,000 horsemen; and Khafi Khan estimates Muhammad Shah's army at less than half that of Abdullah Khan. [Shiu 58b, K. K. 921, *Bayan* 42, Khush-hal 1013b.]

* Shiu Das, *f.* 58a; the *Bayan-i-waqi*, 431, says that Rajah Muhkam Singh, and the others already referred to, joined Abdullah Khan in the night between the 12th and 13th Muharram. According to the *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 177a, the armies met in the plain of Dholkot, for which see *Indian Atlas*, sheet 49, S. W.

† Khush-hal 1013b, says "of Rupnagar."

Khan Dauran, Samsam-ud-daulah, commanded on the left wing, supported by Nusrat Yar Khan, Sabit Khan, Sayadat Khan and others ; while the right rested on the river. The wings of the centre were under Azam Khan, and its advance guard under Qamar-ud-din Khan, Azim-ullah Khan, and Tali Yar Khan. The centre was held by Muhammad Amin Khan, the new *Wazir*, Sher Afkan Khan, Hadi Khan, and Tarbiyat Khan. In reserve were Asad Ali Khan, Saif-ullah Khan, Mahamid Khan, Amin-ud-din Khan, and the contingent of Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, ready to reinforce either the right or left wings as might be necessary, and to protect the imperial harem. [*Ibid.*]

On Abdullah Khan's side, after many changes of plan, positions were assigned to the several commanders for the morrow's battle. Round the ex-*Wazir* gathered all the Barha Sayyids who had flocked to the assistance of their clansman, those who had no horses marching on foot round his elephant. Abdullah Khan took command on his right, where he was opposed to Khan Dauran ; making over the left, where less danger was anticipated, to Ghazi-ud-din Khan, the new Mir Bakhshi. At the head of the artillery and the vanguard Najm-ud-din Ali Khan was placed, aided by Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, Sayyid Muhammad Khan, Shahamat Khan, Tahavvar Ali Khan, Shujaat-ullah Khan, Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Abdun-nabi Khan, and Muzaffar Khan. [K. K. 918, *Bayan* 433.]

There was great difficulty in forcing the Sayyids into any sort of subordination, no one of them being ready to serve under another, and thus the two wings could not be properly constituted, each man taking up his position where it seemed best to himself. Other leaders who took the field for Sultan Ibrahim and Abdullah Khan were Hamid Khan, Saif-ullah Khan, Bairam Khan, Nimat-ullah Khan, Amir Khan, Sayyid Salabat Khan, Abdul-ghani Khan, Ikhlas Khan Afghan, Umar Khan Rohela, Dindar Khan, Abdul-qadir Khan, Sibghat-ullah Khan, (*alias* Shaikhu) of Lakhnau, Ghulam Muhi-ud-din Khan, Diler Khan, Shuja Khan Palwali, and Abdullah Khan Tarin. In all there were seventy chieftains riding on elephants.

Abdullah Khan's own division numbered twenty-five thousand horsemen under command of his *Bakhshis*, Abul Hasan Khan, Sayyid Ali Khan, and Hiranman. With the other details we have a total of forty thousand horse and eighteen thousand foot. The rest of the army, consisting chiefly of new levies, was left behind in charge of the baggage and of Prince Ibrahim. Rajah Muhkam Singh Khatri, who had escaped from the imperial camp the night before the battle, commanded in the rear, with orders to support the new troops, whose staunchness was doubted. With the Rajah were Khudadad Khan, Khan Mirza, and the seven or eight hundred horsemen who had followed him in his flight. [K. K. 923, *Siwanih* 78.]

During the night Abdullah Khan sent out Tahavvar Ali Khan and Sayyid Zulfiqar Ali Khan to reconnoitre. At a little distance from the imperialist camp they came across some Rohela horsemen. Tahavvar Ali, on being challenged, went forward and declared himself to be one of Nusrat Yar Khan Barha's men, and that he had been sent by Khan Dauran to spy out the position of Abdullah Khan. 'He went on talking till Zulfiqar Ali Khan and his men rode up. Three of the Rohelas were captured, two escaped. Afraid of pursuit, the Sayyid made off with the prisoners to his own camp. About midnight the prisoners were produced before Abdullah Khan, and in answer to his questions they said they belonged to the force of Aziz Khan Chaghatai, that Bayazid Khan Mewati was in charge of the rear tents and the pavilion of the Emperor. Owing to the Jats having plundered during the preceding day in the rear of the camp and carried off some elephants, Muhammad Amin Khan had ordered Afghan patrols to be sent out. That night it was the turn of Aziz Khan, who sent out these men with orders to announce at once the approach of any Jats. Aziz Khan himself lay in ambush with one thousand men. The Bangash Afghans and Saadat Khan were on the left wing. Haidar Quli Khan, with the artillery, was in advance of the main body. This was the story got from the prisoners.

Abdullah Khan sent for one of his officers, Umar Khan Rohela, to interrogate the men further. They told him of the gifts and honours conferred on Aziz Khan, and that he had

brought with him over six thousand Mewati Afghans. The Jats, they said, were for ever plundering, and the Rohelas, being held equally proficient in the art of robbery, had been ordered out as videttes. The talk went on for several hours, mostly in the Afghan tongue. The men were then rewarded and released. [Siwanih 79.]

SEC. 21.—THE BATTLE OF HASANPUR.

Early in the morning of Wednesday, the 13th Muharram, 1133 H. (November 13th, 1720), before the sun rose, Muhammad Shah mounted his elephant Padshah-pasand and took his place in the centre. In the Emperor's immediate retinue were Sayyid Ikram Ali Khan and Shaikh Ghaffar-ullah with the red and the yellow regiments, the Bhil and Karnatik matchlockmen, the mace-bearers and the *Ahadis* (gentlemen-troopers). Haidar Quli Khan was sent on ahead with the strong artillery force under his command, while Khan Dauran and Sabit Khan were ordered to follow and support him with the left wing. Muhammad Khan Bangash and Saadat Khan were sent towards the river and the rear. Round His Majesty's person were the new *Wazir* Muhammad Amin Khan and his son Qamar-ud-din Khan, Dil-diler Khan, Sher Afkan Khan, Hizbar Afkan Khan and others. Zafar Khan, Fakhr-ud-din Khan, his brother, Rajah Raj Bahadur of Kishnagarh, Nusrat Yar Khan, Jag Ram, Jai Singh's *diwan*, Aziz Khan, Mir Mushrif, and Rajah Gopal Singh Bhadauriya, were placed in charge of the main camp, which was at a distance of one *kos* from the position taken up by the Emperor. The prisoner, Ratan Chand, was now sent for. He was brought before the Emperor on an elephant; he was then made to dismount and was at once executed. The severed head was thrown before the Emperor's elephant and trodden under foot. [Shiu 59b, Kamwar 240, K. K. 924-28, Khush-hal 1013b.]

Churaman Jat, who was hovering near the army on the west, cut off many followers and penetrated into the camp. But the above-named Rajahs drove him out again. Next the Jats attacked on the south, whence they carried off some private goods and part of the imperial baggage. Zafar Khan, Muzaffar

Khan, and Muhammad Khan Bangash once more repelled them. They then made a further attempt on the east side. Here Mir Mushrif and Alwi Khan Tarin, of Lakhnau, met and defeated them. But the uproar was so great, that the camp-followers and traders in their fright jumped into the Jamuna and tried to swim across it, many losing their lives in the attempt. By three o'clock the baggage camp was moved to a safer place, and the confusion continuing, it was again moved still farther off. [Shiu 60a.]

When Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, at the head of the Sayyid vanguard,* appeared in the distance from the direction of the river, Haidar Quli Khan, the imperial *Mir Atash*, moved out his cannon into the open and encountered the advancing enemy with a storm of balls from his big guns and his field-pieces. The fire was so continuous and heavy that the artillery of the other side was silenced. After every volley Haidar Quli Khan urged on his men by lavish gifts of gold and silver. As the artillery advanced the rest of the army followed and occupied the ground. Stimulated by their commander's liberality the gunners worked zealously, and a second set of guns were loaded by the time the first were discharged. Khan Dauran's troops moved in support of the imperial artillery. Sanjar Khan and Dost Ali Khan, in command of that noble's guns, particularly distinguishing themselves. The latter was wounded in the foot. Sayyid Nusrat Yar Khan and Sabit Khan also took a leading part, while Saadat Khan and Muhammad Khan Bangash created a diversion on the left. During the day a rocket fell on Sayyid Abdullah Khan's powder magazine, exploding it and causing much loss of life. [Khush-hal 1015b, Shiu 59b.]

Throughout the day of the 13th the battle was chiefly one of artillery. The brunt of the fighting on Abdullah Khan's side was borne by his brother Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, who was commanding his vanguard. Originally the Sayyids had intended to

* Khush-hal, f. 1014a, b, has a different distribution of commands. Shahamat Khan he puts in the vanguard, and Saif-ud-din Ali Khan at the head of the artillery. Najm-ud-din Khan was, he says, on the right wing, and Ghazi-ud-din Khan Koca in charge of the left.

rely on a general onset. But Rajah Muhkam Singh, who had deserted from the imperialists, dissuaded them, pointing out that to charge down on such a powerful artillery as the other side possessed would be to expose themselves to destruction. Their own small supply of guns ought, he said, to be entrenched in a good position on the edge of some ravine, and there they could await the favour of events. Although Muhkam Singh had acquired in the Dakhin the highest reputation as a soldier, his advice was not adopted. The Sayyids' artillery was placed on a high mound under the shelter of some trees near a deserted village, and they tried to subdue the other side's fire to the extent of their ability. One of their shot passed to the left of Muhammad Shah's elephant, at two or three yards' distance and close to Khush-hal Chand, the historian's horse, he being on the right side of Sher Afkan Khan. It struck the ground two arrows' flight off, ricocheted a little, and wounded a horseman. [Qasim 374, Khush-hal 1015.]

In the field the usual scattered fighting with charges and countercharges went on all day, and at one time it looked as if the imperialists would give way. But Khan Dauran, Sayyid Nusrat Yar Khan, Sabit Khan, Dost Ali Khan, Sayyid Hamid Khan and Asad Ali Khan, by redoubled exertions, prevented a catastrophe. Finding he needed reinforcements, Khan Dauran sent a eunuch to the Emperor, who detached Sher Afkan Khan from the centre to his relief. Some of the Sayyids' field-pieces were taken, and the remainder were forced to move from their sheltered position under the trees. Among those who lost their lives were Shaikh Sibghat-ullah of Lakhnau, three sons, and seventy of his men; Abdul-qadir Khan Tatthawi, nephew of Qazi Mir Bahadur-Shahi, Abdul-ghani Khan (son of Abdur-rahim Khan Alamgiri), Ghulam Muhi-ud-din Khan, and the son of Shuja Khan Palwali. Many soldiers were also slain.*

Abdullah Khan had decided to single out for attack the force under Sayyid Nusrat Yar Khan, who had command of the advanced guard near the Emperor. Against this man the

* *Bayan-i-waqi*, 437; K. K. 925, 930; Khush-hal 1017a; Shiu Das, f. 61a.

Sayyids had a special grudge, because he, one of their own clan and a relation, had sided against them. Having swept him on one side, Abdullah Khan hoped to be able to push on to Muhammad Shah's centre. First of all, he tried to make his way to his objective from his own left, but found the river such an obstacle that he changed his direction and moved across his front to the right of his own army. As soon as the movement was detected reinforcements were sent for, the Emperor's centre having been left very weak. The generals who were summoned objected to quit their posts. The artillery present with the Emperor's division was then despatched towards the river to bar the way, and part of the vanguard was also transferred to the same point. [*Bayan*, 435-441.]

Unfortunately the change in Abdullah Khan's line of advance resulted in his being drawn away from the river bank, and thus his main position was now some miles from the water side. The battle had continued till the afternoon, and so far Abdullah Khan showed no signs of discouragement; but his men, more especially the new levies, became uneasy and soon lost their heads completely. On pretence of watering their horses and camels they rode off towards the river, or as one writer puts it, "flew away like so many sparrows." At the river they found the banks in the possession of their opponents. Group after group, on the pretext of getting water, left the standard; these desertions continued until sunset, and all night long from the camp to Barahpula just outside Dihli, the road was encumbered with fugitives. At nightfall there were not more than a few thousands left of the huge host which had set out from Dihli a few days before.*

At first Abdullah Khan had ordered a small tent to be put up for the night where he stood, but countermanded it when he reflected that it would be a target for the enemy's fire. The night was a moonlight one, and the imperial artillery never ceased its fire. If any man stirred in the Sayyid position or showed himself, a gun was at once pointed in that direction and discharged. From time to time the guns were dragged forward,

* Qasim, 376; Shiu Das, 60b; Khush-hal 1016a; *Ahwal* 177b.

the oxen being harnessed to the muzzle, instead of as usual to the breach end of the gun. Among the guns were those named Ghazi Khan and Shah Pasand. These heavy guns were fired oftener than had ever been done before in the recollection of the oldest man. Haidar Quli Khan kept up the energy of his men by continual largesse. Abdullah Khan's troops continued to abscond in small parties. On the other side, Muhammad Shah passed the night seated on his elephant so near the vanguard as to be under fire.

When day dawned on the 14th Muharram (November 14th, 1720) Abdullah Khan found his army reduced to a few of his relations and his veteran troops. They were altogether not more than one thousand horsemen. These resumed the fight to the best of their power. Najm-ud-din Ali Khan and Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, the *ex-Wazir's* younger brothers, Sayyid Afzal Khan *Sadar-us-sadur*, and Rai Tek Chand, Bali Khatri, his chief officer, Ghazi-ud-din Khan (Ahmad Beg), Nawab Allahyar Khan Shahjahani, Sayyid Salabat Khan and Ruhullah Khan were found among those faithful few who had passed a sleepless night upon their elephants, having had neither food nor water for many hours. Access to the riverside was blocked by the Jats, who plundered impartially friend and foe. As dawn was drawing near a ball struck the seat upon Muhkam Singh's elephant. The Rajah descended, mounted his horse and galloped off, and for many a day it was not known whether he was alive or dead.*

Early in the morning, returning to his place of the previous day, Abdullah Khan, joined by Najm-ud-din Ali Khan and many Barha chiefs, again delivered an attack in the hope of reaching the Emperor's centre. The imperial left opposed a stout resistance to this onset, and at length dismounted to continue the fight on foot at close quarters. Shahamat Khan and his son Pirzada, Fath Muhammad Khan, Tahavvar Ali Khan (better known as Bahadur Ali Khan), and many others on the Sayyids' side, were slain. Darvesh Ali Khan, head of

* Qasim, 378; *Bayan-i-waqi*, 438, 441, 443; K. K. 925, 928; Shiu Das, 61a; Khafi Khan, 328, says the Sayyids had 17,000 to 18,000 men left.

Khan Dawran's artillery, was killed ; Dost Ali Khan* and Nusrat Yar Khan were severely wounded. Saadat Khan and Sher Afkan Khan were also prominent in this encounter. Abdun-nabi Khan and Maya Ram, two of Haidar Quli Khan's officers, and Muhammad Jafar (grandson of Husain Khan) were the only other men of name who lost their lives on the imperial side. Najm-ud-din Ali Khan was wounded by an arrow near the eye,† and a ball from a swivel gun struck him on the knee.

After a time the men of Khan Dauran, Haidar Quli Khan, Saadat Khan, and Muhammad Khan Bangash, surrounded the ex-*Wazir*, and an arrow struck him on the forehead, inflicting a skin wound. The soldiers then tried to make him a prisoner ; but, clad in chain-mail though he was, he leapt to the ground sword in hand, intent on fighting to the death. In spite of their knowing his practice of fighting on foot at the crisis of a battle, the *Wazir's* troops, when they saw his elephant without a rider, imagined that their leader must have fled, and each man began to think only of his own safety. Sayyid Ali Khan (brother of Abul Muhsin Khan, the *Bakhshi*) was wounded and taken. Then Tali Yar Khan charged at the head of his men and cut down Shaikh Nathu, commanding Abdullah Khan's artillery, and the Rajputs came up, took possession of the Shaikh's body and carried it to the imperial camp. Najm-ud-din Ali Khan and Gazi-ud-din Khan did their utmost to rally the men, but no one paid them any heed. Shujaat-ullah Khan, Zulfiqar Ali Khan and Abdullah Khan Tarin fled. Even Saif-ud-din Ali Khan thought the day was lost and left the field along with two or three hundred men, taking with him Prince Ibrahim, who quitted his elephant and mounted a horse. Ibrahim's elephant and imperial umbrella were afterwards found and taken to Muhammad Shah. The feebleness of the defence on the Sayyids' part would be fully proved if we believe, as Warid

*Dost Ali Khan died of his wounds on the 9th Ramzan, 1134 H. (June 23, 1722).

† He lost his eye from this wound, and the glass ball by which he replaced it was a subject of wonder to the common people for the rest of his life, *M. U.* ii. 508, K. K. 930.

tells us, that after two days' fighting only forty men were left dead on the field.*

Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, a drawn sword in his hand, rode on to enquire for and search out his brother. He found Abdullah Khan standing on the ground quite alone, and although wounded in the hand still fighting like a lion, while on every side the crowd of his assailants grew greater every minute. So far not one of them had had the courage to lay hands upon him; although one of Khan Dauran's men had wounded him on a finger of the right hand. Najm-ud-din Ali Khan dismounted from his elephant and took his position at his brother's side. Abdullah Khan called out to him: "Behold the inconstancy of Fortune, and the end of all earthly greatness," adding a verse of Sadi Shirazi, fitting to the occasion.† Haidar Quli Khan, who had noticed that the *howda* of Abdullah Khan's elephant was empty, made enquiries and was informed by one of his soldiers that the Nawab was on foot, bare-headed, and wounded in the arm. Coming up at once with a led elephant, Haidar Quli Khan addressed the Sayyid, in the humblest manner, with words of praise and flattery: "Was he not a well-wisher, and was not his life one with his? Except to set forth for the presence of the Emperor what course was there left?" Najm-ud-din Ali Khan made a movement to cut down the speaker, but Abdullah Khan held his brother back. Then with a haughty and dignified air he took Najm-ud-din Ali Khan's hand and mounted the led elephant. Throwing the Sayyid a shawl to wind round his head, Haidar Quli Khan followed on his own elephant, and conducted his prisoner to the Emperor Muhammad Shah.‡

* Qasim, 378; Warid, 164b; *Bayan-i-waqi*, 447; K. K. 931.

† Khizr Khan, who took part in the battle as one of the Sayyid's army, was near enough to know that Abdullah Khan called out, but from the uproar could not hear his words. Some years afterwards, in 1138 H. (1725-6), he met at Mathura Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, then on his way to Ahmadabad, and obtained from him the details in the text. Khafi Khan makes out that Abdullah Khan claimed *aman* (safety for life) by announcing himself as a Sayyid.

‡ *Siwanih-i-Khizri*, 92, 93; Shiu Das, 61a; Khush-hal 1018b; Khafi Khan, 933; *Bayan-i-waqi*, 446. Khush-hal attributes the capture of Najm-

His hands bound together with Haidar Quli Khan's shawl, Abdullah Khan was ushered into the presence of Muhammad Shah. Saluting him with a "Peace be upon you," the Emperor said: "Sayyid, you have yourself brought your affairs to this extremity." Overcome with shame, Abdullah Khan answered only: "It is God's will." Muhammad Amin Khan, unable to contain himself, leapt from the ground with joy and exclaimed: "Let this traitor to his salt be confided to this ancient servitor." But Khan Dauran in respectful terms intervened: "Never! Never! Make not the Sayyid over to Muhammad Amin Khan, for he will at once slay him in an ignominious manner; such a deed is inadvisable; what did Farrukh-siyar gain by the murder of Zulfiqar Khan? Let him remain with Haidar Quli Khan or be made over to the Emperor's own servants." The prisoner was accordingly made over to Haidar Quli Khan, along with Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, his brother, whose wounds were so severe that he was not expected to recover. Hamid Khan was also taken a prisoner and brought, bare-headed and bare-footed, before his cousin, Muhammad Amin Khan, and Khan Dauran. The new *Wazir* calmed his fears and assured him of being tenderly dealt with. There were many other prisoners, the chief among them being Sayyid Ali Khan, brother of Abul Muhsin Khan, and Abdun-nabi Khan. [Qasim 379, K. K. 933, *Bayan* 448.]

On the Sayyids' side the entrenchments were held and the fight maintained by Ghazi-ud-din Khan and others for nearly an hour after the capture of Abdullah Khan. When at length they were satisfied that the day was lost, they desisted. Ghazi-ud-din Khan moved off the field with such baggage as had been saved, and, with Allahyar Khan and many others, made straight for Dihli; while the Barha Sayyids endeavoured to cross the Jamuna in order to make their way to their homes. Saif-ud-din Ali Khan had brought Prince Ibrahim off the field of battle, but owing to the entire absence of carriage was obliged to leave him in the orchard of Qutb-ud-din Khan, close to the village of

ud-din Ali Khan to his patron, Sher Afkan Khan, giving details and asserting that the writer's uncle, Khem Karan, was close by.

Nekpur. Saif-ud-din Ali Khan went home to Jansath, sending Baqir Ali Khan and Khizr Khan to Dihli to bring away the Sayyid women and dependants. These messengers reached the capital before the Emperor, and carried off the ladies and children to the Sayyids' country.

Late in the evening of the 14th Muharram, 1133 H. (November 14, 1720), news reached Dihli of the defeat and capture of Abdullah Khan. His wives and women, a numerous body, nearly took leave of their senses. Many of the concubines, seizing their chance, threw old veils and sheets over their rich clothes and made off with whatever they could lay their hands upon. The man in charge, one Abdullah Khan Kashi, made no attempt to do his duty, and in the confusion a ten-year old daughter of Najm-ud-din Ali Khan took refuge in the house of a *Mirasin* or singer, attached to the Sayyids, where she was discovered and seized by the Emperor's adherents. The girl was placed in charge of the Emperor's mother, Nawab Qudsiya, who proposed to marry her to Muhammad Shah. Abdullah Khan complained to Haidar Quli Khan that such a thing had never been done before to a Barha Sayyid. That noble, by much persuasion, obtained possession of the child and sent her to Najm-ud-din Ali Khan's house.

To return to the field of battle. The Mughal soldiery, as their custom was, took to plundering, and appropriated to themselves whatever horses, camels, mules and cattle fell into their hands. Churaman Jat followed suit, and plundering both sides with strict impartiality, made off with his booty to his own country. Among his spoils were one thousand baggage oxen and camels, which had been left negligently on a high sandy mound close to the river, several camel-loads of goods intended for charitable distribution, and the records of the Grand Almoner's Department. [Qasim 381, Shiu 61a, K. K. 930.]

SEC. 22.—CAPTURE OF PRINCE IBRAHIM.

After Sayyid Saif-ud-din Ali Khan had removed Prince Ibrahim from the battle-field, finding it impossible to escort him to a place of safety, he made him over to the Sayyids of the

village Nekpur, in pargana Palwal* some miles from the field. Those villagers were unable to protect him and refused him shelter. With him were Amir Khan, whose family had been for generations in the royal service, and some others. He sat down with these few companions in a mango orchard belonging to Qutb-ud-din Ali Khan, and not far from the houses. His men suggested that if he would move elsewhere, they would not desert him. The Prince replied that he considered this battle as a final test of his fortunes ; if sovereignty had been meant for him, the fact would have declared itself by a different result. He had now nowhere to go. By this time the Prince's place of shelter had been traced, and Haidar Quli Khan, Zafar Khan, and Qamar-ud-din Khan came to arrest him.†

When these men had made their obeisance he rose up and came with them. That night, when he reached the Presence, Muhammad Shah embraced him and made him sit down beside him, asking : "How have you come?" The Prince answered : "By the way you came." His Majesty said : "Who brought you?" He replied : "The person who brought you." The allusion is, of course, to the fact that they had both been set on the throne by one and the same man, Abdullah Khan. An allowance of forty Rupees a day was fixed for Ibrahim's maintenance, and he was sent back to prison in the citadel of Shahjahanabad. There he died on the 8th Muharram 1159 H. (January 30th, 1746) at the estimated age of fifty years. As a quatrain quoted by Khush-hal Chand says, his day of power had been shortlived, "like a drop of dew upon a blade of grass."‡

* Perhaps Begpur, pargana Palwal, near the Jamuna, and about 15 miles north of Bilochpur. See *Indian Atlas*, sheet 49, S. E.; I can find no Nekpur.

† The *Bayan-i-waqi*, p. 448, omits Haidar Quli Khan and inserts Saadat Khan. There is a story that at daybreak Ibrahim reached the *takiya* of a faqir in Nekpur, and asked for a mouthful of water. The Prince rewarded him with four gold coins. The recluse began to prepare breakfast for him, but before he could eat, his pursuers arrived and seized him, Khush-hal, *fol.* 1020a.

‡ Shiu Das, *f.* 61b; Khafi Khan, 933; Rustam Ali, 249a; *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* (year 1159 H.).

SEC. 23.—END OF ABDULLAH KHAN.

Muhammad Shah announced the victory to his adherent, Nizam-ul-mulk, in the following terms: "After the death of Husain Ali Khan we marched towards the capital, as soon as we had heard that Abdullah Khan had raised Prince Ibrahim to the throne and was planning resistance. Nor would he listen to our remonstrances. On the 12th Muharram of our second year we pitched our tents twenty *kos* from Dihli. Next day the battle began and lasted from morn to night. On the following day the imperial troops charged the rebels, Abdullah Khan was captured, and Ibrahim, who had fled from the field, was brought back a prisoner." [*Majma-ul-insha*, 86.]

Inayat-ullah Khan and the officers of the Escheat Department (*buyutat*) were now sent with all despatch to confiscate the late *Wazir's* property together with that of all his relatives and dependants. Sayyid Ghulam Ali Khan, who had been left in charge of Dihli as the Sayyid's deputy, directly he heard of the great disaster, collected all the gold and jewels he could lay hands upon, and in the confusion got clear away, thanks to the disguise he had adopted. Sayyid Najabat Ali Khan, nephew and adopted son of the defeated *Wazir*, and then a boy of thirteen or fourteen years, was seized and sent to share his uncle's prison. [K. K. 934.]

After this seizure, there was at this time no further pursuit of the fugitive Sayyids; their home villages were not confiscated nor their houses plundered. This forbearance is attributed to the intercession of Sayyid Nusrat Yar Khan, a native of the Barha village of Kaithora,* who had taken the side of the Turanis. Muhammad Amin Khan, however, did not approve of this clemency, and gave orders to his *amil* or manager, Abdul-latif Beg, then present with five thousand horsemen in the new *Wazir's* fiefs of Budaon and Sambhal, to cross the Ganges into the Duaba and lay waste the Barha country. Nothing came of this attempt. The Sayyids collected the Gujars

* Kaithora or Kathora, one of the principal of the thirty-two villages occupied by the Chatbanuri branch of the Barha Sayyids, see Sayyid Roshan Ali's MS., *Sayyid-ut-tawarikh* (composed in 1864 A.D.).

and other tribes dwelling on their estates, and "broke the covetous teeth of the Mughals"; and as that "old dodger," Muhammad Amin Khan, died soon after, they were left for the time in peace. [Qasim 384.]

Meanwhile Sayyid Abdullah Khan remained a prisoner in the citadel of Dihli under the charge of Haidar Quli Khan, who, after the death of Muhammad Amin Khan, was high in the imperial favour. The Sayyid was treated with respect, receiving delicate food to eat and fine clothes to wear. But so long as he survived the Mughals remained uneasy, not knowing what sudden change of fortune might happen. Thus they never ceased their efforts to alarm Muhammad Shah. At one time, according to them, Rajah Ajit Singh, of Jodhpur, intended to make his own submission and loyalty conditional on the release of the Sayyid. From time to time other rumours were put into circulation. At last Abdullah Khan was removed from Haidar Quli Khan's care to a place near the imperial apartments, where he continued to be well treated. Two years elapsed, but the Mughals never ceased in their plotting, until at length they obtained the Emperor's consent to the administration of poison.* Sayyid Qutb-ul-mulk, Abdullah Khan, died of poison given in his food on the 1st Muharram 1135 H. (October 11, 1722), being then about fifty-seven (lunar) years of age. He left no children. In accordance with his dying wishes he was buried at the side of his favourite mistress, a singing woman called Kesar Mahi, in a walled garden outside the Pumba gate of Old Dihli. This garden was situated on the high road to the shrine of the saint Nizam-ud-din Auliya; it had been presented to Qutb-ul-mulk by Rajah Bakht Mal, *diwan* of the *Khalsa*.†

SEC. 24.—THE TWO SAYYIDS: THEIR CHARACTER AND CONDUCT.

Muhammad Shah ordered that the Sayyids should be referred to after their death, the one as *Namak-haram* and the

* Khafi Khan, 941, cannot conceive it possible that Nizam-ul-mulk, although a Mughal, had any share in these plots, but *al ilm ind allah!* "God only knows!"

† *Jauhar-i-samsam* of Muhsin Sadiqi, son of Hanif, B.M. Oriental MS. No. 1898. I quote from A. R. Fuller's translation, B.M. Addl. MS. No.

other as *Haram-namak*, an order which Nizam-ul-mulk objected to and refused to comply with. [K. K. 941.]

Alamgir does not seem to have been fond of Barha Sayyids. Once in the official news-letter from Ahmadabad it was reported that Sayyid Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur (afterwards Abdullah Khan), had shown promptitude in attacking and plundering one Hanwant, and had also captured the nephew of Janaji and forced him to become a Muhammadan. Zulfiqar Khan, Nusrat Jang, then on a campaign against Dhana Jadon, heard of these feats and sent to Court a proposal for raising the rank of both brothers, the elder from 800 to 1,000, and the younger from 700 to 800. Alamgir wrote across this report: "Wherefore should I not offer congratulations? But the very fact of their being Sayyids, those fountains of felicity, demands hearty exertions from them in support of the Pure Faith of their ancestor, His Majesty the Lord of Apostles. Let two robes of honour for the two brothers be issued from my private wardrobe, and let them be sent together with two swords, jewel-hilted and provided with pearl-mounted belts. Let Jamdat-ul-mulk (*i.e.*, the *Wazir*) write much praise and many congratulations when sending these presents."

Then, on the petition received from Zulfiqar Khan, he wrote: "The proposition of that servant of my house, who knows my way of thinking, was exceedingly out of place. It is a matter of course for men of the sword (*saif*) to punish leaders of strife (*kais*). But to agree to immediate promotion is difficult. Love for Sayyids, those men of high lineage, is an obligation imposed by the Holy Faith, nay, is a proof of having fully accepted it; while to harm that clan is to expose one's self to the displeasure of the Most Merciful. But no action should be taken which produces evil in this, and disgrace in the next world. Undue favour to the Barha Sayyids will be disastrous in both worlds. For when promoted or exalted they say: 'I am and there is none other,' and stray from the path of duty. They lift their gaze too high and begin to cause

30,784, p.79. The name Kesar Mahi seems of doubtful accuracy, but the words are so written most plainly in the Persian text. See also Rustam Ali, *Tarikh-i-Hindi*, fol. 250a; Qasim; Kamwar, p. 255; and *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* (year 1135 H.).

trouble. If this attitude is overlooked, the business of this world ceases to be carried out ; if it is punished, objections will arise in the other world.'*

In spite of the opposition he had encountered from the Sayyids, Nizam-ul-mulk is said to have done his best to protect Abdullah Khan's life after his fall from power. Khafi Khan, who tells us this fact, thinks it only fair to record his tribute to the good qualities of the two brothers, since he has said so much about their misdeeds. He attributes the disrespect shown to Farrukh-siyar with all the bribe-taking and harshness in revenue-farming, to the bad influence of Ratan Chand, the *Wazir's* chief official. Up to the time of his leaving for the Dakhin, Husain Ali Khan had shown extreme aversion to taking money irregularly ; afterwards, Muhkam Singh Khatri, and others did their best to pervert him. But both brothers were really friendly to the poor and non-oppressive in disposition. The townsmen, who were left to live in peace, made no complaints against them. They were liberal to the learned and the necessitous, and full of consideration for the deserving. In these respects Husain Ali Khan was even more conspicuous than his elder brother. The younger brother began a reservoir in Aurangabad, afterwards enlarged by Iwaz Khan, which formed a welcome addition to the scanty water-supply in that town. He also built in the Barha country a *sarai*, a bridge, and other works for the public benefit. [K. K. 941, 943.]

Abdullah Khan was remarkable for forbearance, patience, and extreme humanity. When Haidar Quli Khan was *faujdar* of Surat he confiscated the estate of Abdul-ghaffur Bohra, a wealthy merchant recently deceased, in spite of the existence of legal heirs. The line of action adopted by Abdullah Khan was most commendable. Haidar Quli Khan was removed from office and the estate made over to the rightful owners. Husain Ali Khan, within whose jurisdiction Surat was situated, passed a sleepless night thinking over the matter. Upon the release of the property not one *dam* or *dirham* was kept back. The younger Sayyid is also applauded for upholding the bazar people

* *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, Irvine MS., No. 252, fol. 23b.

against a false complaint brought by his own elephant-driver. [K. K. 943.]

The conduct of the *Wazir* in the case of the East India Company's embassy to Farrukh-siyar's Court is also very much to be commended. Misled by his Armenian colleague, John Surman had negotiated through Khan Dauran, the second *Bakhshi*, instead of through the *Wazir*. When Khan Dauran had reaped all the benefit he could and had wasted nearly two years, he repudiated the whole affair. The envoys were at last forced to apply to Abdullah Khan. According to oriental standards of conduct, this tardy application gave a splendid opening for avenging the previous neglect. Nothing of the sort happened. Abdullah Khan, when the Englishmen went to him, was affable and helpful, also, for a wonder, most prompt in action. The preparation of the desired *farmans* was carried through in a few weeks ; and still more wonderful, the *Wazir* accepted no present. We need not be surprised that Surman should style him "the Good Visier."

The Surman diaries also yield an indication that Abdullah Khan was not quite strict in the observance of Muhammadan rules. "Hearing the Visier drinks," the envoys sent him a handsome present of Shiraz wine and brandy ; and we are not told of its being returned with indignation and resented as an insult.

Another entry in the Surman diaries shows Abdullah Khan's kind heart. At the envoys' last audience Farrukh-siyar refused to allow the departure of William Hamilton, the surgeon who had attended him in his illness. In this emergency they invoked the aid of Abdullah Khan, and "the good visier readily offered to use his utmost endeavours." He wrote a very pathetic address to His Majesty, in which an imaginary wife and children in Scotland were introduced 'to heighten the effect. On Hamilton's promising a speedy return to India, Farrukh-siyar yielded a reluctant consent to his departure.*

The Barha Sayyids have remained almost to our own day more or less Indian in their practices. Thus it is no surprise

* C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals*, Vol. II, Part 2, "The Surman Diary," pp. 74, 131 133, 142, 143, 200, 202, 203, 205.

to learn from a contemporary historian that Abdullah Khan observed the *Basant* or spring festival, and the Holi powder-throwing usual among Hindus. In another direction he displayed superstition. Anand Ram Mukhlis noticed that every time he gave public audience, two men called *majamra-gardan*, or censer-swingers, stood at the head of his carpet swinging silver censers full of smoking rue-seed. This was done to avert the Evil Eye. We have also seen in the course of our narrative that he was more of a soldier than an administrator; and that he was a voluptuary who in time of peace was indolent and negligent of business. He left his affairs too much in the hands of his Hindu man-of-business, Ratan Chand.*

One of the *Wazir's* deeds of merit was the construction of a canal in Patparganj, a suburb of Dihli. It was begun in 1127 H. (1715) after a great fire in that quarter of the town, and it was finished in the fifth year of Farrukh-siyar (1716). As to it Sayyid Abdul-jalil Bilgrami, wrote:—

*Bahr-i-jud o jaiz, Qutb-ul-mulk, Abdullah Khan,
Nahr-i-khairi kard jari an wazir-i muhtasham;
Bahr-i-an Abdul-jalil-i-Wasiti tariqh kard:
"Nahr-i-Qutb-ul-mulk madd-i-bahr-i-ashan o karam."
(1127 H.)*

The same learned man and poet sings the praises of Abdullah Khan in his *masnavi*, as follows:—

*Aristu-firate, ke Asaf-nishan ast,
Yamin-ud-daulah, Abdullah Khan ast;
Ba diwan chun nashinad nau-bahar ast,
Ba maidan chun darayad zulfqar ast.†*

Husain Ali Khan, Amir-ul-umara, differed considerably in character from his elder brother. He was prompt in action and inclined to the use of exaggerated and insolent language. Several stories showing this habit of his are on record. For instance, the hired flatterers in his train used to recite, even in

* Kamwar Khan, entry of 3rd Rabi, II. 1132 H.; Anand Ram Mukhlis, *Mirat-ul-istilah*, fol. 248a. Herklots, *Qanoone Islam*, Glossary, p. lxxxiv, says the seed used is that of *Mahndi* (*Lawsonia inermis*), mixed with benzoin or mustard-seed.

† *M.U.* iii. 140; Khush-hal B.M. No. 3288, fol. 407a.

the Emperor's presence, Hindi verses in praise of their master. A Persian translation of two lines has been handed down ; they are to this effect :—

The whole world and all creation seeks the shelter of your umbrella,

Kings of the world earn crowns through your emprise.*

Once, on the ill-fated march to the Dakhin, being intoxicated with his own greatness, he boasted that on whosoever's head he cast the shadow of his shoe, that man would become the equal of the Emperor Alamgir. This remark gave great offence to those who heard it.†

Although he put no faith in lucky or unlucky moments and the prognostications of soothsayers, he seems to have been troubled by presages of his approaching doom. Hakim Nakki Khan Shirazi told Warid that in the last weeks of his life, Husain Ali Khan was for ever extolling and finding new meanings in the following lines :—

*Ham chu man be-kāse shahide hech kāfir na bud,
Subh-i-mahshar khud damid, wa khun-i-man khwabida
ast.‡*

* *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, fol. 176a. In the original they are :—

*Panah-i-chatr bigirand jumlah-i-alam o khalq,
Kalahdar-i-jahan ra kalah az muqdam-i-tu.*

† Yahya Khan, *Tazkirat-ul-muluk*, fol. 125a.

L'ENVOI

‡ With the disappearance of the Sayyid brothers the story attains a sort of dramatic completeness, and I decide to suspend at this point my contributions on the history of the Later Mughals. There is reason to believe that a completion of my original intention is beyond my remaining strength. I planned on too large a scale, and it is hardly likely now that I shall be able to do much more. The reign of Bahadur Shah (1707-1712) is ready to be faired out for the press ; and the first draft for the years 1721 to 1738 is written. I hope soon to undertake the narrative of 1739, including the invasion of Nadir Shah. It remains to be seen whether I shall be able to continue the story for the years which follow Nadir Shah's departure. But I have read and translated and made notes for another twenty years ending about 1759 or 1760. The preliminary work for the period 1759-1803 has not been begun. In any case I hope that my published studies on the period, although covering only part of the ground, may prove of some use ; that, at the least, they may relieve some more fortunate successor of much drudgery, of a nature commonly thought to be arid, and repellent to many minds. May my reward be, as an Oxford historian phrases it, that "some Gibbon of the future may throw me a word of thanks in a footnote." (20th October, 1907).

CHAPTER VII

MUHAMMAD SHAH'S REIGN 1720-1725

SEC. 25.—NEW APPOINTMENTS UPON MUHAMMAD SHAH'S RETURN TO DIHLI.

On the 16th Nov. 1720 Muhammad Shah moved from Biluchpur and encamped near Rahimpur. Thence on the 17th he went to Chhainsa, on the 18th to Talpat, and on the 19th to Talab Kishn Das. The 20th was spent in a visit to the Qutb and to the shrine of Nasir-ud-din Oudhi, the Emperor passing the night in his tents close to Moth ki Masjid, and on the 21st he prayed at the shrine of Nizam-ud-din Auliya. A formal entry was made into the capital on the next day, the 22nd, by way of the Ajmeri Gate. On the 24th Rajah Jai Singh's approach from Amber was announced ; and the Wazir was deputed to meet and escort him. [Kamwar 242, K. K. 934.]

On the 25th November a grand audience was held in the diwan-i-khas. Rajah Jai Singh was introduced by the Wazir, he laid his offering before the throne and received the usual gifts. Itimad-ud-daulah, as appanages to his office of Wazir, received the Government of Multan and the faujdarship of Muradabad. Day after day presentations continued. On the 26th came Abdus-samad Khan from Lahor with his son Zakariya Khan. Jafar Khan Nasiri sent his congratulations and presents from Bengal, through his representative at Court (*wakil*). Ghazi-ud-din Khan, who had retired again into private life, was sent for through Haidar Quli Khan ; and Shapur Khan, brother of Sayyid Husain Ali Khan's assassin, was elevated to the high rank of 4000 (2000 horse), with other gifts. Among other nobles who were promoted or received new titles were Lutf-ullah Khan Panipati (lately arrived at Court from exile at his home), Haidar Quli Khan, Zafar Khan, and Nusrat Yar Khan Barha. [Kamwar 244, K. K. 935.]

Few changes were made among the provincial governors. The chief were as follows : Muizz-ud-daulah Haidar Quli

Khan Nasir Jang was posted to Ahmadabad ; Kashmir was given to Zakariya Khan, son of Abdus-samad Khan ; Muhammad Khan Bangash now received the reward for his desertion of Abdullah Khan by appointment to the Government of Allahabad, and Saadat Khan faujdar of Biana, who had been party to the plot to assassinate Sayyid Husain Ali Khan, received the Government of Agra as his reward. [*Ibid.*]

ABOLITION OF THE POLL-TAX (*Jaziya*).

The *jaziya* or poll-tax had always been felt by the Hindus as an oppression ; and at this time owing to the unsettled state of public affairs grain was very dear. The Hindu traders seeing their opportunity agreed on a remonstrance against the tax, and with one accord shut up their shops. Rajah Jai Singh Sawai then took the matter in hand and laid their case before the Emperor. He pointed out that the Hindus were the ancient inhabitants of the country, that His Majesty was Emperor of Hind, that men of both religions were equally loyal. Indeed it might be said that the Hindus were more so, as they depended upon the Emperor for protection from his fellow-religionists. When Abdullah Khan's rebellion had broken out, he, Jai Singh, had called on all the Hindus to pray for Mumammad Shah's success. If their prayers should be heard, he had bound himself to ask first of all for the abolition of the poll-tax. Rajah Girdhar Bahadur, governor of Oudh, added his entreaties, reminding the Emperor how his uncle Chabela Ram had obtained the same favour from the late Farrukh-siyar after his triumph over Jahandar Shah. Yielding to these appeals, the Emperor abolished the poll-tax permanently, although it is said to have yielded four krors of Rupees from the whole of the kingdom. After an abortive attempt at its revival made by Nizam-ul-mulk in 1723 and a merely nominal re-institution in Rajab 1137 (March—April 1725) which was never carried out, we hear nothing more of the levy in India of this oppressive tax. [Shiu Das 646 ; K. K. 936, 948 ; Warid 6, 7.]

SEC. 26.—DEATH OF MUHAMMAD AMIN KHAN.

One night about this time, a flag was tied to the railing before the chief police-office (or *chabutra* as it was called),

On the flag was written in the Persian character: "Let the Emperor beware and quite the palace." The usual reports were brought before the Emperor and the issue of a proclamation was directed in the hope of discovering the doer of this act. After the order had been announced throughout the city by beat of drum, one Naranjan, a Muhammadan mendicant of the Azad sect, was traced as the culprit. This man used to go about bare-headed, and beyond a narrow strip of cloth to cover his nakedness he wore no clothes. He admitted that he had placed the flag where it was found. When he was brought before the Emperor, the Wazir, Muhammad Amin Khan, was present. The Wazir requested that the *faqir* might be made over to him for enquiries. The man was taken to the Wazir's house and there severely flogged. When this was reported to Muhammad Shah, he sent for the man, presented him with four gold coins and set him at liberty. This occurred on the 15th January 1721.

A few days afterwards Muhammad Amin Khan fell seriously ill with a complication of disorders; and as was inevitable it was the popular belief that the *faqir's* curse had taken effect. The illness* had lasted only 4 or 5 days when it terminated fatally on the 27th January 1721, and the body was buried within the school or *Madrassa* which the Wazir had founded just outside the Ajmeri Gate. In the short space of three months during which he was chief minister, Muhammad Amin had no time in which to display his qualities as an administrator, though he had shown himself a good soldier long before in Alamgir's reign. Warid tells us that from the day of his first arrival from Bukhara he had ever been inclined towards oppression and injustice, had forgotten to fear God or be tender to the lowly; to him a Sayyid of proud descent and an unbeliever were the same. But strange to say, from the day of signal victory over the Sayyids, when the sky had cleared and no enemy remained, he entirely changed his ways.

* Revolting details in *Siyar* i. 68, all most probably untrue and due to the Shia bigotry of the writer directed against a prominent Sunni. Ghulam Ali Khan *Muqaddama-i-Shah Alam-nama*, (B. M.) 41b, has 28th Rabi II. —an evident error. He says the illness was a fatal kind of colic.

Men of both the city and the country had dreaded the day of his accession to supreme power. To their surprise, his conduct was opposed to his previous habits; he treated everybody fairly and kindly. Even some of the Sayyids who had deserved punishment were spared. But as far as Muhammad Shah was concerned, he had obtained no benefit by the change of ministers; and as one writer says, "He found over again the same viands on his plate." [Shiu Das 65b-66a; Kamwar 247; Warid 2-4; K. K. 939; *Ahwal* 178a.]

The vacant office of chief minister was claimed by the deceased's son, Qamar-ud-din Khan, as his by right of inheritance; but Khan Dauran, who was the Emperor's candidate, [Yahya 130b] unable to carry through his own appointment, persuaded Muhammad Shah to send for Nizam-ul-mulk from the Dakhin. Qamar-ud-din was consoled with his father's title of Itimad-ud-daulah (30th January 1721); and as a temporary measure the duties of the minister were made over to Inayat-ullah Khan Kashmiri, in addition to his previous office of Lord Steward (*Khan-samani*). This appointment was made on the 14th February. [Warid 48, Kamwar 248, Shiu Das 66a, K. K. 939, *Ahwal* 178b, Khush-hal 136b.]

SEC. 27.—THE NEW WAZIR, NIZAM-UL-MULK.

After the removal of the Sayyid brothers, Nizam-ul-mulk had for a time intended to return to Court. But on the whole he thought it better to delay. All power was in the hands of Itimad-ud-daulah, who was not likely to brook a rival near the throne. The new Wazir was, if the truth be told, a severer master to Muhammad Shah than the Sayyids had been. In his opinion he had been the sole cause of the Sayyids' disappearance, and presumed accordingly. It is true that the Wazir and Nizam-ul-mulk were not only near relatives but close friends. Still, to share power is grievous; "a father becomes jealous of a son, a brother of a brother". Nizam-ul-mulk's arrival with a great army at his heels would have aroused many suspicions, leading to unending disputes. Why then, thought Nizam-ul-mulk, need he leave a country which he had already

acquired by his own right hand, in order with open eyes to plunge into such a whirlpool of troubles?

Instead of returning to Dihli, Nizam-ul-mulk proceeded southwards into the Kamatik and Maisur. It was not till his return to his capital of Aurangabad that he received the rescript calling him to Court, and, as at the same time he heard of his cousin's death, the dangers he had foreseen no longer existed. [*Ahwal* 180a, *Gulshan-i-ajajib* 61a.]

At the end of the month Zūl Hijja (October 1721) Nizam-ul-mulk set out from Aurangabad, leaving his relation Iwaz Khan in command, at the head of twenty thousand men. [Shiu Das 83a.] On his way through Bundelkhand he was joined by Durjan Singh of Chanderi, Rao Ram Chand Bundela of Datiya, and Chattar Singh of Narwar with their troops. He reached Agra on the 16th January 1722, when he was visited by the governor Saadat Khan. Three days afterwards he moved on to Gaoghat, and on the 28th he reached Barahpula, a few miles south of the capital. On the 20th February there was a grand audience at which the office of minister was conferred upon him with the usual gifts of robes, jewels, a ring, a jewelled pen-case and a large sum of money. The mansion on the Jamuna known as Sadullah Khan's was also conferred on him. [K. K. 939, Shiu Das 85a, Kamwar 250, *M. U.* iii. 897, Ashob 129b, *Ahwal* 181b.]

Nizam-ul-mulk in his new position was surrounded by difficulties. Muhammad Shah, a man of weak character, was in the hands of a clever woman known as Kōkī or the 'foster-sister', the daughter of Muhammad Jan, geomancer, Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan, a eunuch of the palace, and others of the same standing, while the hostility of the next most powerful man in the State, Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, was barely concealed. Thus the new Wazir found himself thwarted at every step. [K. K. 940.]

His idea was to restore the public business to the condition in which it had been during the reign of Alamgir, his model in all things. One of the greatest abuses, to the abolition of which he devoted his energies, was the practice of granting

offices upon the receipt of a bribe to the Emperor, dignified with the name of *peshkash* or offering of the first fruits. Another abuse which he tried to remedy was the excessive assignments of the revenue-paying lands which had been made to the Princes, the Princesses and the great nobles. Lands of which the revenues had never been assigned before were now in the hands of the courtiers. By this means the receipts of the treasury were much diminished, and there was never sufficient money to meet the pay of those drawing cash salaries, which had in consequence fallen much into arrears. He also commented on the unfitness of the men appointed to high rank ; while old and deserving officers were in want of the necessaries of life. Some of the latter were reduced to collecting grain from their jagirs and selling it in the imperial market-place. To add to their troubles, prices ranged very high, and more than seven *sirs* of grain could not be purchased for one Rupee. Every day complainants thronged round the new Wazir on his way to audiences. One man would cry out, "I am a descendant of Mahabat Khan", another, "I am one of the grandsons of Ali Mardan Khan". The populace too clamoured for the lowering of prices, casting dust upon their heads while they shouted *Faryad ! Faryad !* (Redress ! Redress !). It was with difficulty that the Wazir could force his way through the crowd. He made detailed reports on these points to the Emperor. Although nominally approved of, Nizam-ul-mulk's proposals met in reality with scant attention. Being over fifty years of age, he was considered old-fashioned by the Emperor, a young man of twenty, and his youthful boon-companions. His manners and appearance were ridiculed. [*Siyar* i. 266.] If it has any truth at all, to this time belongs the story that Muhammad Shah laughed in open darbar at Nizam-ul-mulk's gait and attire and Samsam-ud-daulah used the expression, "See how the Dakhin monkey dances". For the present we turn from the intrigues at the capital to consider the disorders in the provinces of Ajmer and Ahmadabad due to the discontent of Ajit Singh Rathor. [K. K. 940 ; Shiu Das 85b ; *Ahwal* 181b ; J. A. S. B., lxvi, pt i. 26 and 58 ; *Nadir Shah* 69 and 129.]

SEC. 28.—REVOLT OF RAJAH AJIT SINGH RATHOR.

During the reign of Farrukh-siyar and afterwards, so long as their predominance was maintained, Rajah Ajit Singh remained faithful to the Sayyids' cause. Two years before he had been appointed by them governor of Ahmadabad, and now declined to acknowledge the new arrangement or send in the usual congratulations and presents. He entered the province of Ajmer, assumed possession of it, and forbade the slaughter of cows within the two provinces. Under these circumstances his speedy suppression was considered urgent. Saadat Khan, governor of Akbarabad, Samsam-ud-daulah, Qamar-ud-din Khan, Haidar Quli Khan, each in succession was offered the command of an army with the Government of the province. Each of them after accepting found excuses for withdrawing from the undertaking. Some had gone as far as sending out their tents one stage upon the road. Samsam-ud-daulah in particular was frightened by the possible cost of the expedition, only part of which would be obtained from the royal treasury. Samsam-ud-daulah's idea was that Ajit Singh might have been left in possession of Gujarat on condition of relinquishing Ajmer. Haidar Quli Khan objecting to this course, Saadat Khan was called upon to undertake the duty. Being a new man, he could not persuade a sufficient number of nobles to take service under him. Qamar-ud-din Khan would not stir unless Abdullah Khan, Nijabat Ali Khan and the other Barha Sayyids were pardoned and placed under his orders. As the Sayyids were distrusted by the Emperor's friends, the request was refused. At length on the 12th October 1721, Haidar Quli Khan was appointed to Ahmadabad and Sayyid Muzaffar Ali Khan Daipuri to Ajmer. The latter was a protégé of Samsam-ud-daulah. Haidar Quli Khan sent a deputy to his province. [K. K. 937, Ghulam Ali 43a, Shiu Das 76b.]

Muzaffar Ali Khan was willing to take charge in person of his new Government, but was a man without means. Six lakhs of Rupees were granted to him ; but as the money was not forthcoming from the treasury, he was forced to content himself for the time being with two lakhs. He took up his

station outside the city and began to enlist recklessly, offering absurdly high rates of pay. By the time he had reached Manoharpur* and had collected 20,000 men under his standard, all his money was spent. With Jai Singh the Kachhwaha Rajah there was no trouble. In July 1721 he arrived at Court and professed abounding loyalty. He had gone in person to all the mosques in Amber and directed that the public call to worship should be made and the Friday prayer recited. The prohibition of the slaughter of kine was formally set aside, and the Rajah proclaimed himself a submissive subject of the Muhammadan Empire. He produced the convention entered into by Jahan Shah (the Emperor's father), conferring on him, Jai Singh, the perpetual governorship of Ajmer and Gujarat. This document bore an impress in sandalwood dye of Jahan Shah's open hand (*panja*). The Rajah further called attention to his friendly acts towards the new Emperor in previous reigns. His guarantors in these representations were Samsam-ud-daulah and Roshan-ud-daulah, and by their influence his overtures met with acceptance. [Ghulam Ali 43b.]

Ajit Singh, on the contrary, showed no intention of evacuating Ajmer; but had sent on his eldest son, Abhai Singh, to resist the approaching governor. Thereupon orders (2nd Oct., 1721) came from Dihli for Muzaffar Ali Khan not to advance beyond Manoharpur. Here he remained for three months. The demands for pay increased and multiplied; no portion of the balance of the six lakhs promised to him made its appearance. The soldiers in their distress began to sell their arms, their clothes and all that they had. After this they had to starve or plunder: preferring the second alternative, they spread over the country far and wide, bringing in twenty thousand head of cattle. A few villages near Narnol were also plundered. [Shiu Das 77a, Ghulam Ali 44a.]

As Muzaffar Ali Khan could not pay his men, the reins of authority and discipline fell from his hands. The troopers quarrelled over the division of the plundered cattle and even went the length of fighting among themselves. Night came

* 35 m. north of Jaipur town and about 130 m. n. e. of Ajmer.

on, the impounded cattle by a desperate rush made good their escape, and returned to their villages. Convinced that the game was now up, the soldiers recited a *fatihā* for good luck, left the place, and returned to their homes. Muzaffar Ali Khan felt his powerlessness and made no attempt to attack the Rathors; after a time the general of Rajah Jai Singh arrived to his succour, and escorted him to the Kachhwaha capital of Amber, with his few remaining horsemen and infantry. He gave up all he possessed, sent back the robes of honour and the letter of appointment, and assuming the garb of a mendicant retired into private life. [*Ibid.*]

Muzaffar Ali Khan was now superseded by Sayyid Nusrat Yar Khan Barha. Ajit Singh was at Ajmer, and had been reinforced by a Jat contingent sent by Churaman Jat under the command of his son Muhkam Singh. Before the new governor could take the field, Ajit Singh sent his eldest son northwards to attack Narnol and other places in the Agra and Dihli provinces. Abhai Singh had under him twelve thousand camel-riders, armed with matchlocks and bows, two men on each camel. After a rapid march of 140 miles, Narnol was reached. The officer in charge on behalf of Bayazid Khan Mewati, faujdar of the district, fought as well as he was able, but in the end retreated and made his way to his master in Mewat. Narnol was given up to plunder; Alwar, Tijara, and Shahjahanpur were harried; and plunderers appeared even as far north as Sarai Allahwirdi Khan, within sixteen miles of Dihli. [Shiu Das 78.]

At Dihli the usual confusion prevailed. First, Samsam-ud-daulah having uttered many oaths about the sanguinary vengeance he would take, received orders to march; his tents were sent out and elaborate preparations began; but he made no further move. Even the Emperor was disgusted with him and showed displeasure, and in consequence Samsam-ud-daulah withdrew from attendance at darbar. Haidar Quli Khan was next called upon; he submitted numerous demands, and the whole of the imperial artillery was placed at his disposal; his tents were then erected outside the city; but he thought better of it and declined to start. Qamar-ud-din Khan

treated an application to him with similar disrespect. At last Nusrat Yar Khan marched, but had not gone far in the direction of Ajmer when news came that Rajah Ajit Singh had evacuated that city and had retired to his own country. [Shiu Das 78b, Ghulam Ali 44a.]

Apparently the cause of this withdrawal on the part of the Rathors was the knowledge that Nizam-ul-mulk had accepted the office of chief minister, had left the Dakhin and was now not far from Dihli. As we have stated, he was formally placed in charge of his office on the 20th Feb. 1722. A month afterwards (21st March) an emissary from the Rathor Rajah, one Khemsi Bhandari (steward), appeared at Court in the company of Nahar Khan, late faujdar of Sambhar. [Shiu Das 83a, Kamwar 251.]

Ajit Singh stated his case in a petition to the Emperor, of which the following is the substance. He begins by reciting his humble submission to the former Emperor Farrukh-siyar at the time when Sayyid Husain Ali Khan was sent against him. Before the Sayyids were deposed from power, he had been appointed governor of Ahmadabad and Ajmer. In the interests of the Empire it was well for someone to take charge ; and while he ruled, he upheld the law and practices of Islam. Then, when victory had crowned the imperial standards, he was dismissed and the province of Ahmadabad given to Haidar Quli Khan. He said nothing but relinquished it. As to Ajmer he was ready to do the same ; but Muzaffar Ali Khan never appeared. Then those who were ill-disposed towards him (Ajit Singh) made use of the attacks at Namol and other towns as proof of his disloyalty. This was an entire mistake ; those attacks were due to a quarrel with the Mewatis. He leaves the case in the Emperor's hands, confident in his justice and being fully convinced that not by one hair-breadth had he departed from the right way. He would either appear at Court or remain in his own country, as might be desired. [Shiu Das 83a.]

In answer to this tardy submission the Emperor's *farman*, after a vague compliment to his loyalty and an equally vague excuse for having taken away the two provinces, proceeded

to state that the Government of Ajmer was for the time being again confided to him ; and, please God, the province of Ahmadabad would also in a short time be restored to him. Presents were forwarded, consisting of special robes, a jewelled turban ornament, a horse and an elephant. The rescript concluded :—"What fear can there be that any single person's petitions or representations would be accepted in respect of his (Ajit Singh's) acts? Let his mind be at rest, recognizing that this well-wisher to God's people (*i.e.*, Muhammad Shah) is occupied with his welfare." [Shiu Das 84b, Kamwar 255.]

The next stage in Ajmer affairs is the appointment on the 8th Dec. 1722 of Nahar Khan to be diwan of that province coupled with the faujdarship of Sambhar. As *diwan* or chief revenue officer, Nahar Khan was put alongside and almost on an equality with the *nazim* or military governor. His position was further strengthened by the conferment of the faujdari of Garh Patili* on his brother, Ruhullah Khan. With these men Khemsi Bhandari, Ajit Singh's agent, set out from Dihli on his return to Ajmer. [Kamwar 257.]

On the 9th February 1723, the report was received at Court that on the 6th January Nahar Khan and his brother, Ruhullah Khan, had been assassinated by Ajit Singh. Under the supposition that the Rajputs were friendly, they had encamped close to them. At dawn their tents were attacked and they were both slain. Hafiz Mahmud Khan, nephew of the faujdar, and his other relations were captured ; twenty-five persons were beheaded ; and in a few moments the whole of the camp and baggage had been plundered and carried off. The few men who had escaped took refuge in the territories of Rajah Jai Singh of Amber, where they were assisted and thence escorted into the imperial territory. [Kamwar 260-261, Tod ii. 87.]

* Mr. Irvine suggests that *Patli* 94 miles s. w. of Dihli, and *Kot*, one mile north-east of the former, probably stand for *Garh Patili* of the Persian text. Tod speaks of the siege and capture of the fort on Bithli hill (modern Taragarh) overlooking Ajmer. [J. Sarkar.]

Forthwith, Sharf-ud-daulah Iradatmand Khan* was selected to head an army against the Rajah. He was promoted to the rank of 7000 (6000 horse), and the *Bakhshis* were directed to place a force of 50,000 horse at his disposal. On the 26th February he received his audience of leave-taking, and four days afterwards he was granted two lakhs of Rupees from the imperial treasury for the pay of his troops. On the 10th March a number of nobles were detailed to accompany him; and on the 4th April express messengers were sent to Rajah Jai Singh, Muhammad Khan Bangash, Rajah Girdhar Bahadur and other great nobles who had been engaged in the Jat campaign, (to which we shall come presently), directing them to place themselves under the orders of Sharf-ud-daulah. A further expedient for the injury of Ajit Singh was the grant on the 5th June 1723 to Rajah Indar Singh Rathor of his former appanage of Nagor. At this time he was in the Dakhin with Nizam-ul-mulk, but his grandson, Man Singh, carried out the ordinary homage done on such occasions. [Kamwar 261-264 Rustam Ali 251b.]

About this time Haidar Quli Khan was on his way back to Dihli from Ahmadabad in disgrace, as will be more fully mentioned in a future section. His presence at Rewari was announced on the 6th April 1723; Roshan-ud-daulah interceded for him, and his misdeeds were pardoned. Khwaja Sad-ud-din, superintendent of escheats, was sent to him with a rescript appointing him to the Government of Ajmer and the faujdarship of Sambhar. In obedience to these orders Haidar Quli Khan turned back and joined the imperial army at Narnol. Thence they marched on towards Ajmer. [Kamwar 263.]

On the 30th May the news was received that before that date Rajah Ajit Singh, who had been posted at the village of Bhanhra, had retired before the imperial forces without offering battle and had gone in the direction of Sambhar. This was followed five days afterwards (4th June) by the report that

* Khwaja Abdullah, entitled Sharf-ud-daulah Iradatmand Kh. Sadiq Tahavvar Jang Bahadur, died 3rd Zul Qada 1143 H. (9th May 1731) aged over 70. He was brother's son and son-in-law of Mulla Iwaz Wajih, who died in 1088 H.

Haidar Quli Khan and the other nobles and rajahs had entered Sambhar, while Rajah Ajit Singh, taking with him his family, had quitted Ajmer and moved off in the direction of Jodhpur. The garrison he had left in Garh Patili was making ready to defend that place. The new imperial governor entered Ajmer on the 8th June 1723, having left as his deputies Agha Qasim at Sambhar and Salabat Afghan at Mahrut. On the 17th June, Garh Patili was invested and one-and-a-half months afterwards (4th Aug. 1723) Haidar Quli Khan sent to Court the keys of that fortress with a report that it had been taken.*

Ajit Singh now thought it time to make terms and sent in to the imperial commander his eldest son, Abhai Singh, with several elephants and a large sum of money. He desired that his own appearance at the Dihli Court might be postponed for the period of one year. Haidar Quli Khan forwarded the Rajah's son and the presents to Court and obtained a favourable reception for his prayer. Abhai Singh was received with all honour, and gifts were conferred upon him; but he was detained at Court. Upon Nizam-ul-mulk's flight to the Dakhin, Haidar Quli Khan was restored to favour and recalled to Court on the 30th Dec., 1724, to fill his former office of *Mir Atash*, being replaced at Ajmer by Sayyid Husain Khan Barha (April 1725). [Kamwar, Rustam Ali 252a.]

SEC. 29.—MURDER OF AJIT SINGH BY HIS SON.

We shall conclude this section with the death of Rajah Ajit Singh. Tod admits that the bards and chroniclers pass over the event with a mere mention, one of them going so far as to leave a blank page at the critical point of his story. But in another part of Tod's book, we have a detailed narrative

* Kamwar 264-266, Tod ii. *Mahrut*, identified with *Marout* of the Rajputana map of 1859 about 10 m. n. of the north bank of the Sambhar lake. Warid (130) says the Rajput garrison of Garh Patili only numbered four hundred, that the place was surrendered after negotiations, and that the garrison marched out with the honours of war, flags flying and drums beating. According to the Rajput account (Tod ii. 87) Taragarh close to Ajmer was also invested in July and held out for four months under the command of Umra Singh.

of the crime.* In any case, that Ajit Singh met a violent death at the hand of his second son, Bakht Singh, is admitted by the Rajputs themselves, and even by their ardent champion Colonel Tod. [Tod i. 698, ii. 88.]

According to their story, Bakht Singh after saying good-night concealed himself in a room adjoining the one in which his parents were sleeping. When all was still he entered their room, seized his father's sword, and plunged it into him. The wife was awakened by feeling her husband's blood on her breast. Bakht Singh escaped. Ajit Singh's body was cremated on the 7th June 1724, when eighty-four wives and concubines sacrificed themselves on his funeral pyre. A dispute about the succession at once arose between the sons on the spot. On the 25th July, 1724, Abhai Singh, then between twenty-one and twenty-two years of age, obtained through the intervention of Samsam-ud-daulah the title of *Rajah Rajeshwar*, with the rank of 7,000 *zat*, (7,000 horse), and was allowed to depart for Jodhpur to take possession of his father's succession. [Tod i. 699, K. K. 974, Khush-hal 1044b.]

The fact of Ajit Singh's murder by his son, Bakht Singh, is not denied by any one ; but a divergence of opinion exists as to the incentives to the deed. Tod's informants told him that Bakht Singh acted at the instigation of his elder brother, Abhai Singh,† then at Dihli and in the power of the Emperor. The murderer's reward was to be the appanage of Nagor and its five hundred and sixty-five townships. To account for Abhai Singh's unholy desire we are told that his ambition had been stirred by the Machiavellian Sayyids, eager to wreak vengeance upon Ajit Singh for his opposition to their dethronement of Farrukh-siyar. Now let us apply some of the simplest critical tests. Can the offered reward be looked on as sufficient

* Tod, i. 699. This passage shows Tod at his weakest as an historian. His fastening of Ajit Singh's murder upon the Sayyids is a gross chronological error. Hardly less absurd is his assertion that Ajit Singh ever refused "sanction to the nefarious schemes of the Sayyids". He was their friend and partisan up to the end.

† Warid 130 assigns the same reason as Tod for the murder. Cf. *M. U.* iii. 758.

to impel Bakht Singh to an act of parricide? He may not have been a very clever man, but he was hardly such a simpleton as to incur the infamy of such an act (1) for the benefit not of himself but of a brother and (2) for the grant of an appange which, by universal Rajput practice, would have been his as a matter of course whenever his father died a natural death. But coming finally to external tests, what is there left of the story? We find that its very foundation vanishes. The assassination of Ajit Singh took place in June 1724; one Sayyid had been assassinated on the 8th October, 1720, and the other, after being defeated in battle and made a prisoner on the 14th November 1720, died in prison on the 11th October, 1722. Obviously, they could not have been in 1724 the instigators of Abhai Singh. Further, it is impossible, after even the most elementary study of the period, to ignore the fact that Ajit Singh, instead of opposing, helped the Sayyids to the utmost in getting rid of Farrukh-siyar. Tod's story is thus a mere legend, which falls to pieces directly it is examined; nor, as he admits, does his usual resource, the rhyming chronicles of the bards, afford him here any countenance. And Tod himself (ii. 113) confesses that "but for that one damning crime, Bakht Singh would have been handed down to posterity as one of the noblest Princes Rajwara ever knew." Conceding the truth of even a part only of this glowing eulogy, is it not more unlikely than ever that such a paladin could have become the miserable tool of an ambitious brother with no greater incentive than the offer of an appanage already his by family custom? Is it not rather to be believed that the father did something which the son felt was an attack on his personal honour?

Although coming from Muhammadan sources, there is another version [Kamwar] of the facts, which, destructive though it is of any respect for the character of the "great Ajit", is much more satisfactory than that put forward by the champion of the Rajputs. It is one that furnishes a sufficient motive for the dreadful deed, and thus satisfies better the conditions of the case. We are told that soon after Ajit Singh had made his peace and returned to Jodhpur, he fell in love with the wife of his middle son Bakht Singh and was guilty of an incest-

tuous intercourse. Overcome with shame and touched in the tenderest point of his honour, Bakht Singh sought his opportunity of revenge. One night when Ajit Singh, drunk and stupefied, was lying fast asleep, his son stabbed him to death. As a contrast to Tod's dithyrambs, we may here give the Muhammadan view of the Rajah's character. "He was exceedingly wanting in good faith, a breaker of his oath, one who had slain unfairly many of his relations and dependants. Among his evil deeds was the abandonment of Farrukh-siyar to his fate, in spite of his relationship through his daughter; nay he took an active part in that Emperor's dethronement. In the end he attained the reward for his misdeeds:

He who sows the seed of evil and hopes for good,
Racks his brain uselessly and imagines a vain thing."

SEC. 30.—RISE OF ALI MUHAMMAD KHAN ROHELA.

The country known by the modern name of Rohilkhand was called by the Hindus Katahr, and up to the end of the first quarter of the 18th century the Muhammadans usually styled it Sambhal-Muradabad. Under them it formed a part of the province of Dihli. It is about 12,000 square miles in extent, taking it as co-extensive with the present Rohilkhand division. It has to the west and south the river Ganges, on the north the strip of land under the Himalayas called the *Tarai* (or marsh land), and on the east the province of Oudh. Its name of Rohilkhand came into use most probably from the Daudzai Pathans who settled in the south-east corner of the tract in the 17th century and founded the important town of Shahjahanpur. Daryai Khan, Diler Khan and Bahadur Khan, chiefs of this clan, were leading generals in the reign of Shah Jahan (1628-1658). *Roh*, meaning "mountainous", is the name given by the Afghans to their native country. Adding to this the Hindi ending *ela*, used to denote a person belonging to a particular group or section, we obtain *Rohela*, a man from the land of Roh; thence is derived Rohil-khand, the division or district inhabited by the Rohelas. [*M. U.* ii. 18, 42; i. 415; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*.]

An Afghan saint, Shaikh Shihab-ud-din Badalzai, was succeeded by his third son, Mahmud Khan, known as Shaikh Muti, who took up his abode at the village of Toru Shahamatpur in Roh. On Mahmud Khan's death his five sons divided his property, and in the share of the youngest son, Shah Alam Khan, was included a slave called Daud. Some time in the reign of Bahadur Shah (1707-1712), this man Daud ran away from his master to seek his fortune in Hindustan. He found his way into Katahr (now known as Rohilkhand).

Between 1712 and 1715 the Rajputs of Katahr took possession of a part of *sarkar* Budaon (in Rohilkhand) and refused to pay revenue to the imperial treasury. One of the principal leaders of these landholders was Mudar Shah of Madhkar and Ajaon in pargana Barsir of sarkar Budaon. On his arrival in the country, Daud had with him two or three men, but he soon increased them to two hundred. With this force he entered the service of the Rajput Mudar Shah. As was usual in those days, the neighbouring zamindars were continually at warfare with each other. Once Daud was sent against the village of Bankauli, in pargana Chaumahla, with which his employer was at feud. Along with the plunder taken on this occasion Daud obtained possession of a Jat boy seven or eight years of age, whom he caused to be circumcised and then adopted under the name of Ali Muhammad Khan.*

After some years Shah Alam Khan, who had once been Daud Khan's master, hearing of his former slave's success, came to visit him in Hindustan. He was kindly received and dismissed with a present. A second time, five or six years afterwards, he again paid a visit to India and urged Daud to return with him to Afghanistan. But Daud, who had obtained possession of Banaholi† and other villages and was at the head of four or five hundred fighting men, protested vigorously against abandoning his position. Shah Alam Khan was forced to set out alone on his return journey. At Dihli he was seized by some horse merchants who were creditors of Daud Khan,

* As this expedition presumably occurred in 1715, Ali Mhd. Kh. must have been born about 1707 or 1708 A.D.

† C. Elliott omits this name. *Matkar*, 13 m. e. of Chandausi [J.S.]

and was only released on his promising to return to Katahr and procure the payment of the debt due to them. As he had promised, he again entreated Daud Khan to leave India. Wearied by these importunities, Daud resolved to have his former master assassinated. While they were both on an expedition against some refractory zamindars, four murderers entered Shah Alam Khan's tent and slew him. Daud Khan tried to obtain the murdered man's property from some merchants at Dihli in whose charge it was, but he declined to part with it, the deceased having left a son at his village of Toru Shahamatpur in the land of Roh, whither they meant to send it. This boy, alleged to have been then four or five years of age, was the well-known Hafiz Rahmat Khan. [*Gulistan-i-Rahmat.*]

About twelve months after the death of Shah Alam Khan, Daud Khan threw up the service of Mudar Shah and entered that of Debi Chand, ruler of Kumaon, by whom he was placed in charge of the forts at the foot of the hills. Soon after, it was determined by the Wazir Qamar-ud-din Khan Itimad-ud-daulah, who held the office of faujdar of Muradabad, to take action against the combined forces of the Rohelas and the hill rajah. It was reported at Dihli that about twenty thousand Afghan horse and foot had collected near Bans Bareli and Sambhal-Muradabad. They interfered with the peasantry and plundered travellers on the highroad and took possession of estates. Some of the zamindars had made terms with them. The imperial administration was practically set aside and the imperial revenue had ceased to be collected. [Shiu Das 79, Rustam Ali's Urdu *Tarikh-i-Rohela*, *Gulistan-i-Rahmat.*]

Azmat-ullah Khan Lakhnavi, the deputy governor under Qamar-ud-din Khan, was ordered to exert himself to suppress these disorders. He obtained the aid of the faujdar of Bareli and their conjoined forces advanced to the attack. The armies met not far from Rudrapur. The Rohelas, confident in their strength, advanced two *kos* and began the fight with musket-ball and arrow. Soon they came to close quarters, and the fight lasted nearly an hour, and both sides lost heavily. Azmat-ullah Khan, after many men had been disabled, dismounted and fought on foot with all his relations round him. The

enemy retreated and when the pursuers caught them up they turned towards the river and fled. But there were no boats: the faujdars had previously caused them to be dispersed. By this victory the province was once more brought under subjection to the imperial authority. This event occurred about December 1721. [Shiu Das 79a, *Ġulistan-i-Rahmat*.]

Daud Khan is supposed to have been in collusion with the imperialists and to have deserted the Rajah in the field. After the defeat Daud Khan attempted to seize the Rajah's person as a hostage for the recovery of the arrears due to himself and his troops. The attempt was foiled by the fidelity of the hillmen. The Rajah went off to Kakar Dahra; and thence sent to the Rohela general an invitation to attend and receive his pay and arrears. Daud Khan, suspecting no treachery, obeyed this order; thereupon the Rajah ordered him to be seized, and he with all his companions was put to death. The chief surviving leaders, Malik Shadi Khan and Sadar Khan Kamalzai, and Bakhshi Sardar Khan, placed his adopted son, Ali Muhammad Khan, at the head of his force, four to five hundred in number, which was then taken into the service of the faujdar, Shaikh Azmat-ullah Khan, at Muradabad.

SEC. 31.—THE JATS.

We turn now to another quarter in which troubles had arisen. Our last mention of the Jats was in April and May 1718, near the end of Farrukh-siyar's reign. Rajah Jai Singh of Amber had been foiled in his attempt to crush Churaman, and a peace more or less favourable to the latter chief had been patched up through the good offices of the Sayyids' uncle, Sayyid Khan Jahan. This failure still rankled in the breast of Jai Singh, who had returned to the Dihli Court (1st May 1721), after the defeat and imprisonment of Sayyid Abdullah Khan. Nor, in the interval of three years which had elapsed, had further provocation been wanting on the part of Churaman. On the death of Sayyid Husain Ali Khan he had temporarily declared himself on the side of the Emperor, but, on the day of battle with Sayyid Abdullah Khan, had gone over to the ex-Wazir and plundered the imperial baggage. Furthermore

he had done his best to hinder Saadat Khan on his march to join the army proceeding against Ajit Singh of Jodhpur ; and had sent men to the aid of the Bundelas in their opposition to Diler Khan, the lieutenant of Muhammad Khan Bangash, governor of Allahabad.

Saadat Khan, as we have said, had been appointed to the province of Agra, to which he sent Nilkanth Nagar as his deputy. One of his first injunctions to this man was to proceed against the Jats and punish them for their various misdeeds. Accordingly he took up a position near Fathpur Sikri with an army of 10,000 horse besides infantry. On the 26th Sept. 1721 he went against one of the villages in the Jat territory, seized many of the inhabitants and all their cattle. As Nilkanth was on his return march, Muhkam Singh, eldest son of Churaman, came up with him at the head of five to six thousand men and offered battle. In the fight Nilkanth was hit by a bullet and fell down dead in his *howda* ; as many of his men as were able took to flight ; the rest were made prisoners and gave up their arms and horses to the Jats. All the deputy governor's elephants and property fell into Muhkam Singh's hands. The captives were released upon each man paying ransom according to his status. [Shiu Das 79b, *Siwanih*, *Siyar* text 73, Ghulam Ali 46a.]

Saadat Khan was ordered to depart at once from Court and take charge in person of his Government. On arriving at Agra he was joined by Badan Singh Jat, brother's son of Churaman. It seems that the latter had recently died and a dispute as to the succession had broken out between the cousins. Saadat Khan thought it wise to conciliate the fugitive, giving him robes of honour and an elephant and entering into an alliance with him. But Saadat Khan in spite of all his efforts made no impression on the Jats, the excuse he offered being the obstacles presented by the thickly growing trees and the strength of their forts. As he was deemed unequal to his task, his removal was determined upon and the Government was given to Rajah Jai Singh Kachhwaha.*

* Shiu Das 80a, K. K. 944, *M. U.* i. 545. Ghulam Ali (46a) says Saadat Khan was already in Oudh and wanted to return thence to Agra.

About this time, as we just said, Churaman the Jat chief had died ; this event happened in Zul Hijja 1133 (Sept.—Oct. 1721). As one story goes, there was one of his relations, a wealthy man, who died childless. The brethren sent for Muhkam, the eldest son of Churaman, and made him head of the deceased's zamindari and gave over to him all the deceased's goods. Zul Karan, the second son of Churaman, said to his brother "Give me too a share in those goods and admit me as a partner." A verbal dispute followed and Muhkam made ready to resist by force. Zul Karan determined to have the quarrel out, gathered men together, and attacked his brother. The elders of the place sent word to Churaman that his sons were fighting, which was not well ; it were better that he should adjust the dispute.

Churaman spoke to Muhkam. The son replied to his father by abusive language, and showed himself ready to fight his father as well as his brother. Churaman lost his temper and from chagrin swallowed a dose of deadly poison which he always carried upon him, and going to an orchard in that village lay down and gave up the ghost. After a long time had elapsed, men were sent to search for him and found his dead body.*

Jai Singh, the new governor of Agra, had undertaken to lead an army against the Jat head-quarters which were still at Thun. On the 19th April 1722, a number of nobles and Rajahs

But Samsam-ud-daulah interfered and the Agra Government was taken from him.

* Shiu Das 78, Chulam Ali 46b, *Siyar* trans. i. 259.

Compare the story in *Siyar* and Khizr Khan which agree—one of them has copied from the other or both use a common source. I am obliged to throw doubt on Khizr Khan (although he was supposed to be on the spot) because he makes Churaman die *after* Jai Singh had invested Thun. Shiu Das, Mirza Muhammad and Khafi Khan, on the whole authorities of greater weight, coincide in saying that the defence against Jai Singh was conducted by the sons of Churaman and not by that leader himself.

T-i-Mhdi (1133); "Churaman Jat, an unruly zamindar of position in the Akbarabad province, died in Zul Hijja in the fighting between his sons Tham Singh and Muhkam Singh. He went to reconcile them and was killed."

were named to serve under him, the best known of whom were Rajah Girdhar Bahadur Nagar and Maharao Arjun Singh of Orchha. An army of 14,000 to 15,000 horsemen was assembled, artillery and ammunition were provided, and a grant of two lakhs of Rupees made from the imperial treasury. But on the 14th July Jai Singh was still at Court, and still later, on the 29th August, renewed injunctions to start were issued to the Rajah and his second-in-command Muzaffar Khan. The *Bakhshis* were directed to make up his army to fifty thousand horsemen. [Kamwar 251, K. K. 945.]

Finally, on the 1st Sept. 1722 Rajah Jai Singh Sawai received his formal appointment to Agra in open darbar and was invested in the usual way. More nobles were granted robes of honour and posted to serve under him, while Sayyid Muzaffar Ali Khan was appointed deputy governor of Agra. At this time Saadat Khan, the displaced governor of that province, reached the capital. He was refused an audience and told to proceed direct to Oudh, the robes of investiture for it and for the faujdari of Gorakhpur being sent to him by a messenger. His predecessor in Oudh, Rajah Girdhar Bahadur Nagar, was transferred to Malwa (9 Sept. 1722). [Kamwar 254, *Siwanih*.]

On the 25th October reports were received at Court that the sons of Churaman Jat had taken refuge in their fort of Thun, round which daily skirmishes were taking place. The Rajah commenced by cutting down the jungle, then erected his batteries. From time to time the Jats came out and taking shelter among the trees fell upon the imperial camp at night. Many men were slain on both sides. Matters went on thus for about one-and-a-half months, and one or two of the forts were beginning to feel distressed. Then Badan Singh, who once before had shown ill-will to his cousins, left their side and came over to the Rajah. He pointed out the weak places of the defenders, and two of their forts were taken. The besieged then lost heart. At midnight Muhkam set fire to the houses, exploded his powder magazines, and took to flight carrying as much cash, jewellery and portable property as he could. On the 18th November

the imperialists took possession of Thun, and the treasures amassed by Churaman were sought for; house after house was dug up, but all in vain. No treasure was discovered. Muhkam Singh took refuge with Rajah Ajit Singh of Jodhpur, and although he survived for many years was never able to regain his ancestral domains. He was alive in 1167 H., the 6th year of Ahmad Shah, for he turned up at Dihli on the 11th Safar of that year (10 Dec. 1753) and tried through Aqibat Mahmud Khan, Imad-ul-mulk's chief adviser, to get back the Raj.* In reward for his services Rajah Jai Singh received on the 12th June 1723 the titles of *Rajah-i-Rajeshwar*, *Shri Rajadhiraj*, *Maharaj* Jai Singh Sawai. Already on the 1st May 1721 he had been given the title of *Sar-amad-i-Rajahae*, and the chiefship of the Jats remained with Badan Singh. [K. K. 945; *Siyar* trans. i. 259; Kamwar 249, 265.]

SEC. 32.—MARRIAGE OF MUHAMMAD SHAH AND HIS DAILY LIFE.

One of the first matters to be seen to after the victory over the Sayyids and the completion of the consequent rejoicings was the marriage of the young Emperor to the daughter of his predecessor, Farrukh-siyar, her title being after marriage *Malika-uz-zamani*. On the 14th Safar 1134 H. (3 Dec. 1721) the *sachaq* or bridegroom's gifts were sent to the bride's house. Samsam-ud-daulah, who was especially active in the matter, received rich gifts and the eunuchs, such as Khwaja Khawas Khan, Mahaldar Khan Nazir, and Hafiz Jawahir Khan, were rewarded. On the 17th (6 Dec. 1721) at nightfall the Emperor proceeded in state to the chaplet room. Then the great nobles, such as the Samsam-ud-daulah (who was given a prominent part as the chief arranger of the union with this Princess) and the Wazir and Haidar Quli Khan and Roshan-ud-daulah, were employed to fix upon the amount of dower. It was settled at fifty lakhs of Rupees. Then at the auspicious moment the marriage ceremony was performed by Mulla Sadullah (entitled Musawi Khan) and Himmat Khan. Offerings of a lakh of Rupees each were made to Samsam-ud-

* *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah* (Br. Mus. Or. 2005), 94b.

daulah, Qamar-ud-din Khan, Abdus-samad Khan Diler Jang, Haidar Quli Khan, Khan Khanan Mir Jumla, Zafar Khan (Roshan-ud-daulah), Rajah Jai Singh, and Rajah Girdhar Bahadur. The evening ended with singing and dancing, illuminations and fireworks. Customs peculiar to the people of Hindustan, such as that called *henna-bandi* and others, were not performed publicly, in order not to clash with the prescription of the holy law. Valuable presents were conferred on the Emperor's mother Qudsiya-ul-alqab Hazrat Begam and other women of the harem. [K. K. 937, *Sahifa-i-iqbal* 465.]

In this earlier part of his reign, although Muhammad Shah was only nineteen years of age, we hear of his being already in ill-health. On the 7th Zul Hijja (28th Sept. 1721) he was under treatment for some complaint by three physicians, one of whom was the Frenchman Monsieur Martin. At this period the Emperor had several children born to him, none of whom survived. It was not until Dec. 1727 that a son destined to grow up was born. This boy became the Emperor's successor under the title of Ahmad Shah. For some years Muhammad Shah seems to have led a comparatively active life, and continued like his predecessor to make hunting expeditions at short intervals. Thus, for instance, on the 26th Feb. 1722, he went out to the preserve (*ramna*) of Shakkarpur. Again, on the 13th April of the same year he visited the preserve at Tal Katora ; and that at Badli, in the other direction from Dihli, on the 16th August. Another and somewhat larger expedition took place from the 18th Jan. to 7th Feb. 1723, in which the stages were Agharabad, Sarai Narela, Siyubi [=Sonipat], Sarai Kanwar [=Ganaur], Panipat (in the garden of Lutf-ullah Khan), Sarai Sambhalka, Sarai Kanwar [i.e., Ganaur] again, Sonipat, Narela and Agharabad once more, and finally Tal Katora near the Qutb. On this tour the shrines of the Panipat saints were visited. [Shiu Das 79b, Kamwar, *Siyar*, Ghulam Ali.]

A more important expedition of this sort was made after a tiger. On the 17th Sept. 1723, the Emperor went on a visit to the shrines at the Qutb, and pitched his camp at the foot of the low hills there. Four days afterwards Mutaqad-ud-

daulah Allahwirdi Khan, the head huntsman, reported that two tigers with two cubs had been marked down in a plain covered with scrub. The kind of net known as a *yawar* or *bawar* with other hunting necessities was ordered to be made ready. On the 22nd the advance tents were sent on to the village of Khaoli. Two days later they marched from the camp near the Qutb, and halted at Bijwasan village. Next day they reached Dholkot, the day after they were at Qasba Patodhi. The tiger hunt took place on the 29th. When they had arrived near the *yawar* or net the Emperor directed that the following nobles should enter it: the Wazir (Nizam-ul-mulk), the Amir-ul-umara (Samsam-ud-daulah), Ghazi-ud-din Khan (the Wazir's eldest son), Sarbuland Khan Mir Mushrif, and the three eunuchs Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan, Jawahir Khan and Itibar Khan. Some followers of these nobles, men famed for their bravery, were ordered to arm themselves and walk in front of the elephant on which the Emperor was seated. First of all, the Emperor himself shot dead the larger tiger; then four cubs were killed with sword and dagger and matchlock by the nobles and their retainers, of whom some fifteen were wounded. The next day the return march was made to Dholkot, and the day after the Emperor reached once more the palace at Dihli. [Kamwar 266, 259; *Ahwal* 183a for a plot against Nizam.]

SEC. 33.—MUHAMMAD SHAH AS AN INDIAN SOLOMON.

As a curious instance of then prevailing ideas of justice we introduce here a case which cropped up in Rajab 1137 H. (March-April 1725). Three or four years before one Ramji, a clerk in the imperial offices, had become a Muhammadan, but his wife and daughter refused to follow him. He now laid a complaint before the chief Qazi Mustafid Khan, to the effect that when he changed his religion his daughter was a minor and therefore *ipso facto* became a Muhammadan without having any choice in the matter. On being sent for, the girl denied everything and was sent to prison while enquiries were made. In the end she admitted that the signs of puberty had appeared three months after her father's conversion. There-

upon the chief *Qazi* and the expounders of the law recorded an opinion that the girl was a Muhammadan. The Hindus of the Urdu Bazar gathered in a crowd below the Emperor's lattice window and shouted for redress. The dispute was committed to Mir Jumla, then *Sadar-us-sadur*, or chief almoner, and he opened an enquiry at the wooden mosque within the palace. The *Sadar* held that the menses are not the only signs of puberty; although one *mufti* named Daulat grew hot and angry and contested his finding. By the Emperor's order the girl was made over for safe custody to Jiwan Das, a Hindu cloth-seller, in case the *Qazi* might refuse to produce her.

This result was far from pleasing to the Muhammadans. Next day, a Friday, fifty or sixty thousand of them assembled at the great mosque usually known as the World's Wonder (*Jahan-numa*). With shouts and cries they hindered the recital of the *khutba* or prayer for the Emperor's welfare, next they seized two or three Hindus and forcibly circumcised them, and a great riot was on the point of commencing. Roshan-ud-daulah the third *Bakhshi* was sent to bring the chief *Qazi* and the *muftis*. To pacify them Muhammad Shah ordered the girl to be imprisoned, and two or three days after she was buried according to Muhammadan rites. "To make a long story short, she was killed, otherwise there would have been many headaches and much vexation." The poll-tax on unbelievers was re-instituted as a sop to the Muhammadans; but in a week the chief *Qazi* was removed and other *muftis* appointed. The life of the poor young girl was as nothing compared to the ease and comfort of the Emperor and his advisers! [Kamwar, Rustam Ali 245a differs.]

SEC. 34.—NIZAM-UL-MULK'S CAMPAIGN IN GUJARAT AND MALWA.

In the first few months after the defeat of Sayyid Abdullah Khan, before the arrival of Nizam-ul-mulk at Dihli and his appointment as chief minister, Haidar Quli Khan, head of the artillery, had been in the highest favour. Probably he entertained hopes of succeeding to the chief place when it fell vacant upon the death of Muhammad Amin Khan. At any

rate, the appointment of Nizam-ul-mulk seems to have been far from pleasing to this noble, and he set to work to counteract the measures of the new minister so far as lay in his power. A hint was conveyed by the new Wazir to Muhammad Shah, who spoke to Haidar Quli Khan. The latter was highly incensed, but thought it better to give way. He therefore obtained an order to take over charge in person of the Government of Gujarat, which had been conferred on him a year or so before this time. He quitted Dihli on the 1st April 1722, leaving Khan Zaman Mewati as his substitute in the office of *Mir Atash* or head of the artillery. [Warid 101, K. K. 940, Ghulam Ali 45a, Kamwar 251.]

When he had reached his head-quarters at Ahmadabad, where he arrived a little before 28th June 1722, Haidar Quli Khan commenced by assuming possession of those lands of which the revenue had been assigned to various nobles and officers or to Court favourites. Complaint was made to the Emperor and an order was sent to the governor forbidding his interference with these jagir lands. To this no attention was paid by him until his own assignments, which were upon lands not far from Dihli, were resumed in retaliation for those he had appropriated in opposition to orders. [K. K. 940, Kamwar 251.]

Other acts of presumption were committed by him. He granted fringed *palkis* to some of the officers in his subah, an attribute of royalty or of the very highest nobility, just as if he were an independent ruler. From the port of Surat, which was within his province, he summoned a number of Arabs, 'unbelieving pedlars', Ethiopians and Franks, and took them into his service on high rates of pay. His conduct showed in other ways an intention of declaring his independence. He heard complaints seated in audience, and when he rode out caused the streets to be cleared and guarded as was done for the Emperor. From many sources, official and private, rash words of his were reported, which showed an intention to throw off the imperial authority. [Warid 8.]

At length Nizam-ul-mulk was able to overcome Muhammad Shah's reluctance to interfere with a favourite officer; and on

the 24th Oct. 1722 the province of Gujarat was taken from Haidar Quli Khan and conferred on Nizam-ul-mulk, either in his own name or in that of his eldest son, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang. The audience of leave-taking was given on the 11th Nov. 1722, and Ghazi-ud-din Khan was left at Court as his father's deputy. With the Wazir went his second son Ahmad Khan and the nobles, nearly all of them his relations or connections by marriage, Azim-ullah Khan, Mutawassil Khan, Shukr-ullah Khan, Fathyab Khan, Hirz-ullah Khan, Hifz-ullah Khan and Talib Muhi-ud-din Khan. The Nawab was at Mathura on the 25th Nov. He passed through Agra, where he received some equivocal excuses by letter from Haidar Quli Khan. The camp was at Sarangpur in Malwa on the 9th January 1723, at Dhar on the 13th Feb. 1723, and on the 16th of that month he marched towards Ahmadabad. [K. K. 946, Kamwar 256—261, Ghulam Ali 45a.]

Meanwhile Haidar Quli Khan looked about him for means of resistance. His son, Kazim Khan, was sent off to Dihli to work upon the Emperor's mind; he was received in audience there on the 26th Feb. 1723, Nawab Roshan-ud-daulah being his introducer. Next Haidar Quli Khan turned to the nobles of the province, whose favour he had tried to secure by gifts of money and honours. One more eagerly than another they declined to join him in resistance, on the plea that it was not in a private quarrel, but in opposition to the sovereign that he wanted their assistance. He had been dismissed from his office, and they were no longer under his orders. [Warid 10, Kamwar 261, *Siyar* text 74.]

On learning this determination of the nobles, which was entirely contrary to what he had hoped, that very same day Haidar Quli Khan began to feign madness* and absolutely declined to eat. His physicians, it is said, resorted to an artifice. One of them rushed into his presence crying out that an order had arrived direct from Nizam-ul-mulk that if Haidar Quli Khan did not take his food he was to be bound and sent

* Rustam Ali (251 a) says that he acted thus on the advice of his *diwan* Rajah Raghunath.

to him (N-ul-m). As soon as he heard this, Haidar Quli Khan called hurriedly for food. His chief employes Raghunath Das and others, finding him in this state, constituted Rustam Ali Khan his *locum tenens*, and carried him off towards Dihli. They were so afraid of being followed, that they covered two sometimes three stages a day, passing through Udepur. But Nizam-ul-mulk did not trouble himself and gave no orders to pursue him. As we have already mentioned, the Emperor sent reassuring messages to the fugitive when he was at Rewari (6th April 1723) not far from Dihli, and gave him a new command against Rajah Ajit Singh then at Ajmer. Upon this the madness left him as suddenly as it had fallen upon him. [Rustam Ali 250b, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*.]

Nizam-ul-mulk marched from Dhar on the 16th Feb. 1723. By this time Haidar Quli Khan appears to have quitted Ahmadabad; for it was reported to the Emperor on the 11th March, that on the 5th March 1723 he was about 32 miles on the Dihli side of Udepur, and that Maharana Sangram Singh had sent him several trays of food and sweetmeats. On the 28th Feb. Nizam-ul-mulk had been joined at his camp near Jhalod by a force of Dakhin troops under Iwaz Khan, Abdurrahim Khan, Reayat Khan, and some of the Rajahs of that region. Iwaz Khan and the other Mughal chiefs were sent back to the Dakhin; and the Wazir's uncle Hamid Khan, nicknamed the Jangla Shahzada, was appointed as deputy governor in charge of the Ahmadabad Gujarat province. [Kamwar 261, *Mirat*, K. K. 947.]

Nizam-ul-mulk now turned back to Malwa, where he had an old score to settle with Dost Muhammad Khan of Bhopal. Some years before (1720), this man had joined the force under Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan sent by the Sayyid brothers to arrest Nizam-ul-mulk. He had escaped in safety from the field where so many were slain; but the time had now come to wreak vengeance upon him. By the 23rd March 1723 the Wazir was again in Malwa; and a force was despatched against Dost Muhammad Khan who had taken refuge in his fort of Bhopalgarh, where some fighting between the two sides occurred. Finally, it was reported to the Court on the 24th

May 1723 that the small fort of Islamgarh had been taken. Yar Muhammad Khan had been sent in by his father to plead excuses and make due submission; Nizam-ul-mulk was satisfied by these overtures, and terms were arranged. At Sironj, on the 25th May 1723, the Wazir appointed his second cousin Azim-ullah Khan, son of Reayat Khan, to be deputy governor of Malwa, while Chandar Bans, son of Rao (Khan or Jan) Chand, was made commandant of Islamgarh. The return march to Dihli was then commenced, the artillery and heavy baggage being left behind at Sironj. On the 7th June 1723 the Wazir was at Narwar. On the 2nd July he had arrived at Khizrabad, a mile or two south of the capital, when Samsam-ud-daulah was sent out to escort him to Court. The next day he was received in audience, his younger son, Ahmad Khan, accompanying him. [Rustam Ali 251b, Kamwar 263-265, Warid 12.]

SEC. 35.—NIZAM-UL-MULK ABANDONS THE WAZARAT AND RETURNS TO THE DAKHIN.

As soon as he had returned to Dihli (3rd July 1723), Nizam-ul-mulk resumed his efforts to restore some sort of order into public affairs. On every hand he found those efforts foiled. The Emperor's favourite Koki and her helpers, the eunuch Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan and Zafar Khan Roshan-ud-daulah, interfered in every measure and secured large payments for every appointment. Remonstrances, even when addressed direct to the Emperor himself, were unavailing; as one writer exclaims in bitterness of heart: "What good was there in the Emperor sitting like a woman secluded within four walls? If sovereigns take to women's habits and entangle themselves in their tresses, what can a good Muhammadan do, but migrate to the Holy Places, or if for that journey funds be wanting, take a dose of poison and leave this for another world?" [Ahwal 181 and 196a.] In addition there was the continuous hostility of Samsam-ud-daulah, who headed a party of his own, principally made up of Hindustanis and the Hindu rajahs. Nizam-ul-mulk's efforts were chiefly directed to the abolition of the recent practice of farming out the revenues and to the

stopping of bribe-taking under the cover of advance-payments and of offerings upon appointment to office. He also wished to reduce the extent of assigned lands (*jagirs*) and to give those which were difficult of management to the more powerful nobles and those yielding an income easily to the smaller men. These things were most sensible and praiseworthy. A third proposal, an attempt to restore the poll-tax, cannot be equally approved; it was due either to Muhammadan bigotry, or to a blind copying of Aurangzeb's action. The historian Khafi Khan also mentions a wild project put forward by the Wazir for the re-conquest of Iran on behalf of the Safawi dynasty, recently dethroned by the Ghilzai chief of Qandahar, Muahmmad Husain, son of Mir Wais, on the ground of showing gratitude for the hospitality once afforded to Humayun. As the news of this event had recently [10th March] been brought to Dihli, there may have been some vague talk of this sort, though such a proposal is rather inconsistent with the Wazir's well-known caution. [K. K. 947, Ghulam Ali 45a.]

Whatever the minister did or proposed was misrepresented until doubt and suspicion were aroused in the mind of Muhammad Shah. The attempt to restore a proper procedure was resented by those who profited by the confusion, for, as the proverb says, "Man is a devil to man." The Emperor himself was young and frivolous, surrounded by men who laughed and joked with him and pandered to his ignobler tastes. The advice of these private friends was more listened to than the words of the minister, and as one writer [Khush-hal Chand] says, "Every one was a chief minister or an administrator of the revenues." One of the ideas adopted by Muhammad Shah from his confidants was that Nizam-ul-mulk intended to depose him and replace Prince Ibrahim upon the throne. They said to him that vigilance was imperative if this Nizam was not to gain the upper hand, when he would act with the harshness which Muhammad Amin Khan had displayed in his day of power. The same false friends visited Nizam-ul-mulk and said to him that Muhammad Shah had not a grain of sense, was a worthless fornicator, and unworthy of the throne. Why was he not replaced by Prince Ibrahim?

Thus Emperor and minister grew suspicious of each other, just as had been the case between Farrukh-siyar and Abdullah Khan. From time to time Nizam-ul-mulk refused to attend audience; and when he did attend, he took every precaution against violence. The deposition of the Emperor, although Nizam-ul-mulk never dreamt of it, would have been easy enough as the minister had the Dakhini officers and all the Mughals (except Qamar-ud-din Khan) at his beck and call. [K. K. 948-49; *Ahwal* 182b-183a.]

SEC. 36.—STORY OF KHANNA.

The extent of the disorders caused by this want of confidence may be gauged from an incident belonging to this time. There was a beef-butcher named Khanna, sometimes called Khan Muhammad, in the employ of Koka Khan, the Emperor's foster-brother. This man was secretly the head of a gang of robbers, who plundered the houses of many officials and rich traders, some men being killed and others wounded by the thieves. Bitter complaints were made to the Emperor, and he issued orders to the head of the police. The kotwal reported that Khanna's gang was at the bottom of all these outrages. But Khanna being protected by Koka Khan and himself a powerful man, a great fighter and wrestler, the kotwal was afraid to seize him.

One day when Khanna had come into the palace in the train of Koka Khan, the Emperor ordered his arrest. Khanna tried to escape. The palace guards surrounded him, threw stones and bricks at him and finally captured him alive. His Majesty sent him in custody a prisoner to the police office (*chabutra*). When the kotwal had well beaten him and subjected him to torture, all the stolen property and twenty thousand Rupees were recovered from his house.

Muhammad Ghaus, named by Khanna as one of his abettors, was next arrested; he was an officer in the imperial service with a *mansab* of 500 and a good *jagir*. He admitted the accusation and gave the trace of much stolen property. In the end, a large number of well-placed men who had engaged in theft and protection of thieves were unmasked and arrested.

When Khanna saw that his life was at stake, he resolved to take advantage of the young Emperor's love for spectacle. He sent word through his jailor that he was willing to fight with a tiger ; if it killed him, well and good, if he killed it, he should be set at liberty. The Emperor approved the proposal and an enclosure was prepared under the lattice window (*jharokā*) of the palace, overlooking the Jamuna sands. Hearing of the affair Nizam-ul-mulk, who looked on it as destroying God's image, protested that much money had still to be traced and it was not advisable to kill the prisoner until the enquiry had been completed. In this way the fight with the tiger was postponed and never took place. [Shiu Das, 85b-86b.]

SEC. 37.—NIZAM-UL-MULK CEASES TO STRUGGLE.

After this digression let us return to the position of Nizam-ul-mulk as chief minister. During this time Qamar-ud-din Khan, although so nearly related to the minister, stood aloof ; partly, it is said, by reason of his excessive indulgence in drinking, which disabled him from taking any effective part in public business. The seven thousand Mughals under his command thus remained neutral. Public business was dealt with as if it were a child's toy ; "revenue business was disposed of by the heads of the army, and night watchmen decided cases instead of the Qazi." The Emperor was immersed in pleasure, the nobles drunk with envy, the servants of the State starving. The secret jealousy among the nobles round the Emperor sometimes showed itself openly. Muzaffar Khan, brother of Samsam-ud-daulah, was one of the Emperor's boon companions. Opposed to him and his brother were the bosom friends Burhan-ul-mulk Saadat Khan and Nawab Roshan-ud-daulah. Among Muzaffar Khan's officials was a Persian from Naishapur, the native place of Saadat Khan. This man's accounts fell into disorder and the money was not paid. One day in open audience Saadat Khan asked Muzaffar Khan to release the man on his security. Muzaffar Khan gave a sharp answer. Saadat Khan somewhat disconcerted persisted in his offer. The other man grew still hotter and placed his hand on the hilt of the sword of state then in his charge. Saadat Khan made as if to

strike him on the head with the fan he was holding. Roshan-ud-daulah remonstrated, and the officials dragged them apart. Issuing from the hall Muzaffar Khan ordered his matchlockmen and gunners to make ready. Roshan-ud-daulah, however, with the Emperor's permission sent for ten thousand Afghans in his employ and prevented the outbreak. Next morning Samsam-ud-daulah made complaint to Muhammad Shah and declared his intention of attacking Burhan-ul-mulk. He made many boasts of what he would do to Roshan-ud-daulah, and that before a hair of Burhan-ul-mulk's head was touched they would need to kill him and fifty thousand Afghans. As Samsam-ud-daulah persisted, Muhammad Bangash at the request of Roshan-ud-daulah joined the latter's troops and artillery. Qamar-ud-din Khan then intervened and advised Samsam-ud-daulah to desist. But the two disputants were sent away from Court for a time, Saadat Khan to Oudh and Muzaffar Khan to Ajmer. By the beginning of 1136 H. (October 1723) matters seemed to have reached a crisis, and as an open sign of his discontent the Wazir ceased to appear at Court. He sent in his resignation; but being prudent and slow in coming to decisive action, he took no further steps, though he had already, it was believed, formed the project of returning to the Dakhin. Each side thought this solution would be of favourable result to its interests. The Emperor's friends thought that, if Nizam-ul-mulk were conciliated and allowed to leave the Court, they could easily destroy him. On the other hand Nizam-ul-mulk, who had been sounded as to relinquishing the Dakhin in favour nominally of the infant Prince lately born, felt that his position there could not be long maintained unless he was present himself, although he could hardly tell the Emperor that he considered the Dakhin his own and it ought to be left with him, he having gained it by the strength of his own right arm. Messages were interchanged, a truce was entered into, and on the 31st October 1723 Nizam-ul-mulk reappeared at the imperial audience. [*Siyar*, i. 267; Ghulam Ali's *Muqad*, 45b-49a; *Ahwal* 184a-185b; Khush-hal 1042a.]

A little more than a month after this apparent reconciliation, Nizam-ul-mulk made the pretext that in the cold season

his health suffered from the climate of Dihli, and asked for leave to proceed on a hunting excursion to his *jagirs* in Sambhal and Muradabad. His audience of leave-taking was given on the 17th December 1723, and on the 22nd he crossed the Jamuna and encamped near the river bank. Here the Emperor paid him a visit, and he lingered in the vicinity in the hope of some terms being arranged through the good offices of the Rajah Gujar Mal Saksena, *diwan* of the *Khalsa*. [Kamwar 267, K. K. 949, Ghulam Ali 49a, Khush-hal 1043a, *Ahwal* 184a.]

There was still a chance that Muhammad Shah might be induced to alter his tactics, and he was approached in the interests of Nizam-ul-mulk by one of the eunuchs, Khoja Munis. Rajah Gujar Mal also urged the same views upon the Emperor, and seemed likely to succeed. These hopes were dashed to the ground by the sudden death of the Rajah on the 26th December 1723. He had prepared a written statement of the Wazir's demands and hoped to obtain on it the signature of the Emperor. The chief proposition was that the rule of farming out the taxes, introduced in Farrukh-siyar's reign by the "baniya" that is, Ratan Chand, should be entirely abolished. As he was reading out his paper to the Emperor in the audience-hall, he was suddenly seized with a fit. Qamar-uddin Khan threw the shawl from his own shoulders over him, he was carried to his *palki* and taken home. He died as soon as he reached his house. When Nizam-ul-mulk heard of this event, after some words of praise of the deceased, he gave up all further thought of negotiations and started on his journey to Muradabad. His eldest son Ghazi-ud-din Khan was made deputy-Wazir on the 6th January 1724. [Khush-hal 1043a.]

On the 12th Feb. Nizam-ul-mulk was reported to be at Anupshahar with the intention of marching to Agra. The pretext of his being still a friend of the Court was kept up by the despatch of presents to him through his agent at Dihli on the 18th Feb., and he sent to Court many lengthy petitions to the effect that he would return straight to Dihli from Agra. Then he submitted a report that as the Mahrattas had invaded Malwa and Gujarat, provinces under his and his son's charge, he must

march southwards to expel them. He was then at Soron on the Ganges, whence passing through Jalesar and Agra by rapid marching he reached Narwar and then Ujjain in Malwa. It was not till his army had passed Dholpur, south of Agra, crossed the Chambal and gone on to Gwalियar that the common soldiers knew their ultimate destination ; but a few had suspected it from the first as the Wazir had adopted the precaution of bringing the whole of his family with him when he left Dihli. [*Ahwal* 185a.] Before his arrival at Ujjain the Mahrattas had recrossed the Narmada river. He then went into Dost Muhammad Khan's country and camped at Sihor near Sironj. But these pretences were soon abandoned, and Nizam-ul-mulk made all haste for the Dakhin. He arrived at Burhanpur in Khandesh during Ramzan (May-June) and at Aurangabad, the Dakhin capital, by the month of Zul Qada (July-August, 1724.) [Kamwar 268 : K. K. 949-952 ; *Burhan* 169a ; *M. U.* iii. 739.]

SEC. 37.—ATTEMPT TO SUPERSEDE NIZAM-UL-MULK IN THE DAKHIN.

Meanwhile, the enemies of Nizam-ul-mulk at the Dihli Court had not been idle. On the 3rd Feb. 1724, before the Wazir had fully shown his hand, a *farman* was handed to Abdul-Mabud Khan, son of Mubariz Khan, governor of Haidarabad, appointing his father to the whole Dakhin as deputy for the infant Prince Shahryar Shah, and not long after, upon the death of this infant, the appointment was confirmed to Mubariz Khan in his own name. A grant of five lakhs was made from the imperial treasury and several lakhs from the revenues of the Dakhin, to enable him to raise a sufficient army. Although he and Nizam-ul-mulk were of the same country by origin, it was believed that greed of place and power would be sufficient to overcome any reluctance due to this fact. Other orders were despatched to Iwaz Khan (deputy of Nizam-ul-mulk), Bahadur Khan, Abdun-nabi Khan, Abdulghaffar Khan, Amin Khan, Saadat-ullah Khan, Rajah Sahu (head of the Mahrattas), and Rao Rambha, to join Mubariz Khan and afford him every aid in their power. After nearly five months, on the 22nd July 1724, Ghazi-ud-din Khan,

deputy Wazir, was openly set aside and Qamar-ud-din Khan Itimad-ud-daulah, son of Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, was made chief minister. [Kamwar 267, Warid 13-14, Khush-hal 1044a.]

Mubariz Khan, the then governor of Haidarabad, who was thus set up as a rival to Nizam-ul-mulk, was a native of Balkh, Khwaja Muhammad by name. In 1137 H. (1724) he was a little over sixty years of age. His mother had brought him to Hindustan when he was a boy. After a time he obtained imperial employ in various offices at the Court; and finally secured his position by marrying a daughter of Inayat-ullah Khan Kashmiri, a man high in Alamgir's favour. He was made *Bakhshi* to Alamgir's youngest son Kam Bakhsh, and afterwards faujdar of Sangamner. The first title given him was that of Amanat Khan; and in the 47th year of Alamgir (1114-1115 H., 1703-4) the *faujdari* of Baizapur, about 48 miles from Aurangabad, was added to his former district. In Bahadur Shah's reign he was in charge of Surat: the then Wazir, Munim Khan, having the very highest opinion of his good qualities, which he held to be established by his very appearance. He was promoted on the death of Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, in 1122 H. (1710) to the Government of Ahmadabad Gujarat. Jahandar Shah (1712) removed him to the charge of Malwa, and for his victory over Islam Khan of Rampura in that province he was created Shahamat Khan. Early in Farrukh-siyar's reign (1713) he again received the Government of Gujarat, but had held it only two weeks when he was superseded by Daud Khan Panni. He was transferred to the province of Haidarabad in the Dakhin, and finally received the titles of Imad-ul-mulk, Mubariz Khan Bahadur, Hizbar Jang. He ruled in Haidarabad for nearly twelve years. Apparently he did not pay the Mahrattas the *chauth*, or one-fourth of the collections, as had been agreed to by Husain Ali Khan Barha when he was governor. Instead of this, Mubariz Khan fought them wherever he could; though, in spite of his exertions, they everywhere and at all times, whenever they saw a chance, extorted more even than the *chauth* and took all they could lay hands on. Most of the roads, too, were so

unsafe owing to their depredations as not to be traversible. [M. U. iii. 729 ; K. K. 963 ; Warid 54.]

On the first occasion when Nizam-ul-mulk marched into the Dakhin (1719-20), he entered into correspondence with Mubariz Khan. The latter marched to his aid but did not join him until his arrival at Aurangabad, after the defeat of Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan and of Sayyid Alim Ali Khan. Then in 1721 Nizam-ul-mulk thought of returning to Court, but Mubariz Khan was opposed to this move ; and when they had reached the pass of Fardapur, halfway between Aurangabad and Burhanpur, persuaded the Nawab to retrace his steps and proceed southwards to Adoni. Subsequently however, Nizam-ul-mulk's proceedings to bring under subjection the Afghan leaders of that region met with only half-hearted support from Mubariz Khan, who perceived that their interests and his were almost identical, he being in unauthorized possession of imperial lands in Sikakol and elsewhere. Nizam-ul-mulk betrayed no displeasure at the time. But when he succeeded to the office of Wazir he hindered Mubariz Khan, his sons and followers from obtaining increased *jagirs* and even told the governor's agent at Court that collections made from the crown domains were owing from the governor and would have to be paid. The Wazir also tried to get Mubariz Khan out of the Dakhin by recommending him strongly as the only man fit to take charge of Kabul, the Government of which was then vacant. Afterwards when the talk began of exchanging the Dakhin for the two provinces of Malwa and Gujarat, Nizam-ul-mulk himself proposed Mubariz Khan as his successor in the Dakhin, preferring that he should be appointed rather than a complete stranger. [M. U. iii. 729-743.]

At this time Inayat-ullah Khan wrote from Dihli to his son-in-law urging his acceptance of the appointment to the six provinces of the Dakhin and inciting him to active opposition to Nizam-ul-mulk. He was told that by so acting he would acquire the greatest favour in the eyes of Muhammad Shah. As we have already said, the formal rescript for the office had been sent to him at an early stage of the dispute with Nizam-ul-mulk. When it reached Mubariz Khan, he was busy

with the siege of Phulchari near Machhlibandar, then held by Appa Rao. The siege had lasted six to eight months. The place resisted for a little time longer, and in the end the matter was settled on terms. The governor and his force then returned to Haidarabad. There he was joined by Bahadur Khan Panni, faujdar of Karnul, Abul Fath (son of Abdun-nabi Khan faujdar of Kadapa), Abdul-Majid Khan, (grandson of Diler Khan) and his adopted son, Ali Khan; and on behalf of Saadat-ullah Khan, faujdar of the Karnatik there came Ghalib Khan (son of Amir Abu Talib Khan Badakhshi). He was also joined by Dilawar Khan faujdar of Raichor. But many men went to their homes as the rainy season had commenced. In the meantime Iwaz Khan had made a raid into Haidarabad territory, plundering the town of Banswara in the *sarkar* of Medak.* Provoked by this incursion, and urged on by the Pathans, Mubariz Khan resolved on instant revenge. The march towards Aurangabad began in the middle of the rainy season. They crossed the river Godavari in the neighbourhood of Nander and encamped not far from Udhiya, a pargana of sarkar Basim in the Balaghat of Berar, intending there to pass the season of the rains. It is estimated that he had about 15,000 horse and between 30 and 40,000 matchlockmen known in the Dakhin as *Kalapiyada* (black footmen), also a certain number of swivel guns and camel-pieces, but only two or three large cannon. His police posts occupied the country and his officials went out to collect the revenue. [M. U. iii. 736-'7. Kamwar.]

While Nizam-ul-mulk was still at Sihor (near Bhupal) in Malwa he received a letter from Muhammad Inayat Khan at Aurangabad informing him that, instigated by the courtiers at Dihli and backed by the Afghans of the south country, Mubariz Khan had accepted the appointment of subahdar of the whole Dakhin and was on his march from Haidarabad. It was believed that as soon as he had taken possession, he would move northwards into Malwa, where he would be joined

* *Banswara* is 81 miles n. w., *Medak* (town) 51 miles n., and *Nander* 145 miles n. of Haidarabad.

by reinforcements from Dihli and the combined armies would be used against Nizam-ul-mulk. This news was still under consideration when a letter from the agent at Court of Mubariz Khan conveying to him the verbal orders of his father-in-law, Inayat-ullah Khan, fell into the Nawab's hands. The contents of this letter confirmed what had been written from Aurangabad by Muhammad Inayat Khan. There could no longer be any doubt left as to the position ; and immediate action was resolved upon. [M. U. iii. 738.]

As Nizam-ul-mulk had succeeded in reaching Aurangabad unopposed, Muhammad Shah appears to have considered the game as lost, and thereupon changed his plans. After reciting that ill-health had been Nizam-ul-mulk's plea for leaving Dihli on two months' leave to Muradabad,—whence he had made off to Malwa and then to Aurangabad,—the Emperor asserts that the Dakhin provinces had been placed in charge of Mubariz Khan because Nizam-ul-mulk had complained that the country was a desolate one producing no revenue. If the extent of Nizam-ul-mulk's desire for the Dakhin had been known, a successor would not have been appointed. When Ghazi-ud-din Khan (Nizam-ul-mulk's son) found his father had gone to Aurangabad, he became alarmed at the plots of the envious and had withdrawn from the conduct of affairs as deputy Wazir. The work had been made over to Itimad-ud-daulah until Nizam-ul-mulk's return to Court. God forbid that he should suppose that he had been dismissed from his office or had fallen out of favour. The wazirship and governorship, both of them, are confirmed to him (Nizam-ul-mulk) ; he might stay in his province as long as he liked and return to Court whenever he wished. The province of Patna (Azimabad) had been given to Mubariz Khan, with whom Nizam-ul-mulk was requested not to interfere. To Mubariz Khan the Emperor wrote that the Dakhin was given to him when he reported his willingness to undertake the affair with the aid of his allies, the local Afghans. The assurances led to Nizam-ul-mulk being neglected. When the first orders were issued, Nizam-ul-mulk was at Muradabad and Azd-ud-daulah (Iwaz Khan) near Deogarh ; at Aurangabad there was no one to make any

defence. He (Mubariz Kh.) took up so much time in attempting to conquer some petty fortalices that both nobles (Nizam-ul-mulk and Iwaz Kh.) had united forces at Aurangabad. Now he (Mubariz Kh.) raised the objection of the rainy season, which is no real obstacle to brave soldiers, and on that account halted 60 *kos* from the provincial capital (Aurangabad). The projected business thus remained unperformed. Neither had Bahadur Khan and others, although written to as suggested, done anything. It was all make-believe. Thus there was no course left but to restore Nizam-ul-mulk. Further delay was inadvisable, for his adherents were weak as unfledged birds. Nizam-ul-mulk had therefore been restored, while Azimabad Patna had been granted to him (Mubariz Khan). He should depart for his new Government *via* Burhanpur or Sikakol whichever he preferred—the rescript would follow, and Nizam-ul-mulk had been directed not to hinder or interfere. But before these orders could reach or take effect the hostile governors had put their quarrel to the arbitrament of the sword and Mubariz Khan had perished. [*Majma-ul-insha*, 87-88.]

SEC. 38.—MUBARIZ KHAN PREPARES TO FIGHT NIZAM-UL-MULK.

In Ramzan 1136 H. (May-June 1724) Nizam-ul-mulk was at Burhanpur, and about the end of Ramzan (21st June) he reached Aurangabad. In order to be able to meet future criticism Nizam-ul-mulk began by addressing a letter of exhortation and warning to Mubariz Khan, reminding him of the sin he was about to commit by the shedding of Musalman blood. He pointed out the indecency of Muhammadans fighting together in the midst of infidels, dwelt on their being of one country and one race, reminded Mubariz Khan that Muhammad Shah's acts were like the fancies of a child, and that from his agents at Court he had heard several times that another Government would be allotted to him (Nizam-ul-mulk). When the order arrived he would obey by returning to Dihli, and Mubariz Khan could then take peaceable possession of Aurangabad. Without some new office he could not leave the Dakhin, as it would ruin his army and involve the triumph of his deadly enemies. A little delay would thus clear up the

whole situation. But Mubariz looked on this advice as dictated by self-interest, and at the same time felt that to give way without a struggle would be fatal to his honour as a noble and warrior of repute, more especially as he held a direct commission from his sovereign. Some think he would have given way, had not his Pathan allies talked roughly to him and accused him of preferring his Mughal tribesmen to loyalty to his sovereign. Mubariz Khan pleaded for the advantages of a peaceful agreement, but the Pathans only grew more angry than before. He gave way to them and put the blame on them in his reply to Nizam-ul-mulk's overtures. He finished his reply by leaving his fate in the hands of God, and what the Fates would bring forth would soon be seen. He continued his preparations for the campaign. [M. U. iii. 739; K. K. 952; *Burhan* 169a; Warid 15, 54-55; *Ahwal* 187b-188a.]

Nizam-ul-mulk on his side made ready, his first camp being at Talab Jaswant. According to one account Nizam-ul-mulk's leading advisers, Iwaz Khan and Ghiyas Khan, were opposed to taking the field before the army had recovered after the march from Hindustan and until the rains were over. These views were over-ruled by the Nawab on the ground that delay would only strengthen the other side, to which there would be many defections owing to the *farman* which Mubariz Khan had received. At length, with the help of Baji Rao and other Mahrattas, he marched out about 3rd Sept. 1724, at the head of six thousand horsemen; in the midst of lightning, thunder, wind and rain; they proceeded under difficulties which defy description to within twelve *kos* of Mubariz Khan's camp. When the latter had reached the *pargana* of Char Thana, following the advice of his generals he resolved to make for Zafarnagar, a place held in perpetual grant by his ally Bahadur Khan Panni and having a population of Afghans. He hoped by a rapid march to reach that town during one night, intending without an instant's delay to fall unexpectedly upon Aurangabad, having heard from the commandant of Daulatabad fort that Aurangabad was unprotected and the fortress would be delivered up. If, provoked to sudden action in this emergency the enemy made pursuit, their artillery in which

they were strong must be left behind, and Mubariz Khan would have them at his mercy. If, on the other hand, they resolved not to abandon the artillery, the ensuing delay would give him time to seize the women and treasure of the Nawab and the families of his soldiers left behind at the provincial capital. In pursuance of this idea Mubariz Khan left his camp on the Purna, where the two armies had been only twenty to twenty-four miles apart, and marched off in the other direction. In so doing he forgot the fact that in Hindustan to turn away from your enemy, once you have come in sight of him, is looked on as equivalent to your flight and the victory of your enemy. This way of looking at things was adopted on this occasion, as an eye-witness tells us ; and Nizam-ul-mulk's men, who until then feared defeat, now felt assured of victory. All, great and small, believed Mubariz Khan was afraid of them and had fled from before them. Offerings and congratulations were brought to their general ; and a rhymester in the camp found the date in the Hindi words, *Dar-gya Mubariz Khan*. [M. U. iii. 739, K. K. 952, *Ahwal* 189.]

At the time of passing Nizam-ul-mulk's camp, a number of Mubariz Khan's advance-guard and skirmishers made an attack upon it. Many men including the commander of the artillery were killed. But those attacked were not content to leave the matter thus. With a considerable body of Mahrattas they came out to retaliate, and adopting the tactics of Cossacks and Mahrattas put an end to the other side's attempt at a forced march, making it almost impossible for them to advance more than two steps at a time. The preliminary skirmishing seems to have begun on the 1st Oct. 1723, and by the 8th the fighting had waxed more and more severe. Nizam-ul-mulk had made a shrewd guess at the object of his enemy's strategy, and the Mahrattas having hung on to him and arrested his progress, the Nawab made a night march and by great exertions managed to cross the Purna with his artillery. [M. U. iii. 740, Kamwar, *Ahwal* 191a.]

SEC. 39.—BATTLE OF SHAKAR KHERA.

There being no other course open to him, Mubariz Khan

stored his heavy baggage and impedimenta in Shakar-Khera,* and drew up his force outside that town. For two days he and his men remained separated from their supplies, and having nothing with them but a horse and a riding whip they suffered excessively. At first the two armies were eight miles apart, and as Mubariz Khan would not leave his position Nizam-ul-mulk advanced in fighting array one or two miles a day. Both sides were on the alert to repel any sudden night attacks. The decisive battle began in the afternoon of the 23rd Muharram 1137 A. H. = 11th October, 1724. [*M. U.* iii. 741, *Ahwal*, 191a.]

Nizam-ul-mulk arranged his force in two main divisions, the first under his own immediate command, the other under that of Iwaz Khan. His vanguard he placed under Qadir Dad Khan (son of Qadir Dad Khan Alamgiri). Talib Muhi-ud-din Khan (grandson of Sadullah Khan, Wazir) was given the command of the right wing, while that of the left wing was confided to Ismail Khan and Muzaffar Khan Khweshgi. Kunwar Chand, a son of Chhattarsal Bundela, and a body of Bundelas were placed with Barqandaz Khan, general of artillery, and Atayar Khan, superintendent of the *ahsham* and the light artillery. These took their place at the head of the vanguard. Iwaz Khan occupied a position to the left of Nizam-ul-mulk. Under him were Sayyid Jamal Khan (his son), Muqarrab Khan Dakhini and Khan Alam Dakhini, Mutahavvar Khan Khweshgi, and Aziz Beg Khan Harisi. He also had the artillery that he had organized when he became deputy governor of the Dakhin. [*M. U.* iii. 741, *K. K.* 953.]

Zahir-ud-daulah Reayat Khan, Nizam-ul-mulk's cousin, and Muhammad Ghiyas Khan were posted between the centre and the left. While Nasir-ud-daulah Abdur-rahim Khan, the Nawab's uncle, was sent to the right wing and with him Sayyid Ghazanfar Khan Burhanpuri, who was Bakhshi to Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang (the Nawab's eldest son), also the three hundred men he commanded, some light guns and some wall-

* Now called *Fath-khera*, in the southern part of the Baldana district of Berar, some 80 miles from Aurangabad. (*Berar Gazetteer*, 168.)

pieces. To Hirz-ullah Khan (grandson of Sadullah Khan) was assigned a place between the centre and the left, and Bahadur Dil Khan (Lachin Beg) Qalmaq was sent to support him. Hafiz-ud-din Khan and Muhammad Said Khan, grandsons of Sadullah Khan, and therefore near relations of the Nawab, were stationed a furlong from the centre. The *yaltamsh* [advanced reserve] was placed under Hoshdar Khan (afterwards Iradat Khan). Muhtashim Khan (grandson of Shaikh Mir Khwafi) with several commanders of the centre (*tarah*) was placed on the right and left [of the centre]. Khwajam Quli Khan Turani with Gopal Singh Gaur, Salim Khan Afghan (deputy of the head huntsman) with his skirmishers, and Rasul Khan Afghan, all three mounted on elephants, were posted in front of the centre as a reserve [*yaltamsh*.] [K. K. 954-955.]

Nizam-ul-mulk himself was in the centre, having with him many nobles such as Khwaja Abdullah Khan, Ihtida Khan, the diwan, Rustam Beg Khan, Nek Nazar Khan (*Bakhshi* of Nasir Jang, the Nawab's second son), Himmat Yar Khan (maternal uncle of the Nawab's son) and officials such as Abdur-rahman Khan, superintendent of the personal guard. Turktaz Khan, who had often had command among the Mahrattas, was deputed to look after Baji Rao and others and the 7,000 to 8,000 Mahrattas with them.

On the other side, Mubariz Khan set his men in battle array, but he was notably deficient in heavy artillery. His vanguard was commanded by Ghalib Khan, an officer of Saadat-ullah Khan, faujdar of the Haidarabad Karnatik, and Husain Munavvar Khan (son of Khan Zaman, otherwise Shaikh Nizam Dakhini). Behind them, at the head of the supporting force (*yaltamsh*) was Muhammad Beg Khan (uncle of Mubariz Khan and an experienced officer). On the right were placed Ibrahim Khan Panni (entitled Bahadur Khan, and brother of the well-known Daud Khan Panni), Abdul Fatah Khan (son of Abdun-nabi Khan Miyana, long famed in the Bijapur Karnatik), and other Afghan commanders with 2,000 Afghan horse. The sons of Diler Khan Miyana of Bankapur, along with Ali Khan (his adopted son) who commanded their troops, and Khwaja Mahmud Khan, Khwaja Asad Khan, Khwaja Masaud Khan

and Hamid Khan, the sons of Mubariz, were posted close to the centre. Mubariz Khan himself, accompanied by Khan Zaman son of Munim Khan (Bahadur-Shahi Wazir), Munavvar Khan, Qizzilbash Khan, Faiq Khan (his diwan), Arab Beg Khan Turani, Mir Yusuf Khan and many others, took up his position at the head of the centre. [K. K. 956.]

Nizam-ul-mulk, having given orders that there was to be no firing until the critical moment of the attack, chained his big guns together and awaited in position the onset of Mabariz Khan, the distance between the two armies being now a mile or so. Between them was a water-course, the bottom of which consisted of sticky black mud into which men and horses sank up to their chests. At length after midday Mubariz Khan gave the order to advance against Iwaz Khan, whose force was on the left of Nizam-ul-mulk's line. The attacking side was under ten thousand horsemen in number. As they rode on they increased their pace until suddenly they reached the water-course, where they were checked and the line thrown into great disorder. The crush was so great that if a horse reared it was swept on with its legs in the air, or if a man lost his seat he did not reach the ground but was carried on supported by the horses on each side of him. At length the men of the left wing found a pathway. Then, in spite of all the artillery opposed to them on their right hand with its deafening sound and its blinding smoke, they fell like "roaring tigers" on the right and advanced centre of Iwaz Khan and began a hand-to-hand struggle with sword, spear and mace. It is said that some 5,000 of his horsemen dismounted and fought on foot with sword and shield. [*Ahwal* 191b, K. K. 957, *M. U.* iii. 741, *Kamwar*.]

At this point some of Nizam-ul-mulk's generals arrived to reinforce Iwaz Khan, and did great execution with their swivel-guns and muskets. Soon came the news that Ghalib Khan was killed. Mubariz Khan, without a muscle moving, said, "I too am ready for this unavoidable fate." Then his son Asad Khan's elephant turned and fled. As they passed Mubariz Khan, he shouted "Asad, the runaway!" Asad Khan replied "It is not my fault, the elephant is frightened." The

father angrily retorted, "If your elephant turns, throw yourself off, and carry out your duty to your sovereign." The elephant driver, by some severe blows of his iron on the animal's head, brought it into line again. For an hour-and-a-half they were rained on by shot and bullet. At last Asad Khan and Masaud Khan were killed. Mubariz Khan, on being told, exclaimed, "Thanks be to the Almighty, from my first youth until now, I have never been defeated; wounds and death are our portion, to die unshrinking on the battlefield is our salvation; Asad and Masaud have gone from this earth; of what longer use is my valour (*mubariz*)?" So saying, he drove his elephant alongside those of Ibrahim Khan and the sons of Abdun-nabi and Abdur Rauf. He fought on for nearly another hour, and was at last brought up by the impassable ravine full of mud; he had been wounded and his strength began to fail; at times he fainted, but reviving he seized again the bow and arrow. His elephant driver was killed, he took the dead man's place himself and fought on as before. But at an hour before sunset Mubariz Khan and all his chief men had lost their lives. [*Ahwal* 192, K. K. 958, *M. U.* iii. 742.]

The principal men of his side who fell were Bahadur Khan Panni, commanding the right wing, Mukaram Khan, formerly Khan Zaman, commanding the left wing, Ghalib Khan, who was at the head of the vanguard, Abul Fath Khan Miyana, Husaini Khan (son of Ali Mardan Khan Haidarabadi), Amin Khan Dakhini, Jag Deo Rao Jadon, and Faiq Khan Kashmiri (the diwan). The total losses on Mubariz Khan's side are said to have amounted to 3,500 men, of whom between 30 to 40 were leaders and "riders on elephants." Two sons of Mubariz Khan, Mahmud Khan and Hamid-ullah Khan, the latter a mere boy, were among the wounded and were taken prisoners. Dilawar Khan also fell into the Mughals' hands. [*Ahwal* 193a, Kamwar, K. K. 959, Warid 16.]

The losses on Nizam-ul-mulk's side were comparatively few. Reayat Khan, a cousin to whom the Nawab's aunt was married, was shot by an arrow in the windpipe and died. Sulaiman Khan Khweshgi also lost his life and Sayyid

Ghazanfar Khan died of his wounds after two or three days. [K. K. 959.]

One of the curious incidents of the battle is that Amin Khan Dakhini and Muqarrab Khan his son fought on different sides. They had always been on bad terms, and a few days before the battle took place Amin Khan left the army of Nizam-ul-mulk and transferred his services to Mubariz Khan, taking with him a number of the commanders from Burhanpur. On the day of battle the father and the son took the field thirsting for each other's blood. Muqarrab Khan fought stoutly with everyone he encountered and showed his prowess abundantly, but never came across his father. Still as Amin Khan was killed in this battle by someone or another on Nizam-ul-mulk's side, the popular legend arose that he was cut down by the sword of his own son. [K. K. 957.]

Mubariz Khan was buried in the plain outside the town of Shakar-Khera. Shah Nawaz Khan, author of the *Masir-ul-umara*, thinks that he was to blame for carelessness and want of promptitude. If he had raised at once the siege of Phulchari and marched off to Aurangabad immediately on receipt of the imperial rescript, he would have been successful, for at that time Iwaz Khan had not more than 2,000 men. Nor, in spite of the delay, ought he to have been beaten, if he had only taken measures to collect sufficient men and material. In fact during the campaign some of the Mahratta chiefs had made overtures to him, more especially Kanhu Bhonsla, who had 5,000 men with him and would have been satisfied with a small payment. But Mubariz Khan would not hear of such a thing. All these men, as he said, had felt his claws and suffered from his blows; and for the future as in the past he would enlist men when he wanted them. He would never lower himself by entreaties; but if they came of their own accord without payment there would be no objection. The thorough-going partizans of Nizam-ul-mulk laid all the blame upon Mubariz Khan for having dared to oppose such a man. "What can you expect?" they said, "Is it not true as the proverb says 'You cannot gather grapes from thorns nor apples from plane-trees'?" [M. U. iii. 743, Burhan 169a, Ahwal 196b.]

The day after the battle was spent in burying the dead and attending to the wounded.* Of these latter the principal were the two sons of Mubariz Khan, Dilawar Khan, his brother-in-law and Muhammad Beg Khan his maternal uncle. The latter died of his wounds a few days afterwards, and this too was the fate of Arab Beg Khan. Among the wounded attended to were Hakim Izzat Talab Khan, Qizzilbash Kh., Mir Abul Fazl Khan, Raza Muhammad Khan (diwan of Qamrnagar or Karnul), Aqa Abul Hasan (news-writer of Machhlibandar). Nizam-ul-mulk provided most of what was necessary in the shape of food and medicine and the things necessary for mourning. But Ihtida Khan (his diwan and lord steward) also largely contributed to their relief. Diyanat Khan, ex-diwan of the Dakhin, too, furnished many of the men who had been stripped of everything, with cash and food. Large amounts of rich clothes and jewels which had been confiscated, belonging to the sons of Mubariz Khan, Dilawar Khan, Kazim Ali Khan (son of Haji Mansur) and others, were restored by the order of Nizam-ul-mulk. [K. K. 959-960.]

SEC. 40.—NIZAM-UL-MULK'S MOVEMENTS AFTER HIS VICTORY.

After a halt of three or four days to rest his men, Nizam-ul-mulk marched for Aurangabad. Soon news came to him that Khwaja Ahmad Khan, the eldest son of Mubariz Khan, who had been left behind in charge of Haidarabad, had taken

* The printed text of Khafi Khan seems to be incorrect on p. 960; either some words have been left out at the end of line 4, or the last word in line 5 is not in the negative. As the text stands, it gives the following casualties on Mubariz Kh.'s side (pp. 958-960):

Killed—Mubariz, his sons Asad and Masaud, Ghalib, Husain Munavvar, Kamal (descended from Khan Zaman Dakhini), Bahadur Kh. Panni and Ibrahim Kh. Panni (though the two are declared to be one and the same person on p. 956), Abdul Fatah, Md. Amin, Md. Beg and Arab Beg (both died of wounds).

Wounded—Mubariz's sons Mahmud and Hamid-ullah, Dilawar, Khan Zaman (s. of ex-Wazir Munim Kh.), Ahsan (not *Husaini*), Mir Yusuf, Faig, Mir Fakhr-ullah.

Robbed but unwounded—Hakim Izzat Talab, Qizzilbash, Mir Abul Fazl, Raza Md. and Aqa Abul Hasan. [J. S.]

refuge in the fort of Muhammad-nagar close to the capital, by connivance of the garrison and its commander, Sandal Khan, a eunuch of the family. The whole of the late governor's property was transferred to this fortress, and its defences put in order and strengthened. [K. K. 960-961, *M. U.* iii. 744.]

On reaching Aurangabad the necessary arrangements were made for its protection, and all needless baggage was stored in the fortress ; then Nizam-ul-mulk set out again and made his way to the vicinity of Haidarabad, a march of 270 miles. Towards the end of Rabi II. 1137 H. (14th January 1725) his tents were pitched in the grove known as Gosha Mahal. Officials were appointed and the administration of the province taken over. Meanwhile Khwaja Ahmad Khan, who feared severe measures against himself and the connections of Mubariz Khan, was actively preparing to stand a siege. He also gave out that he expected every day a rescript from the Emperor appointing him in his father's place to the governorship of the subah and the command of the fortress. This rumour prevented the restoration of order to a considerable extent. In fact he wrote in all directions warning the garrisons of forts and the officials and landholders against giving possession to Nizam-ul-mulk's nominees until the period of one year had elapsed. He also sent troops to some places to aid them in their resistance, and released from the fort a number of notorious stirrers-up of strife who had been seized and imprisoned by Mubariz Khan, and these scattering to their homes helped to intensify the existing disorder. Nizam-ul-mulk's men lost hold of the province and the collection of revenue ceased. The roads became unsafe and were closed to travellers ; and in places the revenue officials were actually attacked. In one of these outbreaks Kazim Ali Khan (son of Haji Mansur), who was faujdar of the country round Bhongir, was attacked and slain along with a number of his men. But in the end Nizam-ul-mulk by gentle treatment and gifts of enhanced rank, new *jagirs* and the revival of titles held previously in the family, induced Khwaja Ahmad Khan to hand over the keys of the fortress.*

* Leaving Ahmad Khan untouched for a time Nizam-ul-mulk occupied the city of Haidarabad and the country round it, then went on to Machhli-

Khawaja Ahmad Khan was made Shahamat Khan and Khwaja Mahmud Khan became Mubariz Khan. The dependant members of the family were also treated with due consideration. Finally, Nizam-ul-mulk proceeded to the fort and established in it his own garrison and commandant. [K. K. 961, *Ahwal* 197, Kamwar, *M. U.* iii. 744.]

While Nizam-ul-mulk was thus busily occupied in restoring order within the province of Haidarabad, Anwar-ud-din Khan arrived from Dihli. He had just been dismissed from his appointment of faujdar of Kora and Jahanabad in the Allahabad province. Nizam-ul-mulk, glad to secure the services of such a capable officer, appointed him to be deputy governor of Haidarabad. His efforts to subdue opposition were very successful at Sikakol and elsewhere, and he brought up the revenue collections to the proper standard. [K. K. 962, *M. U.* ii. 527.]

NIZAM-UL-MULK PARDONED.

After a few months, when it was seen that Nizam-ul-mulk instead of being destroyed had become more powerful than ever, it was apparently resolved to cover the failure of their plans by restoring him nominally to the imperial favour. Accordingly on the 20th June 1725, on the petition of all the nobles present, the offences of Nizam-ul-mulk were pardoned, his *jagirs* as held before he became Wazir were restored to him, and a formal rescript was issued confirming him in the government of the Dakhin provinces. But the two provinces of Ahmadabad-Gujarat and Malwa were taken from him and given to others. To the former was appointed Sarbuland Khan, who appointed as his deputy Shujaat Khan, son of Kazim Beg Tahrani. Hamid Khan, uncle of Nizam-ul-mulk was recalled to Court, and was to be expelled if he refused to obey. Rajah Girdhar Bahadur Nagar, then absent from Court, was

bandar [Kamwar] and the Karnatik, leaving Hirz-ullah Khan in charge of Haidarabad subah. [*Ahwal* 197b.] The terms granted to Khwaja Ahmad Khan were a jagir in the Haidarabad subah, no demand for any service and a free gift of all his father's moveable property. [*M. U.* iii. 745.]

re-appointed to the charge of Malwa, *vice* Azim-ullah Khan, Nizam-ul-mulk's cousin and nominee. [Kamwar ; K. K. 962, 973.]

SEC. 41.—NIZAM-UL-MULK'S LETTER TO MUHAMMAD SHAH.

There is extant a long report from Nizam-ul-mulk addressed to the Emperor, which is probably authentic and if so represents his defence of his conduct. After referring to the disorders in Farrukh-siyar's reign, he boasts of the loyalty of the Mughal troops since Taimur's time, quoting as an instance his father's and his own service in the Dakhin in Alamgir's reign. Then he touches on his ejection of Haidar Quli Khan from Gujarat and the chastisement inflicted on Dost Muhammad Khan in Malwa. To show that he was not covetous of power, he asserts that Muhammad Amin Khan would never have consented to become Wazir if he (Nizam-ul-mulk) had wished for it ; and to meet the suspicion that he had designs upon the Dakhin, he brings forward the fact of his repeated visits to Dihli. Next, he enlarges on the purposes he kept in view while holding the office of chief minister. Being frustrated by contemptible wretches practising every deceitful art, he was forced to withdraw. Then these evil counsellors caused royal mandates to be sent to Mubariz Khan. These writings having fallen into his hands he transmits the originals and asks to be informed how he had deserved such treatment. This is followed by instances from the history of Bijapur and Haidarabad to prove that a ruler's strength resides in well-chosen advisers. From the same cause Persia had come into the possession of the Afghans. After this we have a descant on the duties of a sovereign, with very pointed application to Muhammad Shah's frivolous and debauched habits. The letter ends with a brief report of the fate of Mubanz Khan, described as a dotard although only sixty and not more than ten years older than the Nawab himself. His force is stated at 25,000 horse and an uncounted number of Karnatik foot-soldiers. In spite of exhortations to refrain, he had insisted on putting the dispute to the arbitrament of battle, whereby he himself had perished along with thirty-three of his chief men, ranking from 1,000 to

7,000 in *mansab*, and a great number of common soldiers. [*Asiatick Miscellany* (1785), i. 482-493, text and trans.]

From this period may be dated Nizam-ul-mulk's virtual independence and the foundation of the present Haidarabad State. Henceforth he bestowed offices in the Dakhin ; he made promotions in rank, conferred titles and issued assignments on the land revenue at his own will and pleasure. The only attributes of sovereignty from which he refrained were the use of the scarlet or imperial umbrella, the recitation of the Friday prayer in his own name, and the issue of coin stamped with his own superscription. Many astrologers had prophesied that if he chose he could sit on a throne. But he repudiated the suggestion saying, "May throne and umbrella bring good fortune to him who holds them! My business is to preserve my honour, and if this be mine what need have I of an imperial throne?" [Yahya 131b, *Ahwal*. 136b.]

CHAPTER VIII

MAHRATTAS IN GUJARAT UP TO 1730

SEC. 42.—THE MAHRATTAS THE PEOPLE AND THEIR COUNTRY.

In the course of our narrative (Ch. iv. Sec. 38) we have already seen a Mahratta army appear at Dihli in the train of Sayyid Husain Ali Khan and take a somewhat inglorious part in the street riot following upon the deposition of Farrukh-siyar. From 1721 we shall find them year by year encroaching more upon Hindustan, that is India north of the Narmada, until at the end of the eighteenth century they became absolute masters in all but the name of the shrunken remnants of the once mighty Empire of the Mughals. During the early years of Muhammad Shah and onwards, these Dakhin marauders occupy a large space in this piteous drama of decay and downfall; and thus it seems desirable to introduce at this point a brief sketch of their previous history. Fortunately, the history of the Mahrattas having once for all been written by Captain Grant Duff (1826) under such favourable circumstances as can never recur,* it is unnecessary for me to burthen myself with much research on the subject. What I have to say about it is derived mainly from Grant Duff, though I may occasionally be able to correct or give greater precision to his statements from Muhammadan sources not available to him.

The country known as *Maha-rashtra* (Great Kingdom) lies in the Dakhin, that is in India south of the Narmada and forms roughly a triangle, of which the sides are from Surat to Goa 420 miles, from the sea coast to the neighbourhood of Nagpur 420 miles, and from Nagpur to Goa 490 miles. The area

* W. Irvine wrote this in December 1898. Since then the authority of Grant Duff (especially for the period before 1775) has been greatly weakened by the publication of a vast mass of Marathi records and the discovery of Persian sources unknown to him. For the resulting corrections, see my *Shivaji and His Times and History of Aurangzib* vol. iv, and the Marathi histories of G. S. Sardesai and essays of V. K. Rajwade. [J. Sarkar.]

comprised within these boundaries is about 103,000 square miles, and the present population (in 1891) is about 12,383,411.

There are two main divisions in this country, which are very dissimilar in their natural aspects ; that to the west is known as the *Konkan*, that to the east as the *Desh* (literally "country"). The first is again sub-divided into (1) the *Tal Konkan* or low strip of land a few miles wide along the seashore, and (2) *Konkan-Ghatmahta* or 'Konkan above the passes'. The *Tal* itself is rugged and broken, while the *ghats* are a mountain chain rising from 3,000 to 4,000 feet above the sea. The high tableland or *Desh* on the eastern side of these hills is as a rule about 1,000 feet below their summit. In the *ghat* country many of the hill summits are formed of large masses of basaltic rocks, which can by a little aid from art be shaped into fortresses very difficult of approach. This natural feature explains the number of fortresses in the Mahratta possession, and, added to the extreme difficulty of moving an army in such a country, accounts for the slow progress and ultimate defeat of all the Muhammadan efforts to subdue them. The hilly portion of the Konkan is divided in its length into three parts ; that to the north called *Mawal*, the middle *Khora*, and the south *Mura*. From the first is derived the name of the Mawali herdsmen, who were so numerous in early Mahratta warfare. The *Desh* has in it four parallel ranges of hills known as the Chandor range, the Ahmadnagar hills, a range south of Puna, and the Mahadeo hills north of Satara. This Maha-rashtra is the country of the Mahrattas.*

* There are several suggested derivations for the word *Mahratta*. The most usually received is that accepted by Grant Duff. A region called *Maha-rashtra* is pre-supposed, from which word by the usual processes of linguistic decay the modern name of the people is directly obtained. But H. A. Acworth, *Ballads of the Mahrattas*, Introd. p. vi. inclines to find the derivation in a tribal name *Rathi* or *Ratha*, (chariot-fighter, from *rath* a chariot), making *Maha Ratha* equivalent to Great Warrior; it has then to be assumed that this tribal name was transferred to the country being finally Sanskritized into *Maha-rashtra*. But Mr. Baden Powell (*J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 249) prefers to refer the word to *Mhar* or *Mahar*, a once numerous and dominant race, from which he gets *Mahar-rashtra*—"the kingdom of the Mahars." I need only name to reject it, such a grotesque theory as that

The population of this extensive tract of country is at present, according to the Census of 1891, a little over 12 millions of souls, but probably in the 18th century it may not have amounted to half or even a third of that number. It is difficult to say exactly what portion of this total population is entitled to the specific name of Mahrattas. In one sense, all who live within the Mahratta country, or even all who speak the Mahratta language, are entitled to that designation. But in the political or military aspect, with which only we are concerned, it must be somewhat restricted. We therefore confine *Mahratta*, in our estimation of their number, to the persons who claim that name, coupled with those of the *Kunbi* caste.

In religion the Mahrattas are almost entirely Hindu, and the greater proportion belong to the respectable, but far from high-ranking, caste of Kunbis, whose chief business here and elsewhere in India is that of cultivation of the soil. From these Kunbis was formed what was called the Mahratta nation and the first founder of the Mahratta State, Shivaji, was himself a Kunbi. After 1720 power passed into the hands of the Mayors of the Palace, the Brahman *Peshwas* or chief ministers, whose office became hereditary, entirely over-shadowing the Rajahs of Shivaji's house and line.

It is not necessary for our purpose to go either deeply or far back into the internal history of the Dakhin. In briefly outlining the rise of the Mahratta State, it is sufficient to consider the condition of things there towards the end of the 16th century. The country seems to have been imperfectly subdued by the Muhammadan dynasties which from the twelfth century onwards had divided most of the Dakhin between them. In the sixteenth century Mahrattas had become numerous in the armies of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, within whose territories their home country lay, and we are told of nine principal chiefs of the race, seven serving the ruler of Bijapur and two that of Ahmadnagar, north of that kingdom and nearer to their home

of H. D. Robertson (*District Duties during the Revolt in India*, 1859, p. 104, note) who believed that the word meant *Mar* "strike" and *Hata* "ran away", and was a nickname due to their Cossack-like mode of fighting. [For a fuller discussion, see Sardesai *Marathi Riyasat*, 2nd ed., i. 2-6. J. S.]

country. One of the two families connected with the Ahmadnagar State was called *Bhonsla*.^{*} They are said to have been the headmen (*patel*) of several villages and to have obtained their family name from the village of Bhosa or Bhonsa in which they first settled. Babaji, father of Maluji, was owner of the Hingni, Beradi, Dewalgaon and Tapatash villages in pargana Puna [*M. U.* ii. 342] ; but their principal residence was at Ilora near Daulatabad. Here in the year 1552 was born Maluji, eldest son of Babaji Bhonsla. He married the sister of a powerful man, the Naik or chief Nimbalkar of Phaltan, and in the year 1577 entered the Ahmadnagar service. In 1594 his eldest son was born and in honour of a Muhammadan *pir* or holy man, whose prayers were supposed to have been effective in procuring an heir, the child was named Shahji. Maluji died a little before 1620 and was succeeded by Shahji.

SEC. 43.—SHIVAJI: HIS CAREER.

In 1604 Shahji had been married, by a lucky chance boldly seized on by his father, to the daughter of Lakhiji Jadon of Sindkher and *deshmukh* of sarkar Daulatabad, the most powerful Mahratta chief in the Ahmadnagar State. After playing an active part in all the fighting and intriguing from 1628 onwards, Shahji died [at Basavapattan on the Tungabhadra] in January 1664, leaving two legitimate sons, Shivaji and Venkaji, the first named being the son of his first wife, Jiji Bai. Shivaji was born in the fort of Siuneri on the 11th April, 1627. His early days were passed in the family house at Puna, but from his sixteenth year (c. 1643) he began to absent himself and talked of becoming an independent chief. To wean him from these excursions and the lawless associates who shared them, his guardian (his father being absent on service in the Bijapur State) entrusted some of the family estates to his management. But he still cherished his youthful project of independence,

^{*} Mr. Irvine's account of early Maratha history, based upon Grant Duff, has been here corrected by references to G. S. Sardesai's *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. I. ed. of 1915. For fully detailed and up-to-date information on Shivaji and Shambhuji (with references to sources), see my *Shivaji and His Times and History of Aurangzib*, vol. iv. [J. Sarkar.]

and in 1646 at the age of nineteen acquired peacefully the hill-fort of Torna, twenty-five miles south-west of Puna at the source of the Nira river. He now offered himself to the Bijapur State as its renter and feudatory. But for several years little notice was taken of him.

Discovering a treasure hoard in Torna, he used the money in building another fort on a hill five miles to the south-east, and this place he named Rajgarh. When his guardian died, he assumed possession of the family estates, ignoring all his father's demands for remittances. Not long after this time, he strengthened his position by bribing the Muhammadan commandant to cede to him the important fort of Kondana, the name of which he altered to Singh-garh. This was followed by the acquisition by treachery of Purandhar, another place of strength. The rulers of Bijapur paid no heed to him, and thus by stealth he acquired predominance in the tract between Chakan and the Nira.

In 1648 Shivaji revolted openly from the Bijapur Government, seized a convoy of treasure on its way from Kaliyan ; ten forts were surprised and seized, several rich towns of the Konkan plundered, and finally Kaliyan was surprised and the governor's family captured.

[After making many conquests he formally crowned himself and established a regular Court administration army and navy.]

Shivaji died after a [life of incessant activity and fighting] on the 5th April 1680, in the fifty-third year of his age. As Grant Duff truly says, "he was certainly a most extraordinary person ; and however justly many of his acts may be censured, his claim to rank high in the page of history must be admitted." At the time of his death he was possessed,* with a few excep-

*"At the time of his death Shivaji's kingdom included all the country (except the Portuguese possessions) stretching from Ramnagar (modern Dharampur State in the Surat Agency) in the north, to Karwar or the Gangavati river in the Bombay district of Kanara in the south. The eastern boundary embraced Baglana in the north, then ran southwards along an irregular shifting line through the middle of the Nasik and Puna districts, and encircled the whole of the Satara and much of the Kolhapur districts.

tions, of the whole of the Konkan from Gandavi to Ponda ; and a line of forts from Tattora to Panala distinctly marked his boundary to the eastward. He had in addition a number of detached possessions, Singnapur, Parnaira fort near Daman, many forts in Baglana, also several strong places in Khandesh and Sangamner.

SEC. 44.—AURANGZEB'S WARS WITH THE MAHRATTAS.

In June 1680, after defeating an attempt to place a younger son, Raja Ram, then eighteen years of age, upon the seat of authority, the elder son, Sambhaji, established himself in his father's place. In the next year, 1681, he gave refuge at Raigarh to Prince Akbar, the fourth son of the Emperor Alamgir. This Prince had headed a revolt of the Rajputs against his father, and finally had been driven out of their country. This combination between a rebellious son and a formidable rising State, like that of the Mahrattas, frightened Alamgir. He resolved to march into the Dakhin in person. On the 25th November 1681 he arrived at Burhanpur, and the remaining 26 years his reign were occupied by a continuous and in the result fruitless campaign. Prince Akbar was forced to leave the country and flee to Persia, Sambhaji was captured and executed (1689), his wife and children taken ;* but at the time of the Emperor's death at Ahmadnagar in 1707, the Mahrattas were more powerful than ever, and it was with difficulty that the imperial camp itself was protected from their inroads.

The son of Shambhaji, Shivaji, known through life as Sahuji, a nickname given him by Alamgir, was eight years of age when captured. He was brought up in the Muhammadan

This tract formed his *swaraj* or 'old dominions'.....A recent but permanent acquisition was the Kanarese-speaking country extending from Belgaum to the bank of the Tungabhadra opposite the Bellary district.....His latest annexation was the northern central and eastern parts of the present kingdom of Mysore and portions of the Madras districts of Bellary, Chittur and Arcot. This province was really held by an army of occupation." [J. Sarkar's *Shivaji and His Times*, ch. 15.]

* For details see my *History of Aurangzib*, vol. iv. ch. 44 and 48. [J. S.]

camp, and in 1707 when Alamgir's death occurred was still a prisoner of State. The Mahrattas had in the interval continued their resistance under the leading of Raja Ram, the half-brother of Shambhaji ; and on his death, which took place in March 1700, by one of his widows, Tara Bai, on behalf of her minor son, another Shivaji (born 1691).

During the years from 1700 to 1707 Alamgir continued his efforts against the Mahrattas, being chiefly occupied in reducing some of their innumerable strongholds. But meanwhile the "execrable enemy" multiplied their activity. In 1702 they levied contributions from Surat and Burhanpur. In 1705 they crossed the Narmada for the first time and penetrated far into Malwa. They overran Khandesh and Berar and broke with a large force into Gujarat. Mughal armies were sent after them to the north, while the Emperor himself marched southwards from Juner to Bijapur. An attempt was made to come to terms with them by offering first the release of Sahu, son of Shambhaji ; secondly ten per cent. on the Dakhin collections under the name of *sardeshmukhi*. Nothing resulted from these negotiations. In February 1705 the Emperor began to besiege the fort of Wakinkhera, the stronghold of Pem Naik, the investment of which lasted nearly three months, nor was the place taken until Zulfiqar Khan and Daud Khan had been recalled to headquarters. The fort fell on the 7th May, 1705 : and the imperialists passed the rainy season near Dewapur on the Krishna river, three kos from the place. On the 30th Jan. 1706 the Emperor reached Ahmadnagar, and there died on the 2nd March 1707. At the time of his death the Mahrattas were plundering quite close to the imperial camp. [*Mirat*, 498-507 ; *M. A.* 498, 504, 512, 521.]

SEC. 45.—MAHRATTA AFFAIRS AFTER 1707.

As already recounted, there was now a contest for the throne between Mhd. Muazzam, the eldest, and Azam Shah, the second son of the deceased Emperor. The latter took possession of the imperial camp and with it of Rajah Sahu, who had recently been made over to the care of Zulfiqar Khan, son of the Wazir. On the march from Ahmadnagar to Agra.

Sahu was released at the request of Zulfiqar Khan and allowed to return to the Dakhin. He left the camp when it was at Duraha and taking with him some fifty retainers made for the home of Mohan Singh zamindar, in the hills bounding sarkar Bijagarh and pargana Sultanpur-Nandurbar. Having been there provided with some supplies, he was passed on beyond Sultanpur, when he was assisted further by Ambu Pande, a Mahratta, who had a fort called Kokar-manda in pargana Sultanpur and lived by plundering the country from the port of Surat as far as Burhanpur. By these reinforcements he was enabled to reach his home country, where already many of the forts taken by Alamgir had again fallen into the hands of the Mahrattas. Such leaders as were lukewarm adherents of Tara Bai, the widow of Raja Ram, now came over gladly to Rajah Sahu. He marched to Ahmadnagar and visited the spot where Alamgir had died, and distributed gifts; then he went towards Aurangabad and Daulatabad with the intention of making a pious visit to the tomb of that Emperor at Khuldabad. His followers began to plunder and the governor, Mansur Khan, prepared to resist. But Sahu restrained his men, and having carried out his purpose, returned to his own country.*

In March 1708, after some feeble opposition by Tara Bai and her partisans, Sahu obtained possession of Satara and seated himself on the throne. It was at this time that a Brahman revenue collector first came to notice, one Balaji Bhat, son of Wishwanath, a man who afterwards became *Peshwa* or chief minister. In 1709 the contest with Tara Bai was continued; but at the end of that year an agreement was come to with the Mughals, which obviated the necessity of deciding the rival

* The above is based on K. K. 582-'3 and *Dil.* 171b. Kokar-manda is on the north bank of the Tapti, 62 m.n.w. of Dhulia in Khandesh, and on the frontier of the Rajpipla State. The route given in Chitnis 8-9 is incredible. G. S. Sardesai misreads Khafi Khan and says, "Sahu.....came to Sujan Singh Rawal, a zamindar of the hilly country of Bijagarh, Sultanpur and Nandurbar, who lived in a fort at Lambkani, 7 or 8 kos from Dhulia." (*Marathi Riyasat*, i. 744). Other early helpers of Sahu are named in this work on the basis of Marathi records. Ambu Pande is corrected by Rajwade as Amrit Rao Kadam Bande. [J. S.]

claims. Daud Khan, the *locum tenens* of Zulfiqar Khan, governor of the Dakhin, agreed to allow the *chauth*, or one-fourth of the Dakhin revenues, to all leaders who acknowledged his protégé, Rajah Sahu ; the money to be collected by and paid through the Mughal officials. In January 1712 Shivaji, son of Raja Ram and Tara Bai, died of smallpox ; he was replaced as claimant to the throne by his half brother Sambhaji, son of Raja Ram by another wife, Rajis Bai.

In 1713 after the execution of Zulfiqar Khan, his representative, Daud Khan, was removed from office ; and the agreement with him being at an end, the Mahrattas resumed their old activity ; Chandar Sen Jadon *senapati*, or commander-in-chief, was sent out to levy the Mahratta blackmail in the Dakhin province under the heads of *chauth* (one-fourth of the collections), *sardeshmukhi* (10 per cent. for the office of headman) and *ghas dana** (or expenses). With him went Balaji Wishwanath, charged with attending to the interests of Rajah Sahu. A quarrel soon broke out between the two men, and Balaji was [defeated in the battle and] forced to flee for his life along with his two sons, Baji Rao and Chimnaji. He found a refuge in Pandav-garh.†

Nizam-ul-mulk now became governor of the Dakhin (1713). At first he espoused the cause of Sambhaji, but after some fighting a compromise was arrived at. The contest among the Mahrattas themselves, however, continued and thereby Balaji managed to improve his position until [on the 16th Nov. 1713] he was appointed to the office of *Peshwa*. In 1719 a new viceroy came to the Dakhin in the person of Sayyid Husain Ali Khan Barha, Amir-ul-umara and chief Bakhshi of the Empire,—Daud Khan, who opposed his taking of possession, having been defeated and killed ; the Sayyid's arms were turned against the Mahrattas. His efforts were attended with

* *Ghas dana*, literally grass and grain, i.e., forage money, instituted in 1692. It was imposed by the Maratha officers for their own benefit, the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* being accounted for to the State.

† For a detailed and correct account of Balaji's early career, see G.S. Sardesai's *Marathi Riyasat*, ii. 17-40. Pandavgarh is near Wai. Sardesai gives Dec. 1710 as the date of this battle. [J. S.]

so little success that in the end he was glad to agree to terms. The *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* were promised and certain so-called hereditary lands (*swa-raj*) were granted, and Husain Ali Khan then returned to Dihli. Although Farrukhsiyar refused to ratify this agreement, there can be little doubt that on the spot it was acted upon and in 1719, after the dethronement of Farrukhsiyar, the formal deeds were issued. Sahu promised in return to pay a *peshkash* of ten lakhs for the inherited domain and a fine on his appointment as *sardeshmukh*, to suppress depredation, either punishing the thieves or restoring the amount stolen, and to maintain 15,000 horse for the Emperor's service.*

Soon there followed Nizam-ul-mulk's flight from Malwa, his successive defeats of Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan and Alim Ali Khan, his appointment as Wazir, his final return to the Dakhin when he became in fact, if not in name, the independent ruler of the territories claimed by the Mughals. From this rapid summary it will be seen that up to 1670 the Mahrattas confined themselves to the western side of the Dakhin or roughly speaking to their own country of Maharashtra. The first exaction of one-fourth of the collections on a province immediately under the Mughals took place in 1670 during an excursion into Khandesh, the year in which Shivaji in person sacked Surat [for the second time]. As early as 1658 the Mahrattas seem to have employed proportion of Muhammadans, but the superior commands were retained in the hands of Hindus. This seems to have been the case up to the end of their history as a conquering power. Their first incursion beyond or to the north of the Narmada (if we except a slight attack in 1720) did not occur until 1705, when Malwa and Gujarat were both overrun. These raids into Hindustan increased in frequency and extent as the years went on, until they became an annual infliction. We now purpose to give in somewhat more detail the course of events in the provinces of Gujarat, Bundelkhand and Malwa during the first half of Muhammad Shah's reign and their connection with the incursions

* For full and correct details, Sardesai ii. 82-115. [J. S.]

of the Mahrattas. The persistent aggressions in the Mughal territories north of the Narmada, which now began, were continued until the rise of the British power, and were the outcome of a settled intention of over-running the Muhammadan dominions. The author of this far-reaching scheme was Baji Rao, who in the year 1720 succeeded his father, Balaji Wishwanath, in the office of Peshwa.

SEC. 46.—THE MAHRATTAS IN GUJARAT.

After Shivaji's death in 1680, the first appearance of the Mahrattas in the subah of Gujarat seems to have been in the year 1702 when they levied a contribution from Surat ; this was followed in 1705 by an irruption of 15,000 horsemen who defeated the faujdars at Baba Piara ford on the Narmada and carried slaughter wherever they went. Order was restored to some extent by Prince Azam Shah, who was at once appointed governor. From Alamgir's death (1707) up to the accession of Muhammad Shah (1719), the Mahrattas do not seem to have made any invasion on a large scale ; but in the interval they had by small yearly expeditions succeeded in obtaining the *chauth* or fourth share from a great part of the province. The Mahrattas assert that their right to this tribute was confirmed at Dihli in 1719, when the deeds for the *chauth* on the six provinces of the Dakhin were executed. But this assertion is totally unproved and probably quite unfounded. From 1720, when Baji Rao succeeded his father Balaji in the office of Peshwa or chief minister of the Mahratta State, began a series of vigorous and sustained encroachments on the Mughal Empire north of the Narmada. This was in pursuance of a matured and far-reaching plan. As Baji Rao said to Rajah Sahu, "Let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree ; the branches will fall of themselves. Thus should the Mahratta flag fly from the Krishna to the Indus." Thereupon the Rajah exclaimed enthusiastically : "You shall plant it upon the Himalayas !"

At this period arose the practice of assigning to particular officials or commanders the attack on particular provinces. To the Peshwa were assigned Khandesh and part of the Balaghat, and later on, the operations in Malwa and the country to the

north of it as far as the Jamuna. Khandi Rao Dhabariya, the *senapati* or commander-in-chief, realized the dues in Baglana, or the country between the Tapti and the Narmada, and also in Gujarat.

At the battle of the 9th August, 1720, near Balapur, between Sayyid Alim Ali Khan and Nizam-ul-mulk, the troops of Khandi Rao Dhabariya had fought well on behalf of the Sayyid. One officer, Damaji Gaikwar, had especially distinguished himself ; and on the *senapati*'s recommendation Rajah Sahu made this man second in command with the title of Shamsheer Bahadur. In 1721 Damaji died and was succeeded by his nephew Pilaji Gaikwar,—who thus became the principal Mahratta leader in the attacks upon Gujarat. Another man of note was Udaji Puar, son of Wiswas Rao, who had lately risen to notice and made many distant expeditions into Malwa as far as Dhar and into Gujarat, in the latter plundering as far as Luniwara.* There was also Kanthaji Kadam Bande, an active partisan who took a prominent part in the raids into Gujarat.

During the reigns of Bahadur Shah (1707-1712) and Farrukhsiyar (1712-1719), order had been more or less preserved by successive governors ; among the most notable of whom were Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang and Maharajah Ajit Singh Rathor. It was in this period that Haidar Quli Khan Isfaraini's first connection with the province arose. He was in charge of the important city and port of Surat from Dec. 1715 to June 1718. In 1720 on the overthrow of the Sayyids, to whose party he belonged, Ajit Singh was replaced as we have seen by this Haidar Quli Khan. He gave way in turn to Nizam-ul-mulk's representative Hamid Khan in February 1723. [*M. U.* iii. 765.] But as Haidar Quli Khan contested his successor's rights, the province was left by him in the charge of his nominee, one Shujaat Khan. By a fresh turn of the wheel, Nizam-ul-mulk lost his appointment to this province, which was conferred on Sarbuland Khan Mubariz-ul-mulk. The new governor's first act was to re-appoint Haidar Quli Khan's nominee, Shujaat Khan, as his deputy. As this man and his brothers now become

* About 68 m. n. e. of Ahmadabad.

chief actors in our narrative, it will be well to give some account of them before we proceed further.

SHUJAAT KHAN AND HIS ORIGIN.

One Shujaat Khan (Shaikh Muhammad Shah Faruqi),* was long connected with Gujarat, and in 1112 H. (1700-1) died while governor of that province. One of his principal officers was Kazim Beg. This man had six sons. Of these one was killed fighting the Kolis, a jungle tribe, during the government of Ibrahim Khan (1705-1708); and during Haidar Quli Khan's rule at Surat, two others lost their lives, one in an attack on some rebels at Jamu, the other in the course of his duty as faujdar of Surat. The three sons who were left became favourite officers of Haidar Quli Khan, he furthered their interests in every way, and obtained titles for them. Muhammad Masum, who had married the daughter of Shujaat Khan (Shaikh Muhammad Shah) was created Shujaat Khan; the two others were made Rustam Ali Khan and Ibrahim Quli Khan.

SEC. 47.—HAMID KHAN'S GOVERNMENT.

We now return to our narrative. When Nizam-ul-mulk heard that Haidar Quli Khan had abandoned Ahmadabad, he discontinued his advance on that place and sent a letter to Safdar Khan Babi a prominent local leader, directing him to

* *M. U.* ii. 708; *K. K.* 965. Irvine's account of Gujarat affairs in Muhammad Shah's reign is almost entirely based upon the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* of Ali Muhammad Khan, the diwan of the province and an eye-witness of many of them. The information from this source is here and there supplemented by a few details or variants from Khafi Khan and Kamwar Khan, and, more rarely, Khush-hal Chand. Irvine had made his first draft from the works of Khafi Khan and Kamwar, but he afterwards cancelled it in favour of the fuller and more correct narrative given in the *Mirat*. The text of the last-named history lithographed at Bombay is incomplete and stops with the year 1715 in the governorship of Daud Khan Panni; it is therefore useless for our period. English readers will find an excellent summary of the *Mirat* account (by Col. Watson) in *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i. pt. i, pp. 295-345. For purely Mahratta affairs, Irvine has relied on Grant Duff, with one or two references to Forrest's *Selections*. [J. Sarkar.]

take charge of the province until the arrival of a new deputy. Safdar Khan thereupon entered on possession of the governor's palace known as the *Bhadar*. Meanwhile, on the 12th Feb. 1723, Nizam-ul-mulk had appointed his uncle, Hamid Khan, to be his deputy with Fidwi Khan as provincial diwan. Certain parganas were removed from the *Khalsa* register and converted into *jagir* lands, five of the most productive of these being absorbed into Nizam-ul-mulk's own *jagir*, and Godhra granted in *jagir* to his brother-in-law, Mutawassil Khan.

Hamid Khan was met on his way by Salabat Muhammad Khan and Jawan-mard Khan, the sons of Safdar Khan Babi, and at Dohad he picked up Mihr Ali Khan, the late diwan, who had been detained there by illness. Shujaat Khan joined him at Godhra and Rustam Ali Khan at Thasra.* When he had arrived near the city, he pitched his camp near the Kakariya lake, in the grove of Mihr Ali Khan. On the 5th April 1723 he made his formal entry into the city. [*Mirat*.]

Things now went on in the usual way in the *subah*. Sayyid Nasir Khan, chief of the imperial mace-bearers, arrived from Dihli with robes of honour for the deputy governor. About this time there was a fight between Kripa Shankar Nagar, a military officer, and the underlings of the city faujdar. Hamid Khan ordered his artillery to besiege the man's house in the Rajwara quarter, and the disturbance lasted until nightfall. Rustam Ali Khan, who thought the culprit a valuable officer, then interfered, carried him off to his own house, and next day presented him to Hamid Khan. Pardon was granted to Kripa Shankar, and he was admitted into the deputy's service.

After a time Hamid Khan marched out into the districts to collect *peshkash*. Rustam Ali Khan undertook to pay a

* *Thasra*, about 36 m. e. of Ahmadabad.

K. K. 965-968 makes Shujaat Khan resist Hamid Khan on his first arrival in Gujarat. But as Hamid Khan started from Jhalod in Feb. 1723 and Shujaat Khan was not killed until Nov. 1724, it seems impossible to bridge over this interval. Therefore I treat Khafi Khan's account as referring to the later period when Shujaat Khan was re-appointed deputy of Sarbuland Khan. This is in the true order of events as found in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*.

lump sum on account of the collections from the country on the banks of the river Watrak, which flows into the Sabarmati on the left bank about twelve miles south of Ahmadabad, after a course of over 80 miles. The youngest brother, Ibrahim Quli Khan, was sent out to obtain the money and pitched his camp on the banks of the Watrak. When Hamid Khan was at the fort in Nariad, about 24 miles south-east of the capital, certain enemies of the brothers persuaded the deputy governor that he had now a good opportunity of attacking and getting rid of one of them. Ibrahim Quli Khan was informed of the plot and made ready to defend himself. Pretended friends in Hamid Khan's camp wrote that he ought to withdraw. He refused. Rustam Ali Khan turned out from Ahmadabad during the night to his brother's protection, and reached him at daybreak. Hamid Khan had already started from Nariad, but on his way learnt that Rustam Ali Khan had already joined Ibrahim Quli Khan. Giving up his purpose, Hamid Khan sent friendly messages to the brothers and returned to the city. The brothers went together towards parganas Pitlad and Baroda, of which they were in charge. There they attacked and burnt the village of Dhawan, belonging to the Kolis, built a small fort there, and placed a garrison in it. [*Mirat.*]

SEC. 48.—SHUJAAT KHAN REPLACES HAMID KHAN IN GUJARAT.

In Dec. 1723 Nizam-ul-mulk left Court, as we have seen, without the Emperor's consent, and Mubariz Khan was incited to resist his advance into the Dakhin, the result being a triumph for Nizam-ul-mulk. The Emperor thought it expedient to make concessions and in exchange for the confirmation of his vice-royalty in the Dakhin, Nizam-ul-mulk resigned the office of Wazir and with it the governorship of Malwa and Gujarat. The new governor of the latter province, Sarbuland Khan Mubariz-ul-mulk, nominated Shujaat Khan as his deputy until his own arrival, and Hamid Khan was directed to return to Court. Rustam Ali Khan, younger brother of Shujaat Khan, was at the same time appointed to the charge of Surat in place of Mumin Khan Najm Sani, who in turn replaced Fidwi Khan in

the office of diwan of the *subah*. [K. K. 966]. The official order, accompanied by a letter from Sarbuland Khan, reached Ahmadabad in July-August 1724. Hamid Khan was made acquainted with the orders, and the new deputy proceeded to appoint his own officers. Shujaat Khan called upon Hamid Khan to evacuate the Bhadar or governor's palace. As it was the middle of the rainy season, he asked for a little time. Shujaat Khan would make no concession and began to erect batteries in preparation for an ejection by force. The fighting went on for three nights and days, and many houses near the fort were injured. Those men of Ahmadabad who envied Shujaat Khan went so far as to send their followers to aid Hamid Khan and gave him encouragement in his resistance. But Ali Muhammad Khan* thought it wise to attempt a compromise. He therefore saw Safdar Khan Babi and said to that man's sons, "Another governor has been appointed, it will be wise for you to quench these flames if you want to stand well with the new man." He forced them to mount their horses and visit Hamid Khan. Ali Muhammad Khan next interviewed Shujaat Khan. In this way hostilities ceased and Hamid Khan quitted the city. His intention was to join his cousin Azim-ullah Khan, governor of Malwa, but finding that he had already quitted his Government and returned to Dihli, Hamid Khan until the rainy season had passed halted at Dohad 110 miles east of Ahmadabad. Thence he reported the facts to Nizam-ul-mulk and requested an answer. He also wrote to Dihli representing that he was in great straits for money; thereupon an order for two lakhs of Rupees was sent to him, payable from the treasury at Sironj. [*Mirat*, Kamwar.]

It seems that Shujaat Khan, knowing that the late Wazir was out of favour at Court, had offered to attack him in the Dakhin; and that the Emperor had granted three lakhs for this purpose from the treasury of Surat with which he engaged to raise twenty thousand men. As a counter-blast to this project, Nizam-ul-mulk entered into engagements with Kanthaji

*Faujdar of Haveli Ahmadabad and father of the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. The author himself returned to Ahmadabad in 1724.

Kadam Bande, one of Rajah Sahu's generals, offering him the *chauth* or one-fourth of the revenues of Gujarat in return for the reinstatement of Hamid Khan. He was also embittered by the summary way in which his uncle had been ejected by Shujaat Khan. At the end of the rains Kanthaji Kadam came across the Narmada with 15,000 to 20,000 horsemen and joined Hamid Khan. The two allies came first to Kaparwanj, about 32 miles east of Ahmadabad, whence Hamid Khan opened communications with his friends at Ahmadabad, who encouraged him to advance as the chances were all in his favour. At this time Shujaat Khan was away from Ahmadabad, engaged in suppressing some unruly zamindars. He had with him only 4,000 to 5,000 horsemen : and thought he could overcome his enemy without waiting for reinforcements. [*Mirat*, Kamwar.]

Hearing that Hamid Khan was making for the city of Ahmadabad, Shujaat Khan returned in that direction by forced marches and reached the village of Dhabora, nine *kos* from the city. He neglected to send out scouts, and being thus quite unaware of the enemy's approach he ordered a halt in order to collect tribute from the village. On Thursday the 14th Dec. 1724 he resumed his march towards the city, many of the soldiers and people of the bazars dispersing as he went.*

SEC. 49.—SHUJAAT KHAN SLAIN.

When they reached the village of Motiya Medara, four *kos* from the city, being in total ignorance of the enemy's presence, the camp-followers and the troops, mostly horsemen, began to leave in small groups and race each other to the city. All order and discipline were lost. Mahratta horsemen, known as *Hol-suwar*, appeared in sight and attacked the rearguard. Shujaat Khan's men lost their heads entirely, and the march became a mere *saue qui peut* with the city as its goal. Pressing onwards the Mahrattas fell upon the centre and commenced plundering it. Shujaat Khan did all he could to restore order, but owing to the crowd of fugitives and the strings of carts his

* Khush-hal Chand (Berlin MS. f. 1045) suggests drunkenness as the cause of Shujaat Khan's defeat.

efforts were without avail. The men were only too eager to escape out of their chief's sight and save themselves from the Mahrattas.

Shujaat Khan abandoning these fruitless endeavours took up a position on one side, a little apart from the crowd. Hamid Khan seized the chance and came on, clad in armour *cap-a-pie*, seated in an iron-sided canopy. The standard elephants of the two leaders fought together and that of Shujaat Khan prevailed. Then Hamid Khan drove forward the elephant he was riding. Shujaat Khan was seated on a simple pad with no iron-protected sides and with him was a little child, his son. Nevertheless he hesitated not, but brought his elephant alongside that of his enemy. Then both men let fly their arrows.

Husain Quli, son of Shujaat Khan, who commanded the vanguard of three thousand horse, saw from his seat on his elephant Hamid Khan come up against his father. He tried to rally the few men about him and lead them in a charge ; not one followed him. Alone he rode to his father's succour ; but arrived too late. Shujaat Khan's arrows glanced harmlessly off the sides of the iron canopy, while several of Hamid Khan's had struck Shujaat Khan with full effect. His few companions, who had not been killed or wounded, took to flight and were made prisoners by the Mahrattas. Then Hamid Khan's men surrounded the elephant and gave the *coup de grace* with their lances and spears. The deceased's family, including two sons, Husain Quli Khan and Mustafa Quli Khan, were taken prisoners ; and the whole of the goods and equipage in his camp became the spoil of the conqueror. At nightfall Hamid Khan accompanied by the Mahrattas entered his camp, which was pitched at the Shahi-Bagh. During the night the head of Shujaat Khan was sent into the city to Safdar Khan Babi, and he sent it on to Ibrahim Quli Khan.

The next day, the 17th Dec. 1724, Hamid Khan entered the city and took possession of the Bhadar palace. Munim Khan the diwan and Fidwi Khan his predecessor, who had taken up his abode in the city, accompanied by the chief Muhammadans and Hindus, presented themselves in fear and trembling. In all the parganas west of the Mahi the *chauth*

and *sardeshmukhi* were given to Kanthaji ; and the Mahratta's soldiers thronged the streets and lanes, went where they pleased, and sold the plunder of Shujaat Khan's camp. Much property was also removed from the shrine of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu [at Sarkhej],—grain, glass candle-shades, canvas awnings, and brass railings, the latter torn down from their place round the tomb. Kanthaji sent out his agents to realize the *chauth*, and went himself to levy ransom (*khandani*) from Viramgaon, an unfortified unwallled town. By the advice of Ude Karan the *desai*, the inhabitants submitted and agreed to the levy of 250,000 Rupees if their goods were spared. When the money was collected the *desai* prudently added something, and with this money a fort was built. Meanwhile Hamid Khan threw off the mask, turned out the imperial officers and grandees, took possession of the whole country, and by degrees sent for all the books and papers of the diwan's office, and from this time forth the revenues of this province were lost to the Emperor and retained by the governors (*nazims*).

SEC. 50.—DEATH OF IBRAHIM QULI KHAN.

Ibrahim Quli Khan, owing to rumours of Hamid Khan's approach, had enlisted more troops and had made preparations to defend the city. Two days before the battle he had gone to live in his house in the Karez Bazar.* Safdar Khan Babi had long borne a grudge against Shujaat Khan and his brothers, founded on injuries done to him by Haidar Quli Khan, their patron, when ruler of Surat. He now pretended to be Ibrahim Quli Khan's friend and offered to intercede with Hamid Khan. The young man, suspicious of this new-born friendship, declined the offer and sought instead the mediation of another officer,† who was a native of Ahmadabad. Through this man, who became his surety for the good faith and loyal conduct on

* More correctly, *Karanj*. It was a building with a fountain in the centre of the outer court of the Bhadar and opposite the middle of the three gateways. [*Bombay Gazetteer*, iv. 273.]

† Mumin Khan, the diwan of the province, according to Kamwar.

both sides, he presented himself at the new governor's audience, where he was well received and was given a turban ornament.

A few days after the battle, over-persuaded by Safdar Khan and other evil-minded persons, Hamid Khan resolved to break his pledged word, send for and imprison Ibrahim Quli Khan, and in the end slay him. The secret was badly kept, for as the saying is "A secret is never concealed when many share in it", and passing from mouth to mouth the news soon reached the ear of the officer who had stood security. This man sought out Ibrahim Quli Khan at midnight, told him what was purposed, and advised him to flee [to Kambhayat and Surat, during the darkness] while there was yet time. His friend offered to join him. Ibrahim Quli Khan was too proud to seek refuge in flight. He accepted the decrees of Fate and was prepared to die. Soon the agents of the governor made their appearance and demanded his attendance and the delivery of the valuables belonging to his late brother, which were asserted to be in his possession. Aqa Hadi, the family's trusted man of business, had already been sent to prison. On the 20th Dec. 1724, at about 9 A.M., after having taken a bath of purification and bidden a long farewell to those of his household, Ibrahim Quli Khan set out, followed by thirty to forty men who were still found faithful in adversity, and accompanied by his surety at the head of seven or eight men.

Arriving at the Bhadar or palace of the governor, Ibrahim Quli Khan entered fearlessly with his party at his heels. The body of mace-bearers and doorkeepers on guard at the gate of the garden-house objected to their entering. Ibrahim Quli Khan must lay down his arms before he could enter and could take with him no more than two or three of his men. In spite of these remonstrances, the party forced its way in, thus only incensing the doorkeepers still more; they vociferated louder and louder, became abusive and made a show of force. Ibrahim Quli Khan's patience was soon exhausted and he struck at once at them with the short sword he was carrying. His friends then drew and all ran as fast as they could towards the audience-hall. Hamid Khan had not yet come out and the visitors waiting to see him dispersed. Ibrahim Quli Khan made for

the door of the private apartments close to the hot bath (*hamam*). There he met face to face Nauindh Rai, manager of Nizam-ul-mulk's lands, Bhara Mal faujdar of Duraha, Girdhar Lal diwan, and one Patiya, head agent of the zamindar of Jhalwa.* In the struggle Patiya was killed and the two others wounded. Ibrahim Quli Khan passed on into the private apartments. The men on duty fled, some escaping by a drain leading to the Sabarmati. Hamid Khan had escaped to the roof and could not be found. His enemy sought him in the women's rooms, but the more he sought the less he found. By Hamid Khan's orders soldiers came from all sides. Soon Ibrahim Quli Khan met his death from the bullets fired, and the stones and clods thrown at him. His head was severed from the body, and both head and trunk were taken out and exposed separately upon the gates. A body of Purbiya soldiers ran about trying to appropriate whatever weapon and clothes they could lay hands upon. The gates of the Bhadar were closed, no one was allowed to go out or enter, and search was made for the accomplices of Ibrahim Quli Khan. Among those waiting in the courtyard for audience were Ali Muhammad Khan, agent for Sarbuland Khan, Ashraf Ali Khan son of the late Mihr Ali Khan diwan and his introducer Agil Khan faujdar of Idar. These men feared that they might be accused. As Ali Muhammad Khan knew the eunuch in charge of it, they hid in the wardrobe room (*toshak-khana*).

To preserve his reputation at Court, Hamid Khan wrote to his agent at Dihli that Shujaat Khan when on the march to Ahmadabad had been attacked near that city and killed by Kanthaji ; that he (Hamid Khan) not being far off hastened to the spot, took measures to protect the city, and had preserved it from injury. As his letter was the first to arrive, the Emperor recorded his thanks and granted him robes of honour and a string of pearls. Two days afterwards letters arrived from Sarbuland Khan's agent and the truth became known.

* Was it *Jabwa*, midway between Ahmadabad and Indore or, more probably, *Jhalod* in Panch Mahals? [J. S.] This narrative is based on *Mirat* and *Khush-hal*.

SEC. 51.—ADVANCE AND DEATH OF RUSTAM ALI KHAN.

As soon as the real course of events was reported at Dihli, orders were issued to Rustam Ali Khan, the middle brother, then deputy governor of Surat and faujdar of Baroda and Pitlad, to draw from the treasury of that port whatever money there was in hand, and therewith equip a force to eject Hamid Khan. When these orders reached him, Rustam Ali Khan was at the pass of Khanapur some miles from Surat, engaged in a contest with Pilaji Mahratta. He returned at once to the city, and in a few days' time had got ready a force of 15,000 horsemen, 20,000 matchlockmen and bowmen, and sufficient artillery. The more prudent of his advisers pointed out to Rustam Ali Khan that in the three months when the rains began the Mahrattas would as usual withdraw. The interval could be best used at Surat in perfecting his preparations; and when they advanced they would in all probability win without a contest. But Rustam Ali Khan could brook no delay. Pilaji Mahratta, with whom Rustam Ali Khan had recently had some skirmishes, had followed him to Surat, and with 10,000 horsemen under his command barred the way. Mustafa Khan was sent to interview the Mahratta leader. Terms of alliance were offered to him, and for a payment of two lakhs of Rupees he consented, at least outwardly, to give his services.* Taking with him Kamgar Ali Khan, his brother-in-law, then faujdar of Baroda, Rustam Ali Khan set out in haste towards Ahmadabad, Pilaji his new ally marching one stage behind him.

On learning this news, Hamid Khan left Safdar Khan Babi in the Bhadar as his deputy and placed his family in the care of Allahdad and Muhammad Ashraf brother of Muhammad Khan Ghorni, one of Rustam Ali Khan's commanders. He

* The above account is based on Kamwar and Khafi Khan (968). *Mirat* (180b-181a) adds the following details:—"At the camp between Karju and Bajud near Baroda, Rustam Ali Khan and Pilaji met and here they halted for several days, while matters were under discussion. A lakh of Rupees was paid in cash, and gifts of an elephant cloth and jewels were added. Pilaji with Mustafa Khan then crossed the Mahendri and encamped."

then quitted Ahmadabad, pitched his camp at Tal Kakariya,* and there awaited reinforcements for which he had sent in all directions. Leaving Tal Kakariya at the head of thirty to forty thousand horsemen, Hamid Khan marched towards Baroda. After a halt of two or three days in the open plain outside Ahmadabad, he continued his route, and at a distance of about 70 miles from Ahmadabad reached the bank of the Mahi river, and there encamped. Followed by Pilaji at one day's interval, Rustam Ali Khan crossed the river Mahi and reached the village of Aras in pargana Pitlad. Pilaji's camp was on one side, not very far off. This was on the 7th Feb. 1725. On the same day Hamid Khan with his ally Kanthaji Mahratta and certain nobles, Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi, Sayyid Fayyaz Khan and others, arrived from Ahmadabad and pitched his camp about five miles from that of Rustam Ali Khan. He was joined here by Mir Nathu and Salabat Khan Rohela, who had come from Malwa in search of employment.

During the night after his arrival, Hamid Khan sent to Pilaji the letters of Nizam-ul-mulk calling upon him to give assistance to the writer's uncle. It suited Pilaji to meet favourably these overtures. He knew that for the carrying out of his purpose of seizing the country the removal of Rustam Ali Khan was necessary. but he felt that he could not do this by his own strength alone. The same night he visited Hamid Khan's camp, terms were agreed on, robes of honour and an elephant were conferred upon him, and he returned to his own camp. This betrayal was forthwith brought to Rustam Ali Khan's knowledge. He professed to be quite indifferent ; for was not victory the gift of heaven, it depended not upon this, that or the other man ;—"Be it he whom the Friend desires or to whom His inclination turns."

On the following day, as the sun rose Rustam Ali Khan sounded his drums and took the field with some four thousand horse and four thousand foot. His vanguard was led by Sardar Muhammad Khan Ghorni and Kamgar Ali Khan his brother-in-

* A reservoir covering 72 acres and more than a mile round, situated about three-fourths of a mile from the Raypur gate, and surrounded by many tiers of cut stone steps. [*Bombay Gaz.* iv. 17.]

law. On the right was Ahmad Quli Khan (son of Shujaat Khan) and on the left Kazim Beg Khan (son of Kazim Beg Khan). Muhammad Panah commanded the rearguard ; the leader himself held the centre. From the fact that Hamid Khan had posted his artillery in front the night before, Rustam Ali Khan looked forward to an artillery action. He therefore sent his baggage and transport away to the village where there was a small fort, in which these were accommodated so far as possible, a body of Arab infantry being left for their protection. The drums beat and the trumpets blew ; the cannon on both sides began to roar.

Rustam Ali Khan rode straight at the cannon and after a short struggle took possession of them, Girdhar Lal, Hamid Khan's diwan, and many others being killed where they stood. Seeing this reverse, Mir Nathu and Salabat Khan Rohela (who were in Hamid Khan's vanguard) now advanced and the battle became general. Sardar Muhammad Khan brought his elephant alongside that ridden by Mir Nathu. After exchanging several passes with their swords, Sardar Muhammad Khan succeeded in slaying his opponent. Rustam Ali Khan engaged Hamid Khan. The latter thinking that, as the proverb says, "Well-timed fight is the same as victory", descended from his elephant, mounted a horse and escaped.

The Mahratta leaders, who had a wholesome fear of Rustam Ali Khan, held aloof and merely looked on, while he forced his way to Hamid Khan's camp and there released the sons of the late Shujaat Khan, Husain Quli and Mustafa Quli, and his chief agent, Aqa Hadi. They were found in fetters. Rustam Ali Khan collected as much as he could of the property belonging to Hamid Khan and remained in the camp a couple of hours. Finding there was no further opposition, he carried off the lead and powder with a few of the guns, and spiked the rest. He then returned to his own camp, taking with him such soldiers and camp-followers as had asked for and received quarter.*

* Rustam Ali, who looked on himself as the victor and believed he had slain his enemy (Hamid Khan), wrote an account of the battle to the Emperor at Delhi. The letter resulted the capital in 10 or 12 days, and in

As soon as Rustam Ali Khan, having driven Hamid Khan off the field, had gone away towards his own camp, Kanthaji began to plunder the rest of Hamid Khan's baggage, the horses and goods of the survivors were appropriated, and in a few minutes a clean sweep was made of everything. On the other side, while this fight had been going on, Pilaji had laid hands similarly on the camp of Rustam Ali Khan, and had taken everything belonging to him except what was in the fort held by the Arab guard. The gun-carriages were set fire to, the guns spiked; horses, lead, powder, everything was removed as far as possible and the rest burnt. On Rustam Ali Khan's return he found not a trace of his tents. Some of the men whose goods had gone told him their story; and all he could do was to pitch a small tent on the edge of the village tank. The wounded were attended to and the dead buried; among the latter was Kazim Beg Khan, who had fallen in the first onset.

Upon escaping from the battle-field Hamid Khan sought refuge with Kanthaji, whom he cursed heartily, first, for standing by idly looking on; then, for plundering the camp. The Mahratta made profuse excuses and returned a few tents; such as were absolutely necessary, and the Nawab's riding elephant. Hamid Khan remained in the Mahratta camp; and for two days not a Mahratta showed himself to the other side, in fact on the day of battle many had crossed the Mahi river. Then a force of Mahrattas arrived from the Dakhin under the command of Puar and Sombanshi. This party was an advance guard of the thousands of Mahrattas who hearing of Shujaat Khan's death flocked to Gujarat as to a promised land. In the end some seventy to eighty thousand of these men were collected.

On the day next but one after the first fight, the Mahrattas brought up several cannon and resumed the offensive. Rustam

reward for this victory and the [supposed] death of Hamid Khan. Rustam Ali's rank was raised to 6,000 *zat* (same number of *sawar*) and the Government of Gujarat was granted to him in his own name. It was currently reported at Dihli that the bodies of the slain were to be seen along a distance of twenty-three *kos*, and some four or five thousand Mahrattas lost their lives. Salabat Rohela and a large number of the Afghans who had come with him from Malwa were also slain. [Kamwar.]

Ali Khan's side replied. But the swarms of Mahrattas blocked the way for all supplies of grain or grass. Night and day the cannonade continued; the Muhammadans were devoid of shelter, and each day a number of them fell victims.

While this fighting was going on elsewhere, in Ahmadabad the loose characters and city thieves and those who had lost everything in Shujaat Khan's camp, began to plunder. They appropriated horses and carriages; they interfered with the dependents and servants of Hamid Khan. They collected in crowds and attacked the Bhadar palace, emptied the Government store-houses of their carpets and clothes. Safdar Khan Babi escaped with difficulty from these rioters, and leaving the palace returned to his own dwelling, while Hamid Khan's men hid wherever they could find a refuge. Word had been sent by Rustam Ali Khan to Mumin Khan diwan with a request to preserve order in the city, while Mir Ibrahim a dependant of the late Shujaat Khan was sent to occupy the Bhadar palace. The diwan enlisted men and deputed his son, Muhammad Baqir, to patrol the city at night and visit the outposts.

Meanwhile, in Rustam Ali Khan's camp idle stories were brought in daily of the death of Hamid Khan.* Rustam Ali Khan had intended in the day of his first success to march forthwith to Ahmadabad. The destruction of his camp equipage hindered this; and for eight days and nights he lay helpless on the bank of the pond in Aras village. From morn to eve he was cannonaded. Finally, on the 14th Feb. 1725 he ventured to make a start in the direction of Ahmadabad, with four or five thousand men unprovided with artillery or sufficient equipment. The Mahrattas in enormous numbers hovered round him, and he had to fight for every step, advancing

* Two or three days after the battle. Rustam Ali Khan at last ascertained that Hamid Khan, severely wounded, had found refuge among the Mahrattas. His surrender, dead or alive, was demanded. As they were in need of time for the arrival of reinforcements from the Dakhin, the Mahrattas gained some days by deceitful promises. Then one of Rustam Ali Khan's clerks, who had fallen a prisoner into their hands, wrote to him secretly that a large reinforcement of Mahrattas was on its way from Aurangabad *via* Surat and that the promises made were nothing but pretences for delay. [Kamwar.]

daily not more than three or four miles. They succeeded in getting no further than the village Napad in Chaurasi Kambhayat. In the two succeeding days, under similar difficulties, they reached fort Kalamsar and then Napa in pargana Pitlad. They were never left in peace for one moment day or night: and wherever there was an opportunity the camp-followers and such of Hamid Khan's men as had asked quarter, disappeared. Daily the numbers diminished through death and desertion. Aqa Hadi, who had been rescued only a few days before, lost his life one day in the rearguard on his elephant when the animal, taking fright from the noise of the rockets, refused to obey its driver and made off into the enemy's line.

In this emergency one Banarsi, headman of Basu in pargana Pitlad, a village about 25 miles from the city of Ahmadabad, came forward with an offer of aid. Food and a small reinforcement of men would be found in his village. If Rustam Ali Khan could reach it, he might remain a few days to recruit his strength and await the arrival of any reinforcements despatched from Ahmadabad. Accordingly they directed their march towards that village. But Hamid Khan and the Mahrattas made use of threats to Banarsi; and Rustam Ali Khan's enemies in Ahmadabad also used their influence upon him. Banarsi grew alarmed, and at night-time evacuated the village, taking everything with him and leaving it quite empty.

Rustam Ali Khan with his 800 men fought his way to Basu village and reached it at nightfall on the 18th. During this day's march Kamgar Ali Khan and others lost their lives. A halt was made at the tank near the village; but on exploring further not a trace of inhabitants nor a scrap of food could be found. No one dared to come to their assistance, and the enemy fired on them all through the night,* such as were killed being buried on the bank where they were camped. Next day they found that to march was impossible; a halt was called. As the village was a large one and only recently abandoned, a close search produced a small amount of grain and forage,

* Kamwar: From the 20th February Rustam Ali's force was so closely pressed that the men had hardly time to get a drink of water, much less to cook and eat their food.

which enabled the men to feed themselves and their horses. The day after (the 20th), at break of day they resumed the contest. By immense efforts they forced their way a mile or so onward, to the edge of a small artificial lake called Sai Talawar, where they halted. Incapable of further struggle, this fragment of an army lost heart and hope, nay, abandoned their horses, threw away their arms, disguised themselves as far as they could, and as night came on fled.

The sun rose on Thursday the 21st February and found Rustam Ali Khan still undaunted. He said his morning prayer composedly and called for his coffee. Sardar Muhammad Khan Ghomi rode up and called to him: "It is time to mount and begin the fight." Reaching a cup of coffee to him, Rustam Ali Khan said, "Let us spread our rug here, and await our fate." His officer still urged him to mount, and an elephant was brought. But Rustam Ali Khan said "Now is the time for horseback and a *mêlee*." Shouting "*Allah! Allah!*" he turned his steed towards the foe. Under the pressure of the Mahratta numbers his men dispersed, many were killed, many were wounded, a few were made prisoner, a few escaped unscathed. Sardar Muhammad Khan was left on the field severely wounded. At first the Mahrattas got out of Rustam Ali Khan's way, but in the end gathered round him and inflicted on him many a wound by arrow and spear. At length in a hand-to-hand fight he was cut down and killed. Husain Quli Khan and Ahmad Quli Khan, the sons of Shujaat Khan, were a second time made captive. The Dakhinis severed Rustam Ali Khan's head from the body and sent it to Hamid Khan. Pilaji removed one of the hands and sent it as a memorial of his valour to his abode at Songarh.* The head was sent in to Ahmadabad; the body was buried at Basu village. News of Rustam Ali Khan's defeat and death reached the city on the Friday, and his head lay before the Police office for one

* 50 m. e. of Surat. *Mirat* (175a): "Soner, a village in pargana Nokara of sarkar Surat, 32 kos from that port. Pilaji made an alliance with the zamindar to whom it belonged, and on a high hill near it erected a small fort and at the foot of the hill built a small walled town." *Bomb. Gaz.* vii. 585, 169.

day and night. It was then buried beside the body of his brother Ibrahim Quli Khan.

All the friends and backers of Hamid Khan now emerged from their hiding places, and seeking to revenge their ancient wrong committed fresh excesses. Mir Ibrahim under the protection of Sayyid Nur-ullah, whose troops he had hired, removed from the Bhadar to his own house and then escaped. Hamid Khan and the Mahrattas arrived, and after one night at the Shahi-Bagh entered the Bhadar. The gates of the fortress of Ahmadabad were destroyed. Pilaji and Kanthaji, mounted on Rustam Ali Khan's elephant and followed by their troops, came into the city and paid a formal visit to Hamid Khan. Mumin Khan diwan and Fidwi Khan ex-diwan each presented a female elephant with such clothes and other outfit as they had ready, Hamid Khan having repeatedly complained to them of the distress caused to him by the recent plundering of his camp.

SEC. 52.—EXACTIONS OF HAMID KHAN AND THE MAHRATTAS.

As agreed on, the *chauth* for the lands on the Ahmadabad side of the Mahi river was given to Kanthaji and that for those on the side of Baroda Surat and so forth to Pilaji. The Mahrattas spread wherever they liked far and wide in the parganas, and collected sums by way of ransom, payments which they called *khandani*. On his side Hamid Khan assumed airs of independence. A sum of eighty thousand Rupees and the clothes prepared for the Emperor (a department in charge of Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan) were forcibly seized. The store-rooms of imperial goods were opened and emptied of their contents; and as the official accounts formerly annexed had been destroyed, the remaining volumes were removed from the diwan's custody. All the lands of the subah, assigned or unassigned, were appropriated, wealthy men were seized and the fine locally called *babura** imposed. Ahmad Quli and

* It was assessed in various ways, on the amount of trade, or on each caste, or by heads, or on homes. It had never been heard of before, but now became an annual thing. [*Mirat*, 180a.]

Husain Quli (sons of Shujaat Khan) were poisoned ; only Mustafa Quli (a small child) was allowed to live. Murlidhar, a Gujarati of the writer caste, was appointed by Hamid Khan to be his diwan.

Meanwhile the Mahrattas spread over the country in all directions, burning and plundering wherever they went. At Sarkhej, where is the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, the better class of the inhabitants immolated their wives and children in the mode known as *juhar*, while many hundreds of high-born women threw themselves into wells or ponds to avoid outrage. Thus, too, in the hamlet across the Sabarmati where Afghans lived, many women were slain by their relations. Two sons of the late Shujaat Khan, one three years of age and the other an infant at the breast, were put to death by the victors ; and of that family the only survivor was Suhrab Khan, a boy of twelve, who had been left in charge of the city and fortress of Surat.

Kanthaji, as an officer of Rajah Sahu, affected to look down upon Pilaji, a mere agent for the Mahratta *senapati* or commander-in-chief. At Kambhayat (Cambay) this feeling led to a dispute, ending in a conflict. They fought within sight of the walls, and Pilaji, being defeated, retired to Mahtur a village near Kaira. Kantha then levied a contribution from Cambay, where the English factors, in spite of their letters of protection from Rajah Sahu were forced to pay five thousand Rupees. After this open quarrel, Hamid Khan forced them to sign an agreement by which Pilaji took the *chauth* to the east, and Kanthaji that to the west of the river Mahi. Soon after the battle at Cambay, Pilaji retired into quarters at Songarh, and Kanthaji went to his *jagir* in Khandesh. [*Mirat.*]

SEC. 53.—SARBULAND KHAN'S PREPARATIONS FOR OCCUPYING GUJARAT.

When sometime early in March 1725 the bad news first of Shujaat Khan's and then of Rustam Ali Khan's defeat and death became known at Dihli, the new governor Sarbuland Khan was urged to complete his preparations more rapidly and take possession of his Government at the very earliest date.

For the seven or eight months since his appointment he had been loitering sometimes in the neighbourhood of Dihli, sometimes near Rewari or Kot Putili. The supposition was that His Majesty in person would take the field ; but this project, if ever entertained, never took practical shape. He was now given a subsidy of one kror of Rupees, of which fifty lakhs were paid at once and the balance was promised in monthly instalments of three lakhs each. Maharajah Abhai Singh Rathor of Jodhpur, Chattar Singh of Narwar, Gandharb Singh, and the Maharana were directed to assist. Muhkam Singh Khatri, formerly the principal officer under Sayyid Husain Ali Khan, who for the last four years, ever since the defeat of Sayyid Abdullah Khan had been out of employment deprived of title, rank, or pay, was re-invested with the rank of 6000 (5000 horse), the title of Rajah, and a *jagir* of two kror of *dam*. He also received a cash advance of two lakhs of Rupees. A number of Barha Sayyids were also restored to the service and ordered to Gujarat. Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, younger brother of Abdullah Khan, who had been in prison for five years, was restored to his old rank, appointed governor of Ajmer, and ordered to join Sarbuland Khan. Other Barha Sayyids appointed were Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, a younger brother, Shujaat-ullah Khan, Muhammad Khan, Shah Ali Khan, Sayyid Nijabat Ali Khan (a nephew of the Barha Wazir), altogether between twenty and thirty leaders of the Barha with their troops came to the capital and were despatched to Gujarat. In the end of Rajab (30th=13th April, 1725) Sarbuland Khan left Dihli on his way to Agra, but he only went two or three short marches and halted at Tilpat, 13 miles from the capital, and there he remained until the end of Shaban (29th=12th May 1725). In Ramzan (May-June) he was only at Faridabad, but the Emperor's mace-bearers who had left him encamped on the bank of the Jamuna, reported that he was now proceeding stage by stage to Agra.

EVENTS IN AHMADABAD.

In April 1725 Hamid Khan heard that Sarbuland Khan would soon start from Dihli. But the rainy season was about to commence and the Mahrattas, as usual, retreated to their

own country. Hamid Khan extracted a promise from them to return to him the instant the rainy season had ended. Meanwhile Ali Muhammad Khan, agent for the new governor, quitted the city under the protection of Abdur-rahim Babi, whom Hamid Khan had just appointed *faujdar* of Kari. Then he proceeded on the invitation of Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi to Viramgaon. Here letters were received from Sarbuland Khan calling for frequent reports of Hamid Khan's doings and all the city news. Ali Muhammad Khan subsequently moved to Radhanpur under the protection of Jawan-mard Khan Babi. Hamid Khan's officials began to lose their hold on the country. At Pattan Qazi Ilm-ud-din gave out that he had been appointed *faujdar* of that place and ousted Hamid Khan's nominee. The same thing occurred at other places. In September Hamid Khan sent out his tents with the avowed object of collecting tribute (*peshkash*) from the zamindars in the direction of Jhalawar, and under urgent orders Salabat Muhammad Khan and Jawan-mard Khan left their stations and joined him.

SEC. 54.—SARBULAND KHAN ENTERS AHMADABAD ; HAMID KHAN
RETIRES TO THE DAKHIN.

By this time Sarbuland Khan had reached Ajmer, and thence *via* Marwar had marched on towards Ahmadabad. Ali Muhammad Khan waited on in the hope that the two Babi chiefs would succeed in joining him ; but they were now with Hamid Khan and could not escape. On the day that Sarbuland Khan arrived at Vadgaon, he was overtaken by Sayyid Aqil Khan bringing three lakhs of subsidy from Dihli. The bearer of this welcome help was appointed *faujdar* of sarkar Godhra and Thasra in place of Nizam-ul-mulk's nominee Mutawassil Khan.

In response to repeated orders Ali Muhammad Khan left Radhanpur for Pattan and thence for Sidhpur. There he found Shaikh Allahyar Bilgrami, the new governor's Bakhshi, at the head of an advanced force with several guns which had been detached from the main army at Jhalor. A consultation took place and a list of local adherents was drawn up. Qazi Ilm-ud-din was summoned from Pattan and taken into service.

Sarbuland Khan was found at Dantiwara and there he issued a writing appointing Sardar Muhammad Khan Ghorni to be his deputy in Ahmadabad. This letter was sent to his nominee with instructions to make use of the first opportunity to take possession of the city.

When Hamid Khan heard that Sarbuland Khan was drawing nearer and nearer he turned back towards Ahmadabad ; on the way he was forsaken by Salabat Muhammad Khan and Jawanmard Khan (Babis), who hastened off to join his successor. Hamid Khan still looked anxiously for the Mahrattas, but they came not. Several times he wrote most pressingly to them ; but still they made no sign. As there was a new governor actually on the boundary of the province, he feared that those of the city would not revenge themselves for his previous oppression. He therefore named one Rup Singh as his deputy and recommended him to the good offices of Sardar Muhammad Khan ; he then quitted the city and marched in the direction of Mahmudabad.

Urged to haste by his master, Shaikh Allahyar hurried on from Sidhpur, and when Sardar Muhammad Khan received his letter of appointment this advanced force was only some sixty miles from the capital. The new governor's nominee at once interviewed Rup Singh and pointed out the danger to which he was exposed. A new governor with his army was close at hand : and it would be well for him to save his own head by making his escape. Thankful for this chance the man departed, and Sardar Muhammad Khan took peaceable possession. Just when this had happened, news of the Mahrattas came to Hamid Khan : he and Kanthaji quickly joined forces and turned their faces towards the city. On their way they met the fugitive Rup Singh, from whom they learnt that an advanced force was quite near. Hastening onwards the allies pitched their camp in the Shahi-Bagh and sent messages again and again to Sardar Muhammad Khan demanding his neutrality, but without obtaining any satisfaction.

The two events, Sardar Muhammad Khan's successful occupation of the city and the return of Hamid Khan with his Mahratta ally, were reported to Shaikh Allahyar together when

he was at Kalol, some thirty miles from Ahmadabad. Evidently no time was to be lost. Making over the command to Mirza Ghulam Ali Beg, Khwaja Muhammad Aman Nurani, and Raizada Har Karan, Allahyar started at night with one thousand picked horsemen, reached the Sabarmati opposite the city, and crossing over entered by the Raigarh gate. The spirits of the garrison rose and the inhabitants were overjoyed at the prospect of escaping from Hamid Khan's exactions. The rest of the advance force under Ghulam Ali Beg followed from Kalol, and when they arrived at Adalaj, about ten miles from the city, they entrenched themselves. They reported their movements to Sarbuland Khan. Owing to an accident to the wheel of the gun-carriage belonging to the great cannon called Fath Laskar the latter had been compelled to halt for two days at Dantiwara. On his reaching Sidhpur, he was joined by Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi and Jawan-mard Khan Babi. The next halt was at the town of Mehsana. After one day at that place they came to the village of Bist Rain, about 45 miles from the city.

Here they learnt that Hamid Khan and the Mahrattas had attacked the party entrenched at Adalaj under Ghulam Ali Beg. The fight continued from dawn till the afternoon, then some of the newly enlisted local troops (*qasbati*) began to retreat, and the force lost cohesion, Ghulam Ali Beg and the two other commanders drew up their men and led a charge against the foe. They succeeded in pushing their attack as far as the centre where Hamid Khan's elephant stood, but they were soon overcome by numbers and Muhammad Aman and Har Karan were slain. Ghulam Ali Beg, in spite of severe wounds managed to break through with a few men and reached the city. Some fugitives from his force found shelter in the surrounding villages, others fled to Bist Rain where stood the advance tents of Sarbuland Khan.

To decide upon the course to be taken after this contre-temps, a council was called; the faujdaris of Viramgaon and Pattan were given to Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi and Jawan-mard Khan Babi; and summonses were issued to many Rajput and Koli chiefs. The direct route being insufficiently supplied with water they resolved to advance by way of Bijapur,

keeping close to the banks of the Sabarmati. Ali Muhammad Khan and the two Babi chiefs were sent ahead to lead the way. Next day they came to the Sabarmati and thence pressed on by successive marches.

From Adalaj Hamid Khan returned to the Shahi-Bagh. He now made up his mind to withdraw. The gates of the city remained closed against him, Sardar Muhammad Khan's force was rapidly increasing, and the new governor was reported to be at the head of twenty thousand men. On Hamid Khan's side there were only the four or five thousand men of his own army on whom he could rely. The Mahrattas were accustomed to fight as irregular skirmishers and were not likely to stand against regular troops in a pitched battle. Moreover, his soldiers were already in mutiny for their arrears of pay, and the civil officials were deserting him daily. Murlidhar his diwan, being a native of Gujarat, feared retaliation under a new régime [and went over to Surbuland's side]. For all these reasons combined, Hamid Khan gave up the struggle and went off with Kanthaji to Mahmudabad and then crossed the Mahi river on his way to the Dakhin.

On the 11th Dec. 1725 Sarbuland Khan pitched his camp on the north of the city by the Sabarmati and close to the garden of Muhammad Amin Khan. Mumin Khan the diwan, Abul Mufakhir Khan the *Sadar*, Abdullah Khan the *Qazi*, Amanatdar official reporter, Kabir Ali Khan, news-writer, Shaikh Allahyar, Sardar Muhammad Khan, Sayyid Fayyaz Khan, Shiran Khan, Khush-hal Chand the *nagar-seth*, or head of the traders, and all the chief men, Musalman and Hindu, came out to meet him. During a halt of some days many new appointments were made. As an entry into the city was held to be inadvisable, Sarbuland Khan marched round it, past the shrine of Shah Bhikan, to a point south of the walls and on the bank of the river. Fida-ud-din Khan* received a large sum for the entertainment of men and was placed in charge of the country near the capital. Kalb Ali was sent into the city as police officer.

* Afterwards created Najm-ud-daulah Mumin Kh. Dilawar Jang and subahdar. Died 1158 H.

SEC. 55.—THE RETURN OF THE MAHRATTAS.*

Kanthaji, after he had seen Hamid Khan safely across the Mahi river, was joined by Pilaji. The absence of pursuit emboldened them to return to the neighbourhood of the city, where they plundered the hamlets and slew travellers entering or leaving. Fida-ud-din Khan, the man in charge of the suburbs, was sent out against them and there were several skirmishes near Bara Nainpur and Rajpur. A strong force was collected as quickly as possible to take the field under the command of Khanazad Khan, the governor's eldest son. With him were sent Jawan-mard Khan Babi, Sardar Muhammad Khan Ghorni, and Sayyid Fayyaz Khan at the head of their Gujarati troops, three to four thousand in number ; with them went Muhammad Iraj, Nur-ud-din Muhammad Khan, and Ali Mardan Khan, appointed respectively to Duraha, Kambhayat and Pitlad. On the 22nd Rabi II. 1138 H. (27 Dec. 1725) Sarbuland Khan made his formal entry into the city of Ahmadabad and sought to seize the officials who had been employed by Hamid Khan, in the hope of recovering from them some of the revenue collections.

During his advance to Duraha, Khanazad Khan was assailed on all sides by the Mahrattas. That place having been reached, Muhammad Iraj was established and the army resumed its march. Again the Mahrattas collected, and there was a pitched battle near Sojitra in pargana Pitlad, in which the enemy were worsted. Ali Mardan Khan was left at Pitlad, and Nur-ud-din Muhammad Khan installed at Kambhayat. By continued pressure the Mahrattas were forced temporarily across the Mahi ; and after posting new officials in various places, Khanazad Khan, in obedience to his father's orders, returned and encamped at the village of Rakhyal, about five miles to the east of Ahmadabad. Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, Nijabat Ali Khan and other Barha Sayyids sent from Court now arrived, the governor's second son Shah Nawaz Khan escorting them to their encampment in the Shahi-Bagh. After a few days the

* This account is almost entirely based upon the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* occasionally supplemented by Warid.

Sayyids with the three thousand men under their command were ordered to join Khanazad Khan.

When Khanazad Khan returned to Ahmadabad, the Mahrattas made for Kaparvanj* and in concert with the Koli tribes prepared a camp which they protected with thick branches of trees and a hedge of thorns. Leaving within this place all their baggage and carriage, they advanced into the open to meet the Muhammadans. The fight did not go well for the Mahrattas and they were driven back into their lines, where the Muhammadan artillery played upon them. Losing heart the Mahratta soldiery fled and left the field and camp in the hands of their opponents. Having possessed themselves of the camp, the Muhammadans started in pursuit which they kept up continuously until the Mahrattas had retired across the Mahi and sought shelter in the hill country of Ali Mohan.† Shaikh Husain-ud-din was placed in charge of Baroda; and other men were sent to Bharoch, Jambusar and Maqbulabad.

While Khanazad Khan's army was out in Ali Mohan acting against Kanthaji and Pilaji, another body of Mahrattas under Antaji and Bhaskar appeared in the north from the direction of Idar. They surrounded Vadnagar, a town inhabited by rich Nagar bankers and other prosperous merchants. Urgent applications was made at the capital for a detachment of troops. The town had a fortress, but it had neither supplies nor garrison. As there were no troops left at head-quarters none could be sent and the townspeople to save the place from being plundered paid a ransom (*khandani*) of four lakhs of Rupees.

Kanthaji and Pilaji, seeing that they had little or no chance of success against the Muhammadans in formal battles, now resolved to separate forces and scatter their men on plundering expeditions. Kanthaji passed by way of Godhra to Idar and thence to Vadnagar, while Pilaji made for Baroda, crossed the Mahi, visited the neighbourhood of Kambhayat and thence hastened to Surat. Kanthaji invested Vadnagar. As the

* 30 m. east of Ahmadabad, on the eastern bank of the Mohar river. (*Ind. At.* 22 N. E.) [J. S.]

† Now Chota Udepur in the extreme east of the province, the town of Udepur being 50 m. due east of Baroda. (*Bom. Gaz.* vi.) [J. S.]

inhabitants had not yet recovered from the first calamity, they lost heart entirely and during the night took to flight. Next morning the Mahrattas entered the town, seized everything that had not been carried off, and unearthed much buried treasure. They ended by setting fire to the town, many handsomely decorated houses being destroyed: and the inhabitants dispersed came seeking refuge as far off as Mathura and Benares. When the usual season arrived (May-June 1726) Kanthaji and Pilaji left the province and returned to their homes. Khana-zad Khan was promoted to the rank of 6000 (5000 horse), with the title of Ghalib Jang. Najm-ud-din Ali Khan was also promoted.

SEC. 56.—SARBULAND KHAN'S ADMINISTRATION OF GUJARAT.

Shortly after the recall of the troops, Sarbuland Khan quarrelled with Najm-ud-din Ali Khan. Men said that without the Sayyid's aid the governor would have fared badly. These remarks came to Sarbuland Khan's ears, and on their next meeting he behaved rudely to the Sayyid and they were near coming to blows. Najm-ud-din Ali Khan took no further notice but awaited orders from Court. But one day Sarbuland Khan ranged his cannon in front of the Sayyid's camp and sent him word that there was only one thing for him to do—to march back to his own province. Najm-ud-din Ali Khan took the hint and returned to Ajmer, whence he was soon transferred to Gwaligar and there died. [Warid III, Khush-hal 1055b.]

Sarbuland Khan seems to have had a faculty of quarrelling with those under him. In this first year in Gujarat, Khanazad Khan left his father and returned to Dihli. Sardar Muhammad Khan Ghorni was also dismissed. He had asked to be put in possession of the city revenues as security for the pay of the local militia (*sibandi*). A sharp dispute took place and the Sardar fell into disgrace; and with him his friend Ali Muhammad Khan who was replaced in the office of *diwan* by Said Beg, and he in turn by Muhammad Sulaiman. Khush-hal Chand, a rich merchant known as the *nagar-seth* (chief merchant) was removed in favour of Ganga Din, a silk seller; and a heavy fine

was exacted from him under the threat of public degradation.* But the soldiers were already importunate for their pay and Sarbuland Khan thinking it wiser not to proceed to extremities, threw out a hint that Ali Muhammad Khan's intervention would be acceptable. By his good offices the Seth paid sixty thousand Rupees ; but proceeded at once to Dihli in the company of one Muhammad Latif, a dismissed officer.

In 1139 H. (1726) Sarbuland Khan took the field in pargana Kari and Bijapur,† collecting tribute (*peshekash*) and reducing the country to order. When the season arrived for the return of the Mahrattas (October 1726), Kanthaji appeared again on the Mahi. The Mahratta sought to come to terms and Sarbuland Khan, although some think his means of resistance would have given him the upper hand, was equally indisposed to continue the indefinite contest. One Surat Singh came from Kanthaji, and an agreement was arrived at. A grant was made of the *chauth* or one-fourth of the collections from all the lands on the west or Ahmadabad side of the Mahi river, with the exception of the Haveli or home pargana and the heads of revenue (*mahals*) collected from the city. The excepted items were those held by the governor in the lump (*bil muqta*) in lieu of an assignment for his pay and expenses. Deeds were drawn up, and letters to all the faujdars and *amils* were made over to the envoy. These letters directed the officials to give entry to the Mahratta collectors (*muksadars*).

Sarbuland Khan now devoted himself without fear of interruption to the affairs of his province. Having settled the portion lying near the Sabarmati river he turned towards Jhalawar and the region of Sorath. The village of Wadhwan in pargana Viramgaon, held by Arjun Singh, showed an intention to resist. Negotiations were opened but failed : and the village was fired upon. On the second day the water in their well (*baoli*) gave out, and on the third day the zamindar asked for terms. He came out and took shelter with Rajah Chattar Singh of Narwar who was on duty in the governor's army. A fine of three lakhs of Rupees was imposed in addition to the fixed

* *Tashhir*, parading through a town with ignominy.

† Bijapur, 36 m. n. of Ahmadabad.

revenue and a present (*peshkash*); and the zamindar's sureties were detained until he paid.

Other zamindars took warning of the fate of Wadhwan. The agent of the Jam of Islamnagar otherwise known as Nawannagar agreed through Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi to pay three lakhs of Rupees. Altogether the collections made this year in that part of the country were large. Sarbuland Khan then returned to Ahmadabad and moved thence to the Koli villages near the Watrak. Having forced these men to execute bonds for their good behaviour he again returned to the city. There the faujdar of Duraha, Muhammad Iraj, attended with the village and pargana headmen, to render accounts and arrange for the revenue of the next year. As the faujdar in question was loudly complained of Ali Muhammad Khan was appointed in his place. Numerous other changes of officials were made; while Muhammad Amin Beg and Shaikh Allahyar Bakhshi were sent with troops to assess and collect tribute (*peshkash*) from the Kolis in the country near the Mahi river.

When it was reported at the imperial Court that the *chauth* had been agreed to and terms negotiated with Kanthaji, the monthly payments of three lakhs of Rupees, of which three had been made, were discontinued. As Sarbuland Khan kept up a large army and employed many highly paid officials, the revenue from the parganas and the money brought in as offerings (*peshkash*) did not suffice to meet his expenses. He endeavoured to fill up the deficiency by imposing fines and resorting to violence of many kinds, and listening to calumniators and other short-sighted self-sighted counsellors.

SEC. 57.—MAHRATTAS IN GUJARAT, OCTOBER 1726—JUNE 1727.

Pilaji, acting on behalf of Trimbak Rao Dhabariya, the *senapati* to whom the *chauth* on the lands east of the Mahi river had been assigned, exerted himself to collect the money. But Bajirao the Peshwa to harm his sworn rival sent his own officer Udaji Puar to interfere in the collections. Both sides met at Baroda and the quarrel ended in a fight. Abdun-nabi Beg, deputy faujdar of Dabhoi, having been much harassed by Pilaji about the payment of *chauth*, took the side of Udaji and

gave him shelter in Dabhoi. In the subsequent fighting Abdunabi Khan was killed, and the town and fort thus fell into Udaji's sole possession.

Kanthaji now came back from his quarters in Khandesh and joined Pilaji in laying siege to Dabhoi. While the Mahrattas were thus occupied, Sadar-ud-din Muhammad Khan, the new faujdar of Baroda, made a dash for that place. He crossed the Mahi at Fazilpur and hoped by a night march to reach his destination. Pilaji detached a party which intercepted him, his baggage and transport were plundered, and he was forced to fight his way to Baroda. The attack on both it and Dabhoi was pushed more actively than ever, and Udaji was forced to apply to Sarbuland Khan for help. Anand Rao, his brother, came with his son to Talab Kakariya, agreements were entered into and presents interchanged. Muhammad Amin Beg and Shaikh Allahyar were recalled. They had settled the country on the banks of the Mahi and were just then moving towards Jhalawar and Sorath and were at the moment near Dhanduka.* On their march towards Dabhoi they were hindered at every step by Mahratta horse under the command of Krishna, adopted son of Kanthaji Kadam, and the ingress of supplies was stopped. Near the Watrak there was a pitched battle in which Krishna suffered defeat and retreated to Baroda.

Pilaji and Kanthaji raised the siege of Dabhoi and making a forced march attacked the Muhammadans, who were then at Nariad on their way to Baroda. Amin Beg and Allahyar with their rear to the town resisted for a week. Kanthaji then offered terms to Sarbuland Khan through Fida-ud-din Khan, faujdar of Pitlad. The governor gave a favourable answer, Mumin Khan the provincial *diwan* was sent from Pitlad and an agreement was made to pay the *chauth*. The governor's troops were recalled. Udaji foiled in his attempt to obtain aid from the Muhammadan governor, strengthened the defences of Dabhoi and continued the warfare, being helped as far as his means allowed by Sadar-ud-din Muhammad Khan, faujdar of Baroda. Their united efforts though long continued were of no

* In the north-eastern corner of the Kathiawar peninsula, 30 m. s. s. e. of Wadhwan. (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 22 S. W.) [J. S.]

avail ; finally the two men evacuated Dabhoi and entered the province of Malwa where Udaji had a foothold at Dhar. Dabhoi and Baroda were occupied by Pilaji. Having sent out their men to collect the *chauth*, Kanthaji and Pilaji departed to their quarters for the rainy season. Krishna the adopted son of Kanthaji took the fort of Champanir and made it his headquarters and abode. From this strong inaccessible fortress, standing on the top of a high hill, he led plundering expeditions into Marwar as far as Jhalor.

In the latter part of 1139 H. (April-May 1727) when the harvest was ripe, Sarbuland Khan once more took the field and went into Sorath ;* and for the second time the zamindar of Nawanagar paid a tribute of one lakh of Rupees through Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi. In time the governor reached Purbandar and Chhaya on the shores of the ocean. The latter place could not be reached by the Muhammadans until they had cut down the trees and burnt the brushwood. On their approach the zamindar put to sea in a boat and escaped, leaving behind him a few cannon, seven cuirasses and such supplies as he had not time to remove. The governor waited in the hope of the fugitive's return. As he did not submit, men were set to work to raze the fort to the ground. But under other advice Sarbuland Khan changed his plan, began to repair the fort and announced the appointment of a faujdar. The fear of permanent exclusion soon brought the absconder to his senses and he was reinstated on making a payment of 125,000 *Mahmudi* Rupees. On the return march Sarbuland Khan married the daughter of Partab Singh of Halod and the *peshkash* on his estate was remitted. Jam Tamachi (son of Rai Singh) had succeeded to the rule of Nawanagar on 11th Bhadra Sudi 1767 S. (1710). His nurse fearing his uncle Hardhol sent him to his aunt Bai Ratnaji at Bhuj. The aunt spent money in his interest and also wrote to her brother Rajah Partab S. of Halod to give his daughter in marriage to Sarbuland Khan and the daughter of one of his cousins to Salabat Mhd. Khan Babi. These two men expelled Hardhol and restored Tamachi.†

* i.e., Kathiawar. Not to be mistaken for the port of Surat. [J. S.]

† Ranchorji Amarni's *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, p. 258.

Sarbuland Khan's position at Court now began to be seriously undermined. From the first, when he was opposed by Hamid Khan, the governor had occupied and turned to his own uses all the parganas assigned in jagir to nobles and courtiers at Dihli. Complaints were made to the Emperor, and the governor's *wakil* (agent) at Court repeatedly received orders for transmission to his master directing the restoration of these jagirs. No attention was paid. At last Sarbuland Khan's old jagirs in the Panjab, held irrespective of his office (*bela shart*) were annexed; and the more influential of the displaced jagirdars obtained rateable shares in them in proportion to the lands they had lost. But the rest were ruined, and either starved where they were or dispersed in search of a livelihood.

SEC. 58.—GUJARAT AFFAIRS, OCTOBER 1727-JUNE 1728.

In 1140 H., after the rainy season (July-Sept. 1727) Chimnaji invaded the province in the interests of his brother Baji Rao the Peshwa. Apparently some arrangement as to the *chauth* was contemplated and letters had been interchanged. From his camp at Duraha, twelve *kos* from Ahmadabad, Chimnaji sent Udaji Puar and some Pandits to Sarbuland Khan. The latter named Nath Mal, his secretary, to represent him. But the conditions imposed by the governor prevented an agreement and the negotiations fell through. Chimnaji began to plunder Duraha, an unwalled town, and the villages round it. Many of the local soldiery (*qasbati*) were killed and wounded, and in the end a *khandani* or ransom having been agreed to the plundering was stayed. As soon as he had received the money Chimnaji retired to Malwa by way of Godhra and Dohad, taking possession of those parganas and of the fort of Champanir.

This season (Oct. 1727—June 1728) Sarbuland Khan devoted to restoring order in Duraha and collecting tribute along the banks of the river Watrak. Lal, zamindar of Mandu, paid twenty thousand Rupees and other Koli chiefs other sums according to their means. The governor was at the village of Barnube when he learnt that Kanthaji had arrived at Mahmudabad, twelve *kos* from the capital, his suspicions aroused by the

recent visit of Chimnaji. Sarbuland Khan pitched his tent at Kona Maudij, where he was visited by the representatives of Kanthaji and matters connected with the *chauth* were discussed. Kanthaji moved towards Surat and Sarbuland Khan then retraced his steps and continued operations against the Kolis in the neighbourhood of the Watrak. These men took refuge with their families in the dense jungle near the village of Mahkul in pargana Piplod. The Muhammadan army then moved towards Murasa and Ahmadnagar, and enforcing the payment of revenue as it went it marched along the banks of the Sabarmati on its return to Ahmadabad.

SEC. 59.—GUJARAT AFFAIRS, OCTOBER 1728—JUNE 1729.

In 1141 (the open season thereof being from about the 1st Oct. 1728 to the 30th June 1729) Sarbuland Khan proceeded to the country along the banks of the Mahi river. At Tal Chaudula he halted to enable stragglers to join and the artillery to arrive. While still there he heard of the death of Jawanmard Khan Babi, faujdar of Pitlad. This officer had attacked the village of Balur and in the fight was hit by a ball on the left thigh and died, several days after his return to Pitlad. He was buried near the Idgah at the capital by the side of his ancestors' graves, and his eldest son Kamal-ud-din Khan received his rank and assignments in parganas Sami and Munjewar with his father's title. The younger son M. Anwar was made Safdar Khan and appointed faujdar of Radhanpur in his father's place.

Sarbuland Khan moved his tents to the village of Kanaj in pargana Haveli. Thence he marched to the town of Nariad, where he was joined by the officials and headmen of pargana Pitlad. Rai Kishwar Das, the chief officer of the late faujdar, who had held the district on a lump rent, agreed to take over the obligation. After a time, having failed to meet his engagements, the rent was made over to Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi; but as the arrears were still unrealized he was put into prison in the Bhadar and there committed suicide. The governor then moved on to the banks of the Mahi and attacked village Bhadarwara, the residence of Sardar Singh. The first day's

fight was indecisive and Sarbuland Khan spent the night on the spot. In the morning when hostilities were renewed terms of submission were offered and through Salabat Muhammad Khan the demand was settled for twenty thousand Rupees. As it was now the end of the dry season and fodder was very scarce, the army returned to Ahmadabad, taking on the way tribute from Utmīna and other places.

In this year (1728-29) the collection of the revenue in the district round the city was a source of trouble. Himmat Dil Khan quarrelled with the headmen and tenantry, they fled, he resigned, the assessments and collections fell into confusion. Ali Muhammad Khan who had known the people for many years, having been Prince Jahan Shah's agent in the reign of Bahadur Shah (1707-1712), was placed in charge, one son* was made faujdar of the district and another was appointed to several offices in the city, [such as] the collections on cloth, the customs dues, the horse market, and the mint. Soon the governor's necessities caused him to ask for ten thousand Rupees more than had been assessed. Ali Muhammad Khan pointed out that in the current year the district could not bear further harassment; if left alone it would pay a large increase in the coming year. But the need of money was extreme. Sarbuland Khan next suggested that the money might be raised in the departments of receipt subordinate to the faujdar or magistrate's office. As money in that department could not be levied without oppressive action, Ali Muhammad Khan refused and resigned his offices. Zainal Khan, a dependant on Mumin Khan, succeeded. The extra funds were produced by imposing fines and leasing the ferries to harsh unscrupulous renters. Once or even twice in the year the trading community was taxed either on their income or the number of persons or on the number of houses. One Hasan, an iron merchant, who had risen to wealth by questionable means, was killed one night on his way home. His heirs accused his caste-fellows of the crime. The governor, glad of the pretext, seized their chief men, and by beatings and torture extorted three lakhs of

* The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*.

Rupees, one of the chief men dying under the cruelties inflicted.

Kanthaji on his way from Sorath to his home country passed by Ahmadabad at a distance of about twelve miles. When he was in the vicinity of Sanand, his horsemen, known in Gujarat as *Hol-suwar*, spread out in all directions in search of plunder. In the plain near the village of Ghiyaspur, about six miles from Baroda, they came across a party of Sarbuland Khan's elephants which had been sent to collect forage. Of these three were driven off. To punish this affront, Allahyar Bakhshi was despatched at once ; but he had not gone beyond Mahmudabad when the governor learnt that the Mahrattas, afraid of pursuit, had abandoned the elephants after having driven them for a couple of miles. Allahyar was recalled and returned the next day.

SEC. 60.—GUJARAT AFFAIRS, OCTOBER 1729—JUNE 1730.

When the rainy season had passed and the harvest was ripe, the time had come to take the field once more (Oct. 1729). Sarbuland Khan marched towards Kolwa and recovered tribute from Bhao Singh of Sahpur. Collecting money as he went, the governor arrived at the village of Madhupur near Junagarh. The place, which was a large one, was attacked and plundered. Here an invasion of Kachh was planned, but as a preliminary, envoys were sent to demand a tribute of ten lakhs of Mahmudi Rupees. The ruler of Kachh declined to treat. Thereupon his rivals and enemies promised to point out the most flourishing parts of his territory whence most money could be realized, and asserted that little or no effort would be required. But to approach Kachh it is necessary to cross the salt waterless desert known as the Rann, about fifty miles in breadth. Sarbuland Khan was warned by the men of the country that there would be great difficulty, but tempted by the hope of gathering tribute and plunder, he decided to make the attempt. Each man was ordered to carry as much food and water as he could ; and to make the march easier they started at night. In spite of this precaution, before the other side of the desert was reached many men had died of thirst.

When they had entered the territory of Bhuj, they began to burn and plunder the villages. They surrounded Bhuj, dug a trench, and erected batteries. Both sides began an artillery fire. Then the zamindar asked for terms, but those offered being too high he refused them and burnt all the villages for some distance round until there was not a trace left of grass or grain. He also sent out every day parties of well-mounted cavalry and all ingress of supplies was stopped. Meanwhile he continued to send misleading offers of submission. In this manner one-and-a-half months were passed. In the camp all supplies had been exhausted ; men and four-footed beasts daily grew weaker, most of the artillery bullocks and the baggage camels died. Then came word from the wakils at Court that Sarbuland Khan had been removed from the Government and replaced by Maharajah Abhai Singh Rathor of Jodhpur. The siege of Bhuj was raised, and the return march was directed towards Radhanpur, where the Rann desert is not quite so wide. At Radhanpur visits of condolence were paid to the family of the late Jawan-mard Khan Babi, and thence Ahmabad was reached.

SEC. 61.—RISING OF BAHORAS UNDER SHAIKH ABDULLAH.

As soon as the army had returned to its head-quarters, the soldiers broke out into mutiny and demanded their arrears which had now accumulated. To meet their demands it was resolved to make a levy from the city as had been done several times before. It was taken as usual in the proportion of three-fourths from the Hindus and one-fourth from the Bahora traders, who are Muhammadans of the Sunni sect. Collectors were appointed. News that Sarbuland Khan had been superseded emboldened the Bahoras to resist. Ostensibly they pleaded poverty, their idea being that Sarbuland Khan would be too much afraid of a riot to use force. Shaikh Abdullah, an old Bahora who had lived as a recluse for thirty years, headed the agitators. The malcontents assembled in the great mosque. The Shaikh began to tear his beard and proclaim that the heavenly hosts would fight for them. At his instigation word was sent to Sarbuland Khan that if he did not leave the city

at once he would be put under arrest. The Shaikh's words acted on the crowd like naphtha thrown upon fire, and all accepted him as an envoy from on high.

Sarbuland Khan summoned Abdul-ghani Khan the diwan of the subah and the other leading officials. Repeated messages of the mildest kind were forwarded to the Shaikh. He was told that the governor had graciously resolved to remit the share of the levy due from the Bahoras and they should now depart in peace to their houses. Instead of propitiating the Shaikh, these soft words only served to harden his heart; he believed that his hard words had produced an effect and that "the arrow of his desire had hit its aim". After using stronger language than before he answered that not only must Sarbuland Khan leave the city but the order to levy money from the Hindus must also be rescinded. He incited the Hindus to join and made ready for street fighting.

His friendly overtures having been rejected, Sarbuland Khan ordered out his troops under Shaikh Allahyar with orders to close all the streets leading to the mosque. The governor then moved out of the Bhadar palace and passed through the three gates of the Maidan Bazar. The common people who had accepted the Shaikh's silly talk and boasts as words of wisdom, on seeing the approach of troops, mounted the shop roofs on each side of the road and began to throw bricks and tiles. Allahyar caused a few of them to be seized and bound; the rest, forgetting all about the Shaikh's miraculous power, took to their heels, without waiting for the arrival of the hosts of heaven.

Allahyar seized the gates of the mosque and his men on entering found the Shaikh and a few men seated on the *mihrab*.* The Shaikh was quickly seized and some of his friends killed, the rest asked for mercy. The only result of the Shaikh's interference was that the Bahoras were made to pay double the original demand. This affair occurred on the 14th Muharram 1143 (29th July, 1730).

* An elevated place in a mosque where the leader of the prayer stands.

SEC. 62.—SARBULAND PREPARES TO RESIST MAHARAJAH
ABHAI SINGH, HIS SUCCESSOR.

Towards the end of Safar (Sept. 12, 1730) Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi who was faujdar of Viramgaon obtained permission to march to that place. Ude Karan, the headman or *desai* who held charge on his behalf, had been killed. He was set on at night by one Ali brother of Daulat Muhammad Tank, a native of the town, and stabbed to death. The cause of quarrel was not known. Salabat Muhammad Khan made his first march to the village of Paleri on the other or western side of the Sabarmati river and there waited until his men should collect. Two days afterwards he had an attack of cholera and was at the point of death.

It so chanced that on the very same day Sarbuland Khan announced that he also would march to Viramgaon. But his real object was to confer with Salabat Muhammad Khan about resistance to the new governor Maharajah Abhai Singh, reported to be then at Jhalor. Suddenly without apparent cause Sarbuland Khan started, leaving by the wicket gate of the garden in the Bhadar which opens upon the road. With him were the few intimates who happened to be present. Finding Salabat Muhammad Khan in a state of collapse, the governor awaited the arrival of his own tents and men, and his camp was pitched close to the great dome. In the evening Salabat Muhammad Khan's body was carried to the city in the hope that although unconscious he might revive. But he was beyond treatment and died that night.

Sarbuland Khan remained at his first halting place for several days which were employed in the collection of men, material of war and supplies. When he heard that Maharajah Abhai Singh had reached Palanpur 82 miles from Ahmadabad [in the north] he moved to the village of Kali* north of the city, on the west side of the Sabarmati, and there prepared to

* There is a *Kari*, 25 m. n. e. and a *Kalol* 16 m. n. of Ahmadabad. Neither of them can be the place meant, as the *Bombay Gazetteer*, (Vol. I. pt. 1, 311) says that Sarbuland's camp was between Ahmadabad and Adalaj, 9 miles north of it. There is a *Karhi* 8 m. n. e. of the city, but on the eastern bank of the river. (*Indian Atlas*, 22 N. E.) [J. Sarkar.]

block the road from the north. His total force consisted of four thousand horsemen and as many Baksari and Arab matchlockmen. Out of this total, five hundred horse and one thousand foot were sent back to protect the city, under the command of Muhammad Amin Beg and Shaikh Allahyar, who took with them the governor's younger son, Shah Nawaz Khan. Round the camp were placed seven hundred pieces of cannon, large and small, chained together, and about one thousand wall-pieces. There were in store two thousand *maunds* of lead and powder. Thus equipped Sarbuland Khan awaited the approach of the Maharajah.

Some of the men whom Sarbuland Khan admitted to his confidence, asked what his object was in thus preparing to resist. Had he not frequently sent in his resignation? Why, then, refuse to give over possession to the successor sent to relieve him? Sarbuland Khan answered: "My offers to resign were quite genuine. But immense sums have accumulated for arrears of pay, which I am unable to meet. The newly appointed man is an infidel and so are all his soldiers. If I am slain in this contest, I shall not only be quit of the debt for arrears, but shall at the same time acquire the glory of a martyr to the faith."

SEC. 63.—MAHARAJAH ABHAI SINGH RATHOR SENT FROM
DIHLI TO GUJARAT.

At the Dihli Court Sarbuland Khan's favour had by this time waned and disappeared. Muhammad Shah's hope that through Sarbuland Khan vengeance would be wreaked upon Nizam-ul-mulk had vanished. Meanwhile complaints of the governor's conduct began to accumulate, the taking of illegal fines, the resumption of jagirs, and other aggressive acts. More fatal still, Khan Dauran, in whose hands then rested supreme power, for some unknown reason had become estranged. In consequence Khan Dauran caused the stoppage of the monthly subvention promised when the appointment to Gujarat was accepted. The loss of this allowance threw all of Sarbuland Khan's plans into confusion; he was essentially careless and profuse in his expenditure and the pay of the large number

of troops required, owing to the disturbed condition of the province, more than exhausted such revenues as he could collect, more often than not at the point of the sword. As soon as the monthly cash allowance was withdrawn, he began to threaten that he would resign if it were not restored, hoping that the difficulty of finding any one to replace him would secure compliance. But Khan Dauran, who nourished exaggerated notions of his own wisdom and statesmanship, was of opinion that the great Hindu Rajahs were the only men who could effectually confront the Mahratta onrush. Abhai Singh Rathor, ruler of Jodhpur, appeared to be the very man for Khan Dauran's purposes, and an additional point in the game would be scored by this appointment, for Abhai Singh would be detached from the rival party of the chief minister Itimad-ud-daulah and the Turanis.

Abhai Singh along with the usual honours and gifts received eighteen lakhs of Rupees from the treasury in aid of his expenses together with fifty cannon of various sizes and their complete equipment. The Maharajah then proceeded from Dihli to Jodhpur, where he collected twenty thousand well trained Rathor horsemen from Marwar and Nagor. He was joined by his brother, Rajah Bakht Singh, and their combined forces started for Ahmadabad. When they reached the neighbourhood of Palanpur they were met by the faujdar, Karim Dad Khan.

Hearing that Sarbuland Khan meant to oppose his entry, Abhai Singh sent secretly to Sardar Muhammad Khan Ghorni a banker's bill for twenty thousand Rupees with a warrant of appointment as deputy governor. He was instructed to occupy the town if he could. Sardar Muhammad Khan enlisted a number of Gujaratis and awaited his opportunity. Meanwhile Shah Nawaz Khan, M. Amin Beg and Shaikh Allahyar bricked up the gateways, placed men to watch on all the bastions, and made ready supplies for a siege. Night and day their vigilance never relaxed, and Sardar Muhammad Khan found no opening for action.

When the Maharajah was close to Sidhpur, 64 miles north of Ahmadabad, Jawan-mard Khan and Safdar Khan (Babis), nephews of the late Salabat Muhammad Khan, appeared from

their jagir of Radhanpur. They forgot the benefits received from Sarbuland Khan, and impelled by self-interest submitted to the new ruler. Many professional soldiers, and those known as *qasbati*, flocked to the Maharajah's standard in the hope of employment. So also without informing his uncle Abdul-ghani Khan, the diwan, Muhammad Baqir son of the late Mumin Khan departed secretly with three or four men to the Rajah's camp and there joined his brother, Mumin Khan (II.)

SEC. 64.—ABHAI SINGH'S BATTLES WITH SARBULAND KHAN.
FOR THE POSSESSION OF AHMADABAD.

Early in Rabi II. 1143, (middle of Oct. 1730) the Maharajah arrived at the village of Mojir on the banks of the Sabarmati within a couple of miles of Sarbuland Khan's camp. There he dug some field works and encamped for the night. Sarbuland Khan moved out his cannon across the river to the grove of Muhammad Amin situated in a line with the Rajah's camp and commanding it. There the gunners commenced a cannonade and several shots fell into the camp. As night came on the two armies sent out their videttes; on both sides, the generals spent the night with their counsellors in preparation for the morrow's battle. At dawn Sarbuland Khan drew out his men and awaited an onset. But the Maharajah declined to fight in that position. On the advice of the Gujaratis he retraced his steps and moved four or five miles up-stream, reaching near nightfall the point west of the city, where first of all Sarbuland Khan had his camp near the great dome. There the Maharajah pitched his camp.

The Rathors occupied the houses of the hamlets on the river bank where the land is high. They used the walls as batteries for their guns and blocked up the entrances to the village and the ferry approaches. This position is opposite the citadel of Ahmadabad, and the flowing stream is there about the distance of the flight of a wall-piece bullet from the city bank of the river. The entrenched village was placed in charge of the Marwari foot soldiery together with Jawan-mard Khan and Safdar Khan (Babis). On their taking up this position a few shots were fired at them from the Bhadar fort, but other-

wise they were not molested. Another body was sent by the Rajah across the river south of the city near the tomb of Shah Bhikan and the villages of Bahrapur and Bara Nainpur, the latter the residence of a faujdar. The object here was to erect batteries in preparation for an investment of the capital.

As it was near sunset when Sarbuland Khan first obtained precise information of this disposition of his opponent's forces, he waited where he was for the return of daylight ; but as a precautionary measure placed some men with wall-pieces and swivel guns in the fort of Kali near his camp, and others similarly armed upon the roof of Malik Maqsud Gujarati's mosque near the Shahi-Bagh. At dawn he moved up and pitched his tents in the plain opposite the tomb of Dargai Khan Gujarati, which is to the front of the Shahi-Bagh. His excess artillery with some of the balls and powder, some baggage and part of his force, horse and foot, were sent into the city. The day was passed in the position thus occupied ; while a cannonade went on all day from the fort and the walls. On the other side the Maharajah's men were busy building up brick walls inside the gates of the hamlets that they held ; they dug deep ditches outside ; and when all was ready returned the fire from the city. As the ground on their side was a little high some of their balls did good execution in the city, more especially in the fortress ; while those fired from the city fell harmless on the earthworks that had been raised.

On the 20th October, an hour or two after sunrise Sarbuland Khan mounted for battle and took up his position in the sands of the Sabarmati with his rear to the fortress. His object was to clear out his opponents from their entrenchments. After two or three volleys from his artillery he advanced to the attack and his men pressed across the stream. The ground being impracticable for cavalry the men dismounted and clambered over the earthworks. Displacing the obstructions they reached the top of the village walls and thence directed a matchlock fire on the defenders. In the end after great exertion the gates of Khanpur were broken. The place stood on the edge of the stream, and below it were many hollowed out channels made by the river when in flood, full of ups and downs, where

the hard ground, trampled into holes by cattle, was difficult to cross. Sarbuland Khan's men in spite of every difficulty struggled on, some entered by the gate, others crept in by unnoticed ways. The Gujaratis who had enlisted under the Maharajah held their ground; a hand to hand struggle began, in which both fists and daggers played their part. After many leaders of note had fallen, the survivors retreated and rejoined the Maharajah.

Sarbuland Khan who had arrived with his reserves now committed the fatal mistake of ordering his artillery back to the fortress. It would have been quite easy to bring it across the river. The ford at Badij was not far distant and had not been occupied by the other side. Thence, leaving the houses of the hamlets on the left hand, they could have debouched into an open plain admirably adapted for a pitched battle. The governor knew of this route himself, and was also reminded of it by his friends. But his only answer was that he feared to draw the enemy's fire upon the houses in the fort occupied by his women. Furthermore, the troops ought to have passed in a body through the lanes and bazars. Instead of this, the men on foot, the Baksari matchlockmen and the artificers, scattered to plunder the houses,* the inhabitants of which had not fled. Each man laid hold of what he could and made off.

Sarbuland Khan, with his rear to the hamlets, moved out into the plain and set his ranks in order. Then the Maharajah with his whole army, mostly cavalry, advanced to give battle. After an opening cannonade the Marwari horsemen rode hotly at their foe, firing as they came on. The greater part of Sarbuland Khan's matchlockmen and men carrying swivel guns had dispersed after the hamlets had been assaulted and taken. Thus the Muhammadans could only reply with arrows to the balls from the matchlocks and swivel pieces. After many on both sides had been killed and wounded, there was a general

* Up to this time (1730) the villages on that (the west) side of the river had been very populous. They suffered from the Maharrattas in the days of Hamid Khan (1726); but after this second plundering they were abandoned altogether and in 1174 H. (1760-1), when the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* was written, there was not a trace or sign of them to be seen. (*Mirat* 199a.)

charge. Instead of entering into battle, in the Indian fashion, mounted on elephants, the Maharajah and his brother had this day dressed themselves like all the other Rajputs and were riding their horses. Seeing a group of elephants, Sarbuland Khan galloped recklessly towards them, and fell on them like lightning. At the first onset he broke through the ranks of these defenders. There were no riders! Appropriating the two or three bows he found upon them the Nawab let the elephants go again, resumed his sword-play and sought again for his prey.

SEC. 65.—SARBULAND'S ARMY DISPERSED.

The Marwaris held together and opposed a bold front to their assailants. Neither did the Muhammadans cede any of their ground ; after a time however these latter began to obtain the upper hand and at length the Marwaris gave way and began to leave the field. Sarbuland Khan made repeated charges and drove them before him. But from this point the fortunes of the day underwent a change. Several officers of note had been slain on the Muhammadan side. Jamal Ali Khan lost his brother Abid Ali Khan, who was killed at his side on the elephant they were both riding. Having sent the body into the city Jamal Ali Khan mounted his Arab horse and returned to the field, where he recovered the bodies of Sayyid Qaim and Tarin Khan Afghan. He and his men then escorted the bodies into the city. Others seized the opportunity and left the field ; the general feeling being that Sarbuland Khan could not finally prevail and would surely be slain. Beginning as a mere supposition, this opinion passed from mouth to mouth until when it reached the city in the course of the afternoon it had assumed the shape of a report of Sarbuland Khan's death.

On hearing this report, Muhammad Amin Beg and Shaikh Allahyar, who had been left in charge of the city, assembled their men and without a moment's delay left it by the Khanpur gate. In the sands of the Sabarmati they encountered men who had scattered after the attack on the hamlets and also the men accompanying the corpses of the slain. These fugitives to avoid any imputation on themselves told the two generals that

it was useless to proceed, in all probability the affair was settled beyond remedy, and the most pressing need now was the defence of the city and of their leader's family. Amin Beg and Allahyar paying no heed to these remonstrances went on their way.

Meanwhile, the Marwaris who had in the first instance been put to flight became aware of the fact that Sarbuland Khan's division had now been reduced to little more than four hundred men. Although he held the field without concerning himself about the fewness of his men, the Marwaris drew from it fresh courage, turned their bridle reins, and resolved to try their luck once more. The fighting was vigorously renewed, but Sarbuland Khan stood undaunted and many a Marwari was laid low by an arrow from his bow. Soon an elephant appeared in the distance and on it a man bearing a flag. The flag was recognized as that of Sarbuland Khan ; it must surely be Allahyar with reinforcements ! As Amin Beg Khan and Allahyar rode up, the drums beat once more and the contest was renewed more vigorously than before. In one of the Marwari onsets Shaikh Allahyar was shot ; but Sarbuland Khan undismayed faced the foe and once more put them to flight. He pursued them nearly to the village of Sarkhej, a distance of about five miles. The fighting lasted all day, and it was only at nightfall that the two sides desisted. Until the going down of the sun Sarbuland Khan held the field, his drums beating a victorious march. Tents were sent for and erected where the general stood.

During the day word had been brought to the Rajput camp that the Maharajah had fled from the field. Consternation seized upon the whole camp. There was a hurried loading of carts and pack bullocks, tents were struck, flags were removed, and the cry was "Marwar is far off". The local soldiers, the Gujaratis and Qasbatis, departed to the villages round about, a few went as far as Duraha without a halt, many hid in the houses in the city suburbs. It was not till the time of evening prayer, when the Maharajah returned from the battle-field that the hearts of the timid were reassured. Fugitives who had not gone very far returned and rejoined the Rajput general.

When Sarbuland Khan issued his orders to pass the night upon the battle-field, Muhammad Amin Beg said to him: "Have you not obtained your desire? You were always resigning the governorship. At this time the wounded should be attended to and the survivors consoled. You ought to return to the city." In compliance with this remonstrance a march was ordered. About an hour-and-a-half after nightfall, they reached the city wall just below the fortress. Here they encamped, on the bank of the Sabarmati. Inside the city, however, the chief Gujaratis, more especially Sardar Muhammad Khan, who held the new governor's patent as deputy, would not believe that Sarbuland Khan had escaped unharmed. Sardar Muhammad Khan had cashed the bill of exchange sent to him, and with the money had enlisted men. He was in his house watching for his opportunity when the report came that Sarbuland Khan was dead, he resolved to act by seizing the city gates and throwing them open. But to make certain he sent a man to his neighbour Ali Muhammad Khan for news. He was told the truth and advised to desist. But still unsatisfied and restless, he sent again near midnight to make enquiry. To satisfy him, his man was sent into the fortress, and mounting the wall was allowed to look down on Sarbuland Khan's camp, and they could hear him in his tent recounting the events of the day to one of his friends. When this man had reported to him, Sardar Muhammad Khan gave up his intentions.

SEC. 66.—NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN SARBULAND KHAN AND
ABHAI SINGH.

Next day when the Maharajah learnt that his opponent was unhurt he took the field once more. Sarbuland Khan was on the alert. But his spies soon reported that the Maharajah did not intend to fight on that day. The respite was used by both sides in carrying off the wounded and burying the dead. In the course of the day Abhai Singh resolved to offer terms to his predecessor. As envoys he selected two Muhammadans acquainted with Sarbuland Khan, Mukhlis Khan, jagirdar of Mahmudabad, and Mumin Khan, the news-recorder of his army and faujdar of Kambhayat. A note was sent, and upon

receipt of a favourable answer Mukhlis Khan paid Sarbuland Khan a visit towards the end of the day. After the usual ceremonial he introduced his business and left again at night.

Next day, Mukhlis Khan having been excused on account of his age and corpulence, the negotiation was resumed by Mumin Khan and Amar Sing Udawat. The terms made were that Sarbuland Khan should receive one lakh of Rupees in cash for expenses, that camels and carts be furnished for transport, and that visits should be interchanged. The first visit was to be paid by the Maharajah, it being arranged that each party should erect a tent for the purpose at a distance from his camp. Accordingly the Nawab put up a tent near the grove of Ghazi-ud-din Husain and the Maharajah spread a cloth in front of his camp opposite the tomb of Shah Bhikan. As so frequently happens in these cases, the Maharajah made all kinds of pretext to avoid paying the first visit and the whole of the next day was spent in the expectation of his arrival. In the afternoon of the following day Sarbuland Khan mounted his horse and followed by a small retinue made his way to the Maharajah's tent. He found the Marwaris drawn up in ranks, in armour *cap-a-pie* either as a precaution against treachery or merely out of a desire to see the Muhammadans. On Sarbuland Khan entering the tent enclosure the Maharajah advanced as far as the surrounding screen, the two nobles embraced, and then sat down like brothers side by side. As there was little time available they exchanged turbans in sign of brotherhood and then bade each other farewell. Sarbuland Khan returned to his camp, which was now at the grove of Muhammad Amin Khan and there his property and women had been transferred. Bakht Singh who had received an arrow wound did not attend at the interview; and it is said that Abhai Singh wore under his coat a shirt of chain-mail.

SEC. 67.—ABHAI SINGH ENTERS AHMADABAD; SARBULAND
LEAVES GUJARAT.

On the 26 Oct. 1730 one Jagdeo was appointed to arrange for the departure of Sarbuland Khan and on the next day, the 27th, the Maharajah's deputy, Ratan Singh Bhandari, entered the

Bhadar fort, and a new *kotwal* was appointed. Sarbuland Khan was detained for some days while carriage was collected and the payment in cash as agreed on, for which Amar Singh Udawat had become responsible, was made. One hundred and seventy-three cannon, large and small, were made over on the imperial account to Abdul-ghani, *diwan* of the province, and his receipt was taken. There were still twenty thousand Rupees unpaid out of the lakh of Rupees promised. Amar Singh undertook to send thi. balance* and a march was resolved upon. On reaching Murasa, the Nawab's son-in-law Sayyid Newazish Khan, who had been ill, expired. For this reason one day's halt was made ; but from this place the daily marches were resumed. Finally passing through Udepur, Sarbuland Khan made his way to Agra.

The Maharajah now moved his camp to a place near the Shahi-Bagh and there awaited the lucky moment for making his entry into the city. There he was visited by Abdul-ghani Khan *diwan* of the province and Abul Mufakhir Khan the news-writer. On the 7th Nov. 1730, which was an auspicious day, the Maharajah and his brother, without their troops, came into the city, remained for a short time in the Bhadar fort, and then returned to camp. Some days afterwards he took up his permanent quarters in the city and entered upon the revenue and general business of the province.†

Sarbuland Khan continued his return march from Udepur on to Agra, where he was detained a long time by his inability to satisfy his mutinous troops. In the end he was so hard pushed for money that he was forced to pledge his goods and obtain loans from the money-lenders. Badan Singh Jat sent two of his Muhammadan officers, Khizr Khan and Nur Ali Khan, to offer a present of one lakh of Rupees if he would take up his abode in the Jat territory until the Emperor restored him to favour. After a week's delay the two men were admitted to an audience, the Nawab at that time being laid up with

* The money was never paid.

† Up to this point the history of Gujarat affairs is based almost entirely upon the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*.

pains in his feet. On hearing the message Sarbuland Khan laughed and said that grateful as he was for such a hospitable offer he had not yet reached such a stage of destitution that he should apply to his equals. He was very comfortable where he was and felt no hardships. However when he needed such help he would send intimation. He sent a horse and jewelled sword as a present to Badan Singh with a letter styling him *Thakur*. Badan Singh sent the letter back along with 5,000 Rupees and prayed that he might be addressed as Rajah, a title promised to Churaman by Sayyid Husain Ali Khan when he started from Agra for the Dakhin. The Sayyid's assassination had prevented fulfilment. Moreover, Rajah Jai Singh had promised the title when the fort of Thun was surrendered; while Ajit Singh and Abhai Singh had corresponded with him in that form, Sarbuland Khan replied that he had no right to give titles, a prerogative of the Emperor alone, but if he ever recovered favour he would urge Badan Singh's claim. The letter and the money were then returned. [M.U. iii. 801, Khizr 122, *Hadiqat* 381.]

SEC. 68.—LAST YEARS OF SARBULAND KHAN.

With his removal from Gujarat Sarbuland Khan's public career ended, except for a short time when he was governor of Allahabad and his brief appearance in 1738 as one of Nadir Shah's collectors of the fine imposed upon the capital. Compared with many of his contemporaries he was an active and energetic officer. But in none of his Governments, Agra, Patna, Kabul or Gujarat, did he succeed in fully establishing his authority. In Patna he defeated the Bhojpur zamindar Sidiht Narayan son of Dhir, and in Kabul he met with one or two successes. In Ahmadabad Gujarat he seems to have made continuous efforts to restore some sort of order. But he was wanting in prudence and foresight, and above all he was too lavish and careless about expenditure. During his five years in Gujarat he showed himself an active soldier and the extent of his success in that province can be best gauged from the increasing weakness of his successors. Compared with theirs his hold upon his province was thorough and effective. When

at last after a long stay at Agra Sarbuland Khan was able to return to Dihli he was forced to entrench himself in his house to keep off his creditors, and whenever he was called to Court the Emperor sent an imperial letter with several imperial attendants to protect him from an attack. Mubariz-ul-mulk Sarbuland Khan Bahadur, Dilawar Jang (original name Muhammad Rafi) died on the 13th Zul Qada 1154 H. (19th January 1742) at the age of sixty-nine (lunar) years. [T-i-M.]

Having carried on the story of the Mahratta advance in Ahmadabad-Gujarat up to the year 1730 we now turn to another part of the country, Bundelkhand, in the province of Allahabad, where we shall find the same disorganization on the imperial side and the same promptitude on the part of the Mahrattas in taking advantage of the slightest weakness of their opponents.

CHAPTER IX

BUNDELKHAND AND MALWA, 1720-1736.

SEC. 69.—BUNDELKHAND: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE.

Bundelkhand, to which we now turn, had never been completely subdued by the Mughals, and consequently the Mahratta attacks upon it inflicted less vital wounds on the Empire than did their encroachments in Gujarat. According to the Mughal provincial divisions Bundelkhand or the country of the Bundelas fell almost entirely within the subah of Allahabad, Kalpi sarkar in the Agra subah being the only exception. It lies to the south of the Jamuna river—its western boundary being now-a-days the territory of Gwaliyar, from which it is separated by the Sind* river; its eastern limit is formed by Baghelkhand otherwise the Riwa State. On the south the boundary is rather more indefinite, but according to the Mughal territorial divisions Bundelkhand extended to the confines of Malwa. According to Thornton (153) the tract is 200 miles in length from south-east to north-west, and 155 miles in breadth from the opposing angles. Taking the census of 1891, the area may be estimated at 20,641 square miles and the total population at 3,907,585, it being still, according to Indian standards, somewhat sparsely inhabited.

The name Bundelkhand, which is derived from that of the ruling Rajput clan, is comparatively modern. Up to the end of the 12th century the Chandela clansmen, with their capital at Mahoba, † were the dominant race, at any rate in the western half of the region. The Bundelas can never have been very numerous. Even in these days of enumeration of the people,

* The *Sind*, a tributary of the Jamuna, rises in Malwa near Sironj. For 130 miles out of its course of 200, it is the boundary between Bundelkhand and Sindhia's dominions.

† 25° 18 N. 79° 55 E., 30 m. s. w. of the Banda railway station. (*J. A.* 69 S. E.)

it is not easy to fix their number, as the record of the Census of 1891 is misleading. In one district (Banda) where they must be strong, they are not separately recorded ; and in the Native States of Bundelkhand they are included in the generic name of Rajputs. All things considered it will be safe to estimate the Bundelas as numbering about 100,000 in a Rajput population of 416,000 and a total population of nearly four million of people (1891). There would thus be now about 20,000 grown men of the clan where a hundred and fifty years ago the number must have been very much smaller. There are in addition a few Bundelas in the Central Provinces, especially in the two districts of Sagar and Damoh. The origin of the Bundela clan is extremely obscure, though they are admitted to be Rajputs of some sort. They owe their importance in history to their position as chiefs or rulers, a position which they won for themselves by their undeniable valour.

The Bundelas themselves claim as their place of origin the country round Benares, and make themselves out to be a branch of the Gaharwar clan. Some faint reason for this claim to have come from Benares may be the fact that out of the total number of the Gaharwars in the United Provinces of Allahabad and Agra (53,477) we find fully half (26,832) reside in the two districts adjoining Benares, namely Mirzapur (20,249) and Ghazipur (6,583). The one colony is in pargana Kantit, west of Mirzapur, and the other in pargana Mahaich, south of the Ganges, midway between Benares and Ghazipur. In the nineteenth generation from a more or less mythical Kashi Rajah of the Gaharwar clan, one Rudra Partap rose to importance in the western part of what is now called Bundelkhand. He was ninth in descent from one Suhan Pal who had managed about the year 1292 A.D. to establish there a small independent State. Rudra Partap first emerged from obscurity in 1501 A.D., and in the last year of his life, on the 3rd Baisakh Sudi 1588 S. (21st April, 1531) he founded the town of Orchha and removed thither from Kurar.* Soon afterwards he was killed in

* There is a *Kurahra*, 12 m. e. of Mau and 44 m. s. e. e. of Orchha. (I. A. 69 S. W.) *Dilkasha* mentions a fort *Karara* as belonging to Bir

endeavouring to save a cow from the clutches of a tiger. From his nine sons sprang, directly or indirectly, all the rulers of the States of Bundelkhand.* Six large States, Orchha, Datia, Panna, Bijawar, Charkhari, Ajaigarh, and nineteen large jagirs are still held by their descendants. [*M. U.* ii. 317, Pogson 3-11.]

The derivation of the name Bundela is disputed. The Bundelas themselves connect it with their tutelary deity, Bindhbasini Devi, the goddess whose temple is at Bindhachal, a spur of the Vindhya range jutting out towards the Ganges a few miles to the west of Mirzapur. The Muhammadans solve the problem by saying that the root of the word *Bund* is a mere corruption of the Persian *banda*, a slave, and that the clan sprang from the issue of a slave-girl. Another attempt at an etymology refers the word to *Bund*, the Hindi for a "drop of liquid" and a story is told connecting the name with the drops of blood in the sacrifices offered to the goddess, Bindhbasini Devi.*

Orchha on the Betwa, the capital of the first independent State founded by the Bundelas (in 1531 A.D.), being in the west of the tract, it would seem more probable that the tribe entered Bundelkhand from that direction rather than from the north-east. In the latter case they must have traversed Riwa Banda and all the intervening country. Of such a tribal migration, which could hardly have been a peaceful one, tradition has left no trace. The first firm ground we tread upon is arrived at when the town of Orchha was founded by Rudra Partap in 1531. When at the instigation of Prince Salim (afterwards the Emperor Jahangir), Bir Singh Deo (Rudra Partap's grandson) procured the assassination of Akbar's minister Abul-fazl, a new era of extended prosperity began for the Bundela race.†

Singh Deo. Orchha is on the left bank of the Betwa, 8 m. s. of Jhansi. Datia is 16 m. n. e. of Jhansi. [J. Sarkar.]

* *Hadiqat-ul-aqalim*, 167; *Chhatra-prakash* in Pogson p. 8.

† The early history of the Bundelas given here has for its primary sources Lal Kavi's *Chhatra-prakash* (Hindi text ed. by W. Price, Calcutta 1829, used) and *M. U.* ii. 317, with some information from the *Dilkasha* of Bhimsen. Pogson's translation of *Chhatra-prakash* in his *History of the Boondelas* (Calcutta, 1828) is incorrect at places not only in respect of the proper names, but also the sense of the verses. Mr. Irvine has greatly relied on and freely used a book by Manzur Ahmad. Among the deriv-

The eastern half of Bundelkhand was much later in coming under the domination of the Bundelas. It went generally by the name of the *Dangiya Raj*, and its rulers were known as the Dangiya Rajahs. This name is usually referred to the Hindi word for wrangling or confusion, but it really comes from a local word meaning a wild and hilly tract of country.

In 1531 when Rudra Partap died, his second wife, Rani Muhrban, removed with her children from Orchha to Katera, a hilly country covered with thorny scrub lying twenty miles to the east of Orchha. Her eldest son Udyajit, third son of Rudra Partap, founded a new home in a village called by him Mahewa,* for which he appropriated the surviving buildings and houses of a ruined town called Patari. This place had been once the abode of a Rana Rudra of the Jat tribe, who had been defeated and killed by Ala-ud-din Khalji (1295-1315). Udyajit and his descendants lived their lives in obscurity at Mahewa, and we hear nothing more of the family until the fourth generation, when it emerges into notoriety in the person of Champat Rai, father of Chhattarsal.

Champat Rai was born at the village of Mor Pariya† near Mahewa in the State of Orchha. The place is not far from Katera and Mau Ranipur. When he grew up he found himself in very straitened circumstances, having only a small appanage on which to subsist. He therefore adopted the life of a free-booter, but was warned by the Rajahs of Orchha and Datiya, whose territories lay to the west of Mahewa, not to come in their direction. Accordingly he advanced into the Dangiya country to the east where he made some conquests. He seems

ative sources are *Hadiqat-ul-aqalim* and Pandit Kishan Narayan's *Tarikh-i-Bundelkhand wa Jalaun* (1853). For the lives of the Bundela Rajahs in Mughal times, *M. U.* ii. 131, 214, 258, 317, 510 &c. [J. S.]

* Katera is 20 m. e. of Orchha, and Mahewa is 3 m. s. of the former. Half a mile north of Mahewa rises the Patari hill. (*J. A.* 69 S. W.) This Mahewa must not be confounded with the more famous Mahoba, which lies 59 miles east of it. Mau is 10 m. due east of Katera. [J. S.]

† Probably Mohur-paharee of *Indian Atlas*, sheet 69 S. W., about 4 m. south of Mahewa. Manzur Ahmad says that there is another Mahewa, 10 m. n. w. of Chhattarpur, founded by Chhattarsal in memory of his family home. (*Ind. At.* 70 N. E.)

to have been feudatory or dependent of the Orchha Rajahs : at any rate we find him in 1627 fighting on the side of Jhujhar Singh, eldest son of Bir Singh Deo.

SEC. 70.—JHUJHAR SINGH'S LIFE AND END.

Jahangir died on Oct. 28, 1627 and Bir Singh pre-deceased him by a few months. The Rajah's eldest son, Jhujhar Singh, who was at the Mughal Court, despairing apparently of a continuance of the great favours showered on his father in the previous reign, fled from Agra to his home. Three armies under Mahabat Khan Khan Khanan, Khan Jahan Lodi, and Abdullah Khan Firuz Jang, were sent against the rebel ; and approaching from three directions invested him in Orchha. Abdullah Khan scored a first success by surprising Iraj* on the 10th Jan. 1629. But before more could be done Jhujhar Singh had persuaded Mahabat Khan to plead his cause with Shah Jahan. His pardon was accorded early in March 1629.

Jhujhar Singh was placed on duty in the Dakhin under Mahabat Khan, but in 1044 H. (26th June 1634—15th June 1635) he obtained leave of absence from that general and returned to his home, leaving his eldest son Bikramajit (Jag Raj) in his place. The Rajah now commenced a campaign of conquest to the south, attacking Bhim Narayan, the Gond Rajah of Deogarh, whose fort of Chauragarh† was taken after his treacherous assassination. The Emperor now intervened and demanded the surrender either of Chauragarh or of some pargana in exchange for it. Jhujhar, hearing of the Emperor's displeasure, secretly recalled his son Bikramajit, then in Balaghat of the Dakhin. Khan Zaman, the governor of Balaghat, pursued and overtook the fugitive in pargana Ashta. Although wounded Bikramajit made good his escape, and by jungle paths managed to reach his father at Dhamoni, a strong fort on the Malwa border that had been constructed by Bir Singh Deo.‡

* Iraj, on the Betwa, 42 m. n. e. of Orchha. (J. A. 69 N. W.)

† Deogarh about 24 m. s. of Chhindwara in C. P. Chauragarh is 25 m. s. of the Narmada and 24 m. s. w. of Narsinghpur.

‡ The two wars with Jhujhar, Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnama*, i. pt. 1, 240-248, and i. pt. 2, 95-139.

The imperial forces were set in motion under Abdullah Khan Firuz Jang, Sayyid Khan Jahan, and Khan Dauran, and to prevent quarrels the Prince Aurangzeb, under the tutelage of Shaista Khan, was placed in supreme command. On the 29th Aug. 1635 the Prince began his march. The Raj of Orchha was conferred on Debi Singh of Chanderi, son of Bharat Sah, and descended from Rudra Partap in the sixth generation. Jhujhar Singh fled from Orchha to Dhamoni [80 miles southwards]. Orchha was occupied on the 14th Oct. 1635. When the imperialists drew near to Dhamoni they found that Jhujhar had again retreated and was gone towards Chauragarh. Dhamoni was soon taken. Jhujhar by this time had reached the town of Shahpur four miles from Chauragarh and had asked help from the Rajah of Deogarh. The pursuit from Dhamoni was placed under the conduct of Khan Dauran and Abdullah Khan Firuz Jang. Jhujhar found no help in Deogarh, the zamindar having just died. Destroying the cannon, burning other things and blowing up the buildings of Chauragarh, Jhujhar fled through Deogarh country towards the Dakhin. The pursuers passed through Garh Katanga and Lanji until they reached the boundaries of Chanda. The fugitives were then halted four kos ahead of them. Marching all night the pursuers reached the spot only to find their prey had flown. But next day at noon the fugitives were overtaken and after a fight abandoning their standards, kettle-drums and elephants, they fled into the forest and hid themselves. The pursuit was not relaxed. Udebhan and another younger son of Jhujhar Singh managed to escape and reach Golkonda. Jhujhar and Bikramajit when overtaken fled deeper into the forest after an attempt to sacrifice their women. The principal wife, Dirgbhan (a son of Jhujhar), and Durjan Sal (son of Bikramajit) were made prisoners.

Some Gonds found the two Bundela chiefs in the forest and put them to death. Khan Dauran went to the spot and cut off their heads and took their signet rings. The heads were laid before Shah Jahan at Sihor. On the 10th January 1636 they were exposed on the gates of the sarai at that place. Fifteen days afterwards Khan Dauran arrived with tribute from the

Rajah of Chanda, some of the Bundela plunder, and the family of the rebels. Rani Parbati had died of her wounds, but the other women were made Muhammadans and transferred to the imperial harem. Dirghban, the son, and Durjan Sal, the grandson of Jhujhar Singh, were made Muhammadans under the names of Islam Quli and Ali Quli. A couple of months afterwards, Udebhan and another son, a child, with their follower Siyam Dauwa, who had been delivered up by the king of Golkonda, arrived at Court. The two men of full age were offered their lives if they accepted Islam; on their refusal, they "were sent to hell." The child was placed in the charge of the *nazir* or head of the harem.

SEC. 71.—CAREER OF CHAMPAT RAI BUNDELA.

Throughout the events connected with the reduction of Jhujhar Singh of Orchha, Champat Rai seems to have acted against the Muhammadans, but did not follow Jhujhar Singh in his flight. Two or three years after that Rajah's death Champat made common cause with Pirthi Raj, one of his sons, and raised a disturbance in the neighbourhood of Orchha. Abdullah Khan Firuz Jang then in charge of that country with his headquarters at Islamabad,* attacked the Bundelas at their stronghold about six miles from Orchha between that place and Jhansi, 18th April, 1640. After a forced march his troops, under the command of one of his chief officers Baqi Khan, fell upon the Bundelas just as day was breaking and routed them putting many to the sword. Pirthi Raj was made a prisoner, but Champat Rai escaped. Pirthi Raj was sent to prison in the fortress of Gwaliyar; and as Abdullah Khan was supposed to be wanting in zeal, he was superseded by Bahadur Khan Rohela, to whom the assigned revenues of Islamabad were transferred. Bahadur Khan had made great promises, but he was not allowed much time to show what he could do, for Shah Jahan's advisers told him that it was "inadvisable to turn Bundelkhand into a Rohelkhand", and in consequence of their objection Bahadur Khan was soon recalled. [*Pad.* ii. 193, *M.U.* i. 420.]

* Manzur Ahmad says (p. 47) that the ruins near Kathera are still known as Salimabad. This is probably the place referred to.

The only success obtained by Bahadur Khan was reported by him in a letter received at Court on the 13th January 1641. He had succeeded in cutting down some jungle and killing some Bundelas, but Champat and his brother Sujan had again escaped. In Oct. 1641 Abdullah Khan Firuz Jang had been sent to form part of the army under Prince Murad Bakhsh proceeding against a hill-rajah named Jagat Singh. On the 18th Nov. 1641 he returned from the army to make some report, but as he was suspected of some intrigue he received no audience. Bahadur Khan secretly recalled from Bundelkhand was appointed in Abdullah Khan's place and the latter was sent back to Bundelkhand. [*Pad.* ii. 221.]

On the 4th June, 1642 as the results of Abdullah Khan Firuz Jang's campaign were unsatisfactory, Rajah Pahar Singh Bundela, brother of the late Jhujhar Singh of Orchha, entered into a compact to root out Champat and his brothers, and on receiving Abdullah Khan's appointment, his rank was raised to 3000 *zat* (3000 troopers with two or three horses). As Champat had risen to notice in the service of Bir Singh Deo and Jhujhar Singh, his son, he preferred to make terms with Pahar Singh rather than to continue the contest with one of a family to which he was under some obligations. [*Ibid.* 303.]

According to tradition, affairs between Pahar Singh and Champat Rai did not proceed altogether smoothly. Pahar Singh attempted once to get rid of his troublesome vassal by poison; but a friend and relation Rajah Bhim changed cups and offered himself up in sacrifice for Champat Rai. The latter, following his mother's advice, made overtures to the Mughal Court, whereupon he was summoned and enlisted in the imperial service. According to tradition, he was employed in the year 1656 in the reduction of a fort called Bhargarh,* for which he

* This is incorrect. The fort besieged was Qandahar in Afghanistan, as the *Chhatra-prakash*, p. 30, distinctly mentions *Khandhar* and Dara Shukoh's participation in its siege, but with the usual exaggeration of a Court eulogist says that Champat forced it to surrender! The third Mughal siege of Qandahar, conducted by Dara Shukoh, from April to September 1653, was a miserable failure. *Padishahnama* (ii. 304) records that Champat with his brothers entered the service of Dara some years after 1642. [*J. Sarkar.*]

received in jagir the pargana of Kunch worth three lakhs of Rupees a year. Pahar Singh was annoyed at this move and presenting a gift of nine lakhs of Rupees to Prince Dara Shukoh obtained the pargana for himself. Disgusted at this treatment Champat Rai left Court and returned to Mahewa. [Manzur Ahmad 52, Pogson 25.]

When Prince Aurangzeb started from the Dakhin to contest the throne with his brother Dara Shukoh, Champat Rai presented himself and his services were accepted. After the defeat of Jaswant Singh Rathor (the partisan of Dara Shukoh) at Dharmat on the 25th April, 1658, the Bundela leader was given a horse and a robe of honour. At the battle of Samugarh (9th June 1658) Champat was in Aurangzeb's right wing under Prince Muhammad Azam; and after the victory he was presented with an elephant. He then joined in the pursuit of Dara Shukoh. When Alamgir Aurangzeb's camp was at Sarai Jauhar Mal in the Panjab, Champat Rai and his son Angad were sent on to Lahor to serve under Khalil-ullah Khan. Alamgir then returned to Dihli, which he reached on the 21st Nov. 1658. In January 1659 a force was sent against Prince Shuja who had advanced beyond Allahabad. In the fight at Khajwa in the Ganges-Jamuna Duaba Jaswant Singh Rathor, who had by this time made his submission to Alamgir, turned traitor once more and failing in an attack on the Emperor's rear, fled to his own country of Jodhpur. Dara Shukoh now entered Gujarat and advanced northwards to Ajmer. Taking advantage of the confusion thus created, Champat fled from Lahor, reached Bundelkhand, and soon closed all routes through Malwa. All that could be done at the time was to despatch Subhkaran (Rajah of Datiya) and Indarman (Rajah of Orchha) against this disturber of the peace. [*Alamgir-nama*, 78, 92, 163, 217, 301, 631.]

Champat Rai having plundered Bhandar [24 miles n. e. of Jhansi], took up his quarters in the fort of Iraj. Subhkaran advanced against him and gave battle in the open field. In the end Subhkaran withdrew his forces and turned his attention to the fort of Shahgarh, but the place was defended so valiantly that he was unable to reduce it. [Pogson 35-36.]

SEC. 72.—FLIGHT AND DEATH OF CHAMPAT RAI, 1661.

After an interval Subhkaran returned with reinforcements. Champat then fled to Dharaini; where some inconclusive fighting followed. Champat's next refuge was at Anghori. By this time Alamgir had returned to Dihli (May 1659), and his brother Dara Shukoh had been made prisoner. He now deputed Rajah Debi Singh Bundela of Chanderi to take charge of the operations in Bundelkhand. This was in the fourth year (30th April 1661—19th April 1662). Champat now proposed peace through his brother Sujan Rai. The parties met at Bedpur but the conditions imposed by Subhkaran could not be accepted by Champat Rai. Subhkaran, however, declared the subjugation of Champat beyond his power. Then Ratan Sah one of Champat's sons made offers of submission through Namdar Khan, but without result. [Pogson 38.]

Sujan Rai, who had gone to the imperial Court with Subhkaran [in the hope of making favourable terms], now returned to Bundelkhand and invoked the aid of Rani Hira Dei of Orchha, but his advances being repulsed by her he went on to the fort of Bedpur. Here he was attacked by the Rani and when his ammunition was exhausted the place was taken by assault. The wives of Sujan Rai immolated themselves, and Sujan Rai rather than be taken prisoner plunged a dagger into his own breast and expired. [Pogson 38-39.]

On learning the news of Sujan Rai's defeat, Champat left Orchha* and passed three days at Jatwara. The Rani's army was in pursuit. Then Champat bethought himself of Rajah Indarman Dhandhera of Sahra, in sarkar Sarangpur of subah Malwa. At the time when Champat was in favour with Alamgir, this man Indarman was a prisoner at the Mughal Court. He had resisted the conquest of his State by Shiva Ram Gaur, to whom it had been granted by Shah Jahan. Champat interceded for him, procured his release and his restoration to his State.† Champat resolved to seek shelter at Indarman's capital,

* Irvine wrote *Berchha*, but the Hindi text of *Chhatra-prakash* reads *Orchha*. [J. S.]

† Pogson (p. 40) says that Indarman had been imprisoned for slaying

and made straight for Sahra, closely pursued by the imperialists, sixteen thousand in number. At this time Champat had with him no larger escort than fifty horsemen. He was ill and daily his illness increased on him. One day having travelled over 30 miles, he halted to give his people and his horses a rest. They had begun to feed the horses when suddenly they heard the sound of kettle-drums ; they already saw some of the enemy. Champat got ready his quiver, placed it in his waistband, mounted his horse and escaped. He soon came to a difficult pass in the hills where after an attempted defence he scrambled down the other side. A follower named Indarman in trying to get through the pass fell with his horse and was cut to pieces. While this fight was going on Champat Rai fled and took shelter in a village. The news was brought to Sahib Rai Dhandhera, who was in charge of Sahra during the absence of the Rajah Indarman. It was resolved to afford sanctuary to Champat, and Shiva Ram Dauwa and Gopal Bari were sent to meet him at the head of two hundred horsemen.

Suddenly hearing the tramp of horses, Champat made ready his bow, but it was old and broke as he stretched it. His son Chhattarsal resolved to fight to the death in his father's defence, while his wife drew a dagger and was ready to die gladly for her husband's honour. As the Dhandhera's horsemen drew near she shouted "Who are you advancing so boldly? I will not give up nor quit Champat until I have finished a sacrifice for him. Then you may work your will". The leader called out "Why all this anger, we are come devoid of plot or guile to escort Champat to Sahra, where no enemy will trace him." At this mild answer their fears were dispelled and they consented to be conducted to the camp assigned them.

an imperial officer named Shah Malik. The Emperor with whom Champat interceded was Shah Jahan, and could hardly have been Alamgir. Shiva Ram was granted the Dhandhera lands early in Shah Jahan's reign. (*M. U.* ii. 265). Aurangzib released Indarman from the fort of Junnar when starting from the Dakhin to contest his father's throne (*Ibid.* 266), and Champat could have had no hand in the matter. But early in Aurangzib's reign Indarman fell into disfavour on account of the conduct of his kinsmen. (Talish). [J. Sarkar.]

For a time they remained at Sahra, thence went to Sitabari where is a temple of Raghunath. Then the pursuing army arrived in the neighbourhood. Rajah Indarman was still absent and his representative Sahib Rai took shelter in the fort where he was helpless. The Dhandheras lost heart and he wrote to Sahib Ram Dauwa and Gopal Bari in charge of Champat's escort with orders to gain their guest's confidence and then murder him. By this treachery they hoped to make their own peace with the Emperor.

All unconscious of this plot Champat decided to start for a place called Morangaon, after Kali Kunwar, the fugitive's wife, had prayed and made offerings at the temple of Raghunath. Their son Chhattarsal was sent away to his brother-in-law Gyan Sah's village. Reaching this place Chhattarsal found his sister at home, but she refused to see him. The youth had fasted for three days and had nothing with which to buy food. It was not until Gyan Sah's return home in the evening that he heard the news and sent out some food, which was cooked and the night passed.

Champat now thought of a way of beguiling his pursuers. While he was being carried to Morangaon, another litter would be sent to the orchard near Sahra. In it someone would take his place covered from head to foot in his sheet, guarded by the two hundred horsemen. Kali Kunwar spoke to a servant from her father's house. When the request was heard by him it was refused. The Thakurani fell at his feet, but he persisted in his refusal. On the failure of this device, Champat marched for the orchard at Sahra attended by the two hundred Dhandhera horsemen. After they had gone seven kos, the men interchanged signs, and suddenly fell upon and slew the Bundela chief—his illness preventing him from making any effective resistance. The Thakurani leapt from her horse and ran to her husband's side. She laid hold of a horseman's rein, but he turned and plunged his dagger into her. Thus husband and wife died together and together they set out for the other world.*

* The entire account of the pursuit of Champat from his leaving the fort of Iraj to his death is based on the *Chhatra-prakash*. [J. S.]

At the Mughal Court Rajah Suján Singh of Orchha claimed the credit of Champat Rai's removal. He reported that he had followed the rebel to his refuge in Sahra and there demanded his surrender. But the Dhandhera men, unknown to Suján Singh, sent Champat Rai's head to Court, where it arrived on the 7th November 1661. [*Alamgir-nama*, 633.]

SEC. 73.—RAJAH CHHATTARSAL, HIS CAREER DOWN TO 1720.

Thus at the age of twelve years Chhattarsal,* who was the fourth son of Champat Rai, was left an orphan and a fugitive. He sought shelter first with his eldest surviving brother Angad Rai at Deogarh and his mother's jewels having been obtained from the town of Dilwari, where they had been deposited, his marriage was carried out. He now offered his services to Rajah Jai Singh of Amber then on his march to the Dakhin and about to proceed against Shivaji the Mahratta. His brother Angad Rai soon joined the same commander, under whom they did good service. When Bahadur Khan besieged Deogarh, Chhattarsal formed part of the detachment sent by Jai Singh as a reinforcement. In a battle fought to force the passes through the hills, Chhattarsal was left for dead on the field of battle and was not discovered till night had come on.

Chhattarsal disgusted at Bahadur Khan's neglect of his services, decided to join Shivaji, the Mahratta, and with this intention after a long and trying march through hills and forest, he crossed the Bhima river. At an interview Shivaji counselled him to return to his own country of Bundelkhand and there raise his standard against the Muhammadans.† Adopting this suggestion Chhattarsal first of all sought to obtain assistance from Subhakaran Bundela Rajah of Datiya, then serving in the Mughal employ in the Dakhin. Subhakaran refused to quit the

* The history of Chhattarsal to the death of Alamgir is based upon the *Chhatra-prakash*, with dates and a few details from *M. U.* ii. 510 and *M. A.* 169, 384, 424, 483. The letters of Jai Singh in the *Haft Anjuman* give us information about Chhattarsal's service under him. [J. Sarkar.]

† Bhimsen gives another account. See my *Shivaji and His Times*, ch. 7 end. [I. S.]

Mughal, but offered to intercede with the Emperor and obtain for Chhattarsal a suitable rank. Chhattarsal refused.

Now commenced a struggle which lasted for over fifty years. Chhattarsal crossed the Narmada into Bundelkhand in 1671, when he was in his twenty-second year. His following then consisted of five horsemen and twenty-five foot-soldiers ; while at his death in December 1713 he was lord of the eastern half of Bundelkhand. In the course of this career of conquest, he defeated many Moslem commanders, Hashim Khan, Sayyid Bahadur, Randaula Khan, Tahavvar Khan, Sayyid Latif, Anwar Khan, Mirza Sadar-ud-din, Hamid Khan, Abdus-samad Khan and Murad Khan (agent of Diler Khan). These obscure struggles are hardly mentioned by the Muhammadan historians. The only campaign they tell us of is that of 1089 H., 1678-9, when Jaswant Singh Bundela was sent 'against the sons of Champat'.

Twenty years seem to have passed in this never ceasing struggle. Alamgir's departure from Northern India in 1681 and his prolonged campaigns against the Muhammadan Governments and the rising Mahratta power, diverted his attention from the other parts of his Empire. The local generals ceased to exert themselves, in the way that they did in the time of Shah Jahan ; and this want of energy was without doubt exceedingly favourable to the rise of a local chief like Chhattarsal. Somewhere about the 40th year of the reign (5 April 1696—23 March 1697) Chhattarsal was induced to enter the imperial service and repaired to the Dakhin. In the 46th year (19 Feb. 1700—8 Feb. 1701) he was appointed to the command of fort Satara. Four years afterwards he abandoned the service and returned home. In the next year the 49th (1705) Nawab Firuz Jang obtained his reinstatement with the rank of 4,000. He returned home when Alamgir died (2nd March 1707).

In the early part of Bahadur Shah's reign, Chhattarsal neglected the summonings to Court which were sent to him. But on the 30th May 1708, when the new Emperor was on his way to the Dakhin to fight his younger brother, Kam Bakhsh, Harde Narayan and other sons of Chhattarsal presented themselves and received *mansabs*. In the fourth year of that reign,

on 22nd April 1710, when the Emperor was at Karatiya in the Kota country on his return march to Hindustan, Chhattarsal himself attended and proceeded northwards with the army, then on the way to suppress Banda, the follower of the deceased Sikh leader Guru Govind Singh. On the 10th Dec. 1710 Chhattarsal took part in the assault on the Sikh fastness of Lohgarh in the outer Himalayas. Under Farrukh-siyar (1713-1719), he seems to have remained in favour. On the 21st Jan. 1714 he became 6,000 *zat* (4,000 horse), and on the 3rd May 1718 three of his sons and several grandsons attended Court and received presents. [Kamwar, *Dil.* 171b, *Bahadur, M. U.* ii. 510.]

SEC. 74.—MUHAMMAD KHAN BANGASH'S CAMPAIGNS IN BUNDELKHAND.

Soon after the downfall of the Sayyid brothers Muhammad Khan Bangash, as his reward for deserting from Sayyid Abdullah Khan, obtained the Government of Allahabad (25th Dec. 1720). Within the limits of this province lay the greater part of Bundelkhand* including the whole of the territory over which Chhattarsal had usurped authority. Thus Muhammad Khan, pursuant to the Mughal claim to sovereignty over the whole of India, had a direct official connection with Bundelkhand. Not only so. The parganas of which the land revenue was assigned to him in 1713, in the first year of Farrukh-siyar, were all in Bundelkhand. To this troublesome charge (the Mughals having little or no hold on the country thus granted), Diler Khan, the grantee's favourite *chela*, was appointed. In 1720 the Bundelas rose, sacked Kalpi, and killed the local officer (*amil*). Diler Khan at the head of some troops was sent against them and quickly ejected them from Kalpi and Jalalpur.† The Bundelas, however, soon recovered themselves and advanced

* From this point onwards to the final retirement of Md. Khan the history of Bundelkhand is based upon Irvine's chapters on the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad in *J. A. S. B.* 1878, with some additional details from Shiu Das and other writers, who will be cited at the proper places. [J. Sarkar.]

† *Jalalpur*, 18 m. s. of Kalpi, but south of the Betwa. [J. S.]

to the number of thirty thousand men with Chhattarsal at their head. After a fierce battle fought on the 25th May 1721, Diler Khan and five hundred of his men were slain. He was buried at Mauda. [20 m.n.w. of Banda]. Chhattarsal had already made himself obnoxious to the imperialists by sending aid to Girdhar Bahadur at Allahabad and to the rebel Kichar zamindar of Asothar in the Duaba. This crowning act of open hostility resulting in the defeat and death of Diler Khan, made Chhattarsal's suppression imperative. [Shiu Das 67a, Ghulam Ali 41b.]

No immediate vengeance for this disastrous defeat could however be inflicted upon the Bundelas. The whole strength of the Mughals was at the time absorbed in the attempt to repel the aggressions of Rajah Ajit Singh of Jodhpur and the rescue of Ajmer from his clutches. At length, towards the end of 1723, Ajit Singh sued for peace and sent his eldest son Abhai Singh to Court. Muhammad Khan who had taken a part in the campaign returned to Dihli with this Prince. Chhattarsal having in the interval continued his aggressions upon imperial territory, Muhammad Khan was now ordered to proceed in person to Allahabad the head-quarters of his province, and there prepare an expedition to be led by him into Bundelkhand.

This first campaign was quite inconclusive. After a two months' stay in Allahabad, Muhammad Khan collected a force of fifteen thousand horsemen and formed a camp at Bhognipur in the Duaba. In the end he crossed the Jamuna into Bundelkhand, and by dint of six months of fighting he penetrated as far as Sahenda, 12 miles south of Banda. Nizam-ul-mulk's defeat of Mubariz Khan (11th Oct. 1724) alarmed the Court and decided it upon concentrating its forces. Muhammad Khan was recalled. He made the best terms he could and returned to Dihli. Then he was ordered to Gwaliyar to repel an anticipated advance of the Mahrattas. In his absence the Bundelas renewed their inroads, and soon the little impression that had been made was entirely obliterated; Baghelkhand was over-run by them, even to the borders of the subah of Patna.

About the end of 1726 Muhammad Khan was directed to restore order in the Bundelkhand portion of his province. A

money allowance of 2 lakhs of Rupees a month was granted to him; this was afterwards commuted into a grant of *chakla* Kora. On the 3rd Feb. 1727 his vanguard crossed the Jamuna somewhere not far from Allahabad. By the first operations the eastern part of Bundelkhand was cleared, with the exception of Tarahwan. Leaving his eldest son, Qaim Khan, to prosecute the siege of that place, Muhammad Khan moved on to within four *kos* of Sahenda. Parganas Bhend, Mauda, Pailani, Agwasi and Simanni* came into his possession: and on the 22nd Dec. 1727 Tarahwan fell to an assault delivered by Qaim Khan.

Pushing his way westwards Muhammad Khan at last encountered the enemy at Ijoli in pargana Mahoba. Here on the 22nd May 1727 he stormed their entrenched position at a heavy loss on both sides in killed and wounded. Chhattarsal, his sons and grandsons took flight and sought a refuge in the forest of Salhat† to the south of Jaitpur, a country full of natural obstacles in which pursuit was difficult. On the 18th June 1727, twenty-seven days after the first battle, the imperial army marched towards the enemy's new position. The attack was delivered a little before dawn on the next day (19th June, 1727) but before the Muhammadans could come to close quarters the Bundelas broke and fled to Mahoba. The forts of Barigarh, ten miles, and Lauri-Jhumar, sixteen miles south-east of Mahoba, were occupied. The Muhammadan camp was pitched two miles beyond Mahoba, and here they passed the five months of the rainy season during which in that soil it is impossible to place one foot before another. [Shakir's *Gulshan-i-Sadiq*.]

In Nov. 1727 the advance was resumed. The enemy's

* *Tarahwan*, 42 m. e. of Banda and one-fourth of a mile from Karwi. *Bhend*, probably Benda, a village 22 m. from Banda and 14 m. from Pailani. (*N. W. P. Gaz.* i. 390). Or, *Bhenr* (*Bheyr*)? *Mauda*, 20 m. n. w. of Banda. *Pailani*, 20 m. of Banda. *Agwasi*=*Augasi*, 28 m. n. e. Banda, and on the s. bank of the Jamuna. *Simanni*, 18 m. n. e. of Banda. *Ijoli*=*Ichauli*, 11 m. n. w. of Banda. *Jaitpur*, 20 m. w. of Mahoba. [*J. S.*]

† The *Salat* hill is 9 m. due east (and not south) of Jaitpur, and midway between the latter and Mahoba. [*J. S.*]

entrenchments in the hills were attacked for a whole day with little effect, but at sunset the Bundelas gave way. At this point a delay of four months seems to have occurred during which Muhammad Khan wrote repeatedly to Court for more money and more men. Active hostilities were resumed in April 1728, and on the 29th April 1728 a fresh entrenchment between the hills at Kulpahar [14 m.w. of Mahoba] was stormed by the Muhammadans, seven lines of defence being carried one after the other. Next day the general started for Mundhari four miles east of Jaitpur, and its fort was seized. The Muhammadans now took up their position in front of Kulpahar with Jaitpur on their right, Mundhari a little on one side in the same direction, and the hills of Salhat on their left, the latter occupied by the enemy. Finally the Bundelas resorted to the hills of Ajhnar, six miles south of Jaitpur. The siege of Jaitpur itself then commenced. The rainy season came on and progress was slow, for owing to the excessive moisture the mines fell in as soon as dug. At length about the month of December 1728 the fortress fell into the besiegers' hands. By this time the campaign had lasted fully twenty-four months (January 1727 to December 1728).

SEC. 75.—MUHAMMAD KHAN'S DESPATCH OF BATTLES.

It was in the operations preparatory to opening the siege of Jaitpur that the fighting occurred which is thus described by Muhammad Khan himself in his report to the Emperor [Shakir's *Gulshan*] :—"The enemy having come out of the hills of Bundelkhand awaited the arrival of their brethren, the Mahrattas and the Jats. The first victory was obtained during the first march, when we were forty miles from Jaitgarh.* On the 14th Shaban of the current year (1140?), Chhattarsal with a body of Bundelas had advanced to the village of Suni, where they plundered the property and cattle of the country people. Although many of my men were away procuring supplies, and

* The name of the fort of Jaitpur. *Suni*—There is a *Sundee*, 50 m. north of Jaitpur, and 12 m. s. w. of Kalpi, but north of the Betwa (69 N. E.) [J. S.]

only a small force was available, yet instigated by the recollection of what had happened to Diler Khan shortly before, I mounted without delay and after advancing six *kos* (about 12 miles), came face to face with the enemy. They drew up in battle array and began the attack with arrows and matchlock fire, holding their ground firmly. After much effort on both sides and many casualties, including the loss of my horse, the enemy began to give way. We pursued for six *kos* and cut off many heads. Many horses and standards and arms fell into our hands. Long ago, in a previous report, I sent a detailed account.

"After this fight we reached by repeated marches the foot of the stone fort belonging to the enemy. Here Mangal Khan and Bhure Khan joined me. The united force passed the 29th of the said month (Shaban) [=9th April 1728] below the fort. On the night of Friday a council was held. It was decided, in order to secure water, that we should move to the banks of a small stream, six *kos* to the south of the fort. Some were for procrastinating. One watch of Saturday had gone when we reached our destination, we had not yet fixed upon the site of our camp and our men were scattered about, as occurs on a march. I was standing with a few *chelas* ready mounted, watching for the enemy.

"Suddenly the vanguard of the Bundelas, headed by the eldest son of Chhattarsal, bore down on us. At once I sent to the camping ground for Mangal Khan and some of his men; these were formed into a left wing. Bhure Khan and his men were sent to the front; while Sardar Khan, Shams-ud-din Khan, and Rustam Khan were posted on the right wing. Meanwhile the enemy gathered in great strength; and dividing into many groups completely surrounded me and my men. In addition to the central body there were three *daur* (lit., circles). One of their *daur* is by measurement one hundred and seven *jarib*. Their total force was estimated at 45,000 men. It is also said by persons from the enemy's camp and landholders of the neighbourhood that Chhattarsal in person, with all his brethren and leaders, thirty-seven in all, was present. The Jat, too, was there with his artillery and troops.

"Although the enemy thought they had prepared a meal for themselves, they had to retire without eating it. When the sun reached its height the battle began to rage. Arrows sped and bullets flew. From bows and cannon and muskets there fell, as it were, a hailstorm from the sky. The enemy then came against our Van ; but we held our ground. I sent for my artillery and ordered my *Mir Atash* to make the horsemen attached thereto dismount ; and directed them to fire at the camels of Chhattarsal. Thus the enemy was brought under matchlock and rocket fire. Seeing they could gain no advantage in that direction, they turned their whole army and all its parts towards our right. They reached close our encampment and began to plunder our tents and disturb our attendants. There was an enormous disparity in our numbers, and I saw that it was no use to try and save our baggage. Whether victory or death were our fate, the destruction of our goods and chattels was of no importance. We addressed our vows to the Protector of All and continued our efforts.

"Then three strong divisions united together and bore down on our right wing. Many of our men failed to withstand this onset ; they began to give way. But Mangal Khan and Bhure Khan, although wounded, stood fast, and our faces were reddened with the glow of success. Those brave men yielded not their ground but gave their lives as a sacrifice. In a short time victory would have been with the enemy. Then as befits a true leader, I remembered my reputation as a soldier and my devotion to His Majesty's service. It was plain that there was nothing left except to advance in person and fight like a soldier.

"At two hours before sunset I collected the artillery in position on the left wing, in advance of the vanguard ; and followed by a few of my best cavalry, I drove my elephant straight into the thick of the enemy, where my men seemed to be struggling hopelessly against them. At this moment two of the enemy's horsemen, one after the other, rode their horses, with the greatest boldness, at my elephant, so that their horses' forefeet were on the elephant. By God's aid one after the other was dispatched by our arrows. The whole of my friends

and *chelas* at this juncture performed prodigies of valour in the vanguard, and many received repeated wounds. With the greatest effort the force in front of us had been repulsed, when a fresh one appeared in great strength on our right. We succeeded in also repelling this attack. A third time the enemy showed on the left, but soon fell back. The fourth time they came on massed together as a single body. By God's help and His Majesty's good fortune, after much fighting and slaughter, such as cannot be detailed in this brief report, the whole of the enemy finally withdrew.

"We pressed them in their retreat, and parties were detached in pursuit. These after notable deeds rejoined my main army. Two arrows had struck the elephant of Chhattarsal ; it was wounded and fled from the field. We pursued him and his host four or five miles. Cannon, gun-carriages and falconets were seized as prize, many of the enemy were killed, many drums and horses fell into the hands of our men. Excluding those slain in battle and in the camp, we collected about seven thousand heads.

"After the victory I remained three days on the spot. At present I am turning my attention towards Jaitgarh. As my former report was lost on the road, this second account has been sent. No blessing of good fortune could be greater than this victory over a vast gathering of Bundelas, vouchsafed to this lowly person, of no account, a mere nobody and a humble dependent."

While Muhammad Khan was pressing on westwards his eldest son Qaim Khan was left to reduce Tarahwan on the east of the province. It fell to his investment on the 22nd December 1727. Leaving an officer in charge, Qaim Khan then rejoined his father. But immediately he had done so, they heard that the Bundelas had risen again and had attacked the Tarahwan garrison. Qaim Khan was detached against them with ten thousand horse and foot ; but before he could reach Tarahwan the enemy had taken the first outworks. On the 4th Oct. 1728 he retook the outer fort. A month afterwards 11th Nov. 1728 a mine was exploded under one of the fastnesses and the rest of the place succumbed to an assault. Qaim Khan

then took the field and cleared the country to the east as far as Bargarh.* He was still absent on this duty when in March 1729 Muhammad Khan's career of victory was suddenly arrested.

SEC. 76.—MUHAMMAD KHAN BANGASH MEETS WITH DIFFICULTIES AND REVERSES.

While maintaining the investment of Jaitpur, Muhammad Khan had not ceased to annoy the Bundelas in their retreat within the hills to the south. Jaitpur fell in December 1728 and in the same month Harde Sah and other sons of Chhattarsal came in and surrendered. Soon afterwards Chhattarsal also submitted.† For three or four months they remained quietly in the Muhammadan camp awaiting an answer from Court to Muhammad Khan's offer to bring the prisoners with him to Dihli. Under pressure of circumstances the Rajah had meanwhile agreed to submit to the imperial authority, to deliver up all the places he occupied ; and to permit the placing of imperial armed posts throughout his country. From Dihli no answer came, and three months passed by. At Court the story was started that Muhammad Khan and Chhattarsal had entered into a league and covenant to upset the dynasty and place the Afghan on the throne. The silliness of this rumour was proved by the acts of the Bundelas themselves. They wrote to Burhan-ul-mulk, a rival of Muhammad Khan, and received an encouraging reply. Other courtiers too wrote urging continued resistance and a recommencement of hostilities. Having then learnt what powerful enemies Muhammad Khan had, the Bundelas plucked up courage to renew the struggle. In February 1729, the time of the great Hindu festival of the Holi was approaching, and on this pretext the aged Chhattarsal was allowed to remove to a place 6 or 7 miles south of the Muhammadan camp to carry out the ceremonial of the feast.

Muhammad Khan lulled into a false security had allowed the larger part of his army to proceed on furlough, and many

* Probably Barigar, 10 m. s. e. of Mahoba.

† Warid says that Chhattarsal paid 40 lakhs to Md. Khan to save his dominions.

of the soldiers were scattered in small parties at the armed posts that he had established. His total force did not exceed four thousand men. Ugly rumours now reached him about a Mahratta invasion. They had quite recently defeated and slain (8 Dec. 1728) Girdhar Bahadur, the imperial governor of Malwa. But Muhammad Khan had full confidence in the agreement entered into by the Bundelas, and treated the suggestion of danger from the Mahrattas with supreme contempt. He made no preparations.

SEC. 77.—BAJI RAO ASSISTS CHHATTARSAL IN BUNDELKHAND.

The Mahrattas were within two and twenty miles of his camp before Muhammad Khan could be persuaded to believe in their approach. With great difficulty he now made up his army to nine thousand men and entrenched himself. The invaders were under the chief command of Baji Rao, the *Peshwa*. With him were Pila Jadon, and other celebrated leaders; and as he advanced his force was joined by the turbulent zamindars till it had swollen to seventy thousand men.* They first appeared within two miles of the Muhammadan encampment on the 22nd March 1729, but their skirmishers who tried to drive off the grazing cattle were soon dispersed. Next day they advanced by the right and left to the rear of the camp and cut off the camels and ponies as they were being driven out to bring in grass. On the 25th Muhammad Khan made a sortie without permanent benefit. Gradually the Mahrattas closed round the camp, the commonest grain cost twenty Rupees a seer, and other kinds were unprocurable. For two months the Muhammadans subsisted on the flesh of camels, horses and cows.

In the middle of May, Qaim Khan who had heard at Tarahwan of his father's straits, reached Supa, 12 miles north-east of Jaitpur, bringing supplies and reinforcements. A portion of the Mahratta army moved off to intercept him.† Suddenly

* The junction of the Mahrattas with Chhattarsal described in Sardesai ii. 384 *et seq.* [J. S.]

† The repulse of Qaim Khan is thus described in a Marathi letter from Pilaji Jadon: "On the 9th Shawwal [7 May 1729] Qaim Khan with

seizing the opportunity the beleaguered soldiers poured out of the camp on their way to Jaitpur, Muhammad Khan was left with no more than one thousand men. The Bundelas came down from their hiding places in the hills and Muhammad Khan moved out, leaving not a single soul in camp. For three hours an unequal contest was maintained, and honour being satisfied Muhammad Khan consented to withdraw to Jaitpur.

On reaching Jaitpur Muhammad Khan put it so far as he was able in a state of defence. But there were no stores of food and no time to procure any. When the Mahrattas returned, having defeated Qaim Khan, they invested the town and fort, into which Muhammad Khan had withdrawn. The besiegers could make no impression on the place and resolved to starve it into surrendering. For close on four months the garrison held out under the most heart-rending conditions. The only food was the flesh of the gun-bullocks and of the troopers' horses; flour could not be procured at a hundred Rupees the seer. Many men died of starvation; many deserted; all who gave up their arms were allowed to pass out. [Warid 11b, Khush-hal 1049-1052.]

In this time of dire distress Muhammad Khan called upon the Emperor and the great nobles to extricate him. Not a hand was raised to help or encourage him. The Emperor did indeed order the first Bakhshi, Khan Dauran Samsam-ud-daulah, to proceed to Jaitpur. As usual with this noble, there was much promise and little performance. His advance tents were sent outside the walls of Dihli with great pomp and ceremony; but not one single other step did he take to forward the matter. Full of intrigue, and deceit and excuses, he every evening put off his start to the morning, and every morning put it off until the evening. Then in order to stir up strife he wrote to the Bundelas that the 'thoughtless monarch' was trying to send an army to the aid of Muhammad Khan. He went so far, it is

30,000 men came against us. We fought him (at Supa). By God's grace he was defeated. We captured 3,000 horses and 13 elephants, two of these elephants have been taken by Antaji Mankeshwar and Dabaji Somvanshi the *sar-i-lashkar*, the rest are with me." (Rajwade, iii. No. 14.) [J. Sarkar.]

said, as to suggest to Chhattarsal that his deadly enemy Muhammad Khan being in his power, he would throw away all chance of fortune if he did not slay him. The head of Muhammad Khan would be an acceptable gift to lay at the feet of the Emperor and would secure the sender high dignity and reward. Khan Dauran also tried to persuade the Emperor that there was danger to the throne from a too successful Afghan general. [Warid 11b.]

After his repulse at Supa, Qaim Khan was obliged to abandon all hope of conveying immediate relief to his father and the besieged garrison. He resolved to obtain, if he could, contingents from some of the other nobles. His first visit was to Burhan-ul-mulk, governor of Oudh, at Faizabad. Instead of affording him help, a plot was made for his seizure. The Afghans in the Oudh service were so angry at this intended trickery that they followed Qaim Khan to the number of twelve hundred in his march to the Pathan colony of Shahjahanpur. Here more men joined him. His next visit was to Ali Muhammad Khan Rohela at Bangarh,* and with this ruler's help more recruits were collected. Reaching his home at Mau Shamsabad [in the n. w. of the Farrukhabad district], he raised money from the money-lenders and pledged all his father's goods. In this way he succeeded in gathering together a force of about thirty thousand men.

SEC. 78.—FINAL WITHDRAWAL OF MUHAMMAD KHAN FROM
BUNDELKHAND, 1729.

In the interval Jaitpur had continued to be strictly invested and the sufferings of the garrison were intense. Then an epidemic broke out in the Mahratta camp and thousands of their men died. Moreover the time for their annual return to their homes during the rainy season had arrived. Alarmed at the losses by disease and anxious to get home, the Mahrattas raised the siege and marched for the Dakhin. Chhattarsal undaunted continued the siege with the twenty thousand men still with him. A further period elapsed and besiegers as well as besieged were tired out. Qaim Khan, too, had crossed the

* About 10 m. n. of Budaon.

Jamuna and was hastening to his father's deliverance. Chhattarsal and his family decided that it was more prudent to come to terms, and Muhammad Khan was allowed to evacuate Jaitpur (August 1729) on signing a written agreement not to attack them again, but to content himself with the tribute they had formerly paid. On meeting his father Qaim Khan proposed that they should renew the struggle, but Muhammad Khan refused to break his pledged word. They recrossed the Jamuna at Kalpi on the 3rd Oct. 1729, and from that time Muhammad Khan never re-entered Bundelkhand. In 1144 (July 1731—June 1732) he was superseded in the Government of Allahabad by Sarbuland Khan. [Warid 11-13.]

As a reward for their alliance the Mahrattas received from Chhattarsal one-third of his territories, the parganas so ceded were situated in the south and west of the region and were supposed to yield a revenue of 30,76,953 Rupees or about £300,000 a year.* They seem to have soon had some difficulties with their Bundela neighbours in the parent State of Orchha for in Zul Qada 1144 H. (April-May 1732) Pirbhui a brother of Malhar Holkar was killed in a fight with Rajah Udwat Singh of that place.

Rajah Chhattarsal died at Panna on the 14th Dec. 1731; at the age of eighty-two years. He left a number of sons: but the two eldest Harde Sah and Jagat Raj divided the State between them, the former becoming Rajah of Panna and dying soon after in 1151 H. (April 1738—April 1739); and the latter Rajah of Jaitpur (died 1758).

The younger sons, in the usual Rajput manner, obtained small appanages for their support. The supposed revenue of the Panna State was 38,46,123 and of Jaitpur 30,76,953 Rupees. [Pogson 105-115.]

SEC. 79.—EARLY MAHRATTA INCURSIONS INTO MALWA.

In the Mahratta scheme of aggression upon Hindustan, or India north of the Narmada, the rich province of Malwa† was

* Partition of Bundelkhand, Sardesai ii. 386. [J. S.]

† The history of the Mahrattas in Malwa given here by Irvine is based entirely upon Grant Duff and *The Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad* (pub-

selected by the Peshwa Baji Rao as his special prey. From the year of his appointment (1720), he sent annually a detachment from Khandesh into Malwa, but did not cross the Narmada in person until the end of 1724. At first his stay in the province was never very prolonged, affairs at home and the intrigues of Nizam-ul-mulk demanding his constant attention in the south.

We have seen [ch. iv. sec. 33] that late in the reign of Farrukh-siyar Muhammad Amin Khan was sent to Malwa expressly to defend it from Mahratta incursion. On his return to Court without orders he was superseded (15th March 1719) by Nizam-ul-mulk; and he again, owing to the constantly shifting policy of the Court, was followed on the 9th Sept. 1722 by Rajah Girdhar Bahadur Nagar, who was removed from Oudh in order to make a vacancy for Saadat Khan, Burhan-ul-mulk. A year afterwards, Nizam-ul-mulk's star being once more in the ascendant, he removed Girdhar Bahadur in favour of his cousin Azim-ullah Khan (25th May 1723). When Nizam-ul-mulk quitted Oudh and fled to the Dakhin, the province of Malwa was made over once more to Girdhar Bahadur (12th June 1725). [Kamwar 199.]

Girdhar Bahadur throughout his period of rule in the province, carried on a gallant struggle against the rising waves of Mahratta encroachment. For the selfish reason that they diverted the Mahrattas from the Dakhin, these constant attacks on Malwa were secretly encouraged by Nizam-ul-mulk. The country was overrun by Baji Rao's officers, Udaji Puar, Malhar Holkar, and Ranuji Sindhia. The fortune of war constantly varied; but whoever might win in the field, destruction to the prosperity of the country was equally the inevitable result.

lished in *J. A. S. B.* 1878). The few other works used by him will be cited by name. The editor has supplied all the additional information from Marathi sources.

The first recorded Mahratta incursion into Malwa was in 1690 (Malcolm's *Central India* i. 61n). In 1698 Udaji Puar looted Mandu but did not make any permanent occupation. That work was due to the enterprise of Balaji Vishwanath. A Marathi letter of 1715 mentions that Dabalji Somvanshi was the first to attempt the conquest of Malwa, though the work was rendered easier by the energy of Baji Rao's assistants Sindhia Holkar and Puar. (Sardesai, ii. 355). [J. Sarkar.]

At length, on 8th Dec. 1728, in the neighbourhood of Ujjain, Girdhar Bahadur was defeated and slain by the Mahratta army led by Chimnaji, brother of Baji Rao, and Udaji Puar.* At the same time fell his relatives Rao Gulab Ram and Rajah Anand Ram. The resistance was carried on for a time by Girdhar Bahadur's nephew, Daya Bahadur. But finally he too was defeated in a battle near Tarla, [4 m. s.w. of Dhar] between Dhar and Amjhara, where he and nearly two thousand of his troops lost their lives. [*Sigar*, i. 79 ; *T-i-M.*]

SEC. 80.—HOW THE MAHRATTAS GAINED A PERMANENT FOOTING
IN MALWA.

[*Written by the Editor.*]

For the history of Malwa between the death of Girdhar Bahadur and the arrival of Muhammad Khan Bangash as the new governor of the province, we have copious information in the Persian letters of Girdhar's sons (*Ajaib-ul-afaq*) and the Marathi and Hindi letters received by Nandalal Mandaloi chaudhuri of Indor, (printed in Sardesai ii. 363-375). Our difficulty is only about some of the dates. Irvine's Persian authorities say that Muhammad Khan reached Ujjain on the 30th January 1731, from which it follows that the battle of Tarla and the death of Daya Bahadur had taken place some months earlier (say, October 1730). But the Marathi letters give the date of the battle as the 21st Rabi II. *Shahur San* 1132, (which corresponds to the 22nd October 1731 new style), and some others represent Daya Bahadur as alive on the 20th October. Muhammad Khan, as all authorities agree, did not arrive in Malwa before the death of Daya Bahadur. Therefore the Khan's campaigns in Malwa and, in consequence, the Nizam's movements connected with Muhammad Khan's, must be dated one year later than what Irvine states.†

* "Rajah Sahib Girdhar Bahadur was the Malavi-raj of Malwa. In support of the Emperor he fought my brother Chimnaji Apa at Sarangpur." (Letter from Baji Rao.) The Mahratta attack on him here was a surprise and ended in his death. [J. Sarkar.]

† On the other hand, there may be a mistake in the conversion of the *Shahur San* dates above. The Marathi dates, also, cannot be implicitly

It is clear from the letters of Daya Bahadur that Girdhar Bahadur had aimed at turning Malwa into a hereditary kingdom for his family, in imitation of Nizam-ul-mulk and other ambitious provincial governors of the fast dissolving Empire of Dihli and that Daya Bahadur dreamt the same dream. But the task was hopeless on account of their having no ally even among the Hindus. They could hold Malwa only by promising to the Emperor to keep the Mahrattas out. In this work they could not get any Rajput support. The Rajputs, especially Sawai Jai Singh, were allies of the Mahrattas and actually called them into Malwa in order to weaken the detested Mughal power in Northern India. This is the keynote of Malwa history in the early eighteenth century. The local zamindars (mostly Rajputs) naturally tried to take advantage of the disorder by withholding revenue. Daya Bahadur alienated them by attempting a strict collection of the dues of the State, and (as I infer) by giving himself royal airs. These short-sighted local magnates and their tenants sided with the Mahrattas as the best means of evading their legal obligations to the Mughal Empire. There were soon to have King Stork from the south in the place of their old King Log of Dihli.

Nandalal Mandaloi, a *chaudhuri* of Indor under the Mughal administration, on being greatly harassed by the imperial officers, turned towards the Mahrattas, at the advice of Jai Singh. He had very great local influence and "held the hearts of all the chiefs (*sardars*) of Malwa in the clutches of

accepted as correct, because in two of these letters Nandalal's death is put in S.S. 1132, while a third is addressed to him in 1133. In each of these cases the year is given in *words* and we cannot explain the mistake by ascribing it to a natural clerical error in transcribing numeral *figures*. The course of events implies that Daya Bahadur governed Malwa for a longer period than what Irvine's dates would give him (16 months, July 1729—Oct. 1730). My dates, therefore, are:—

8 Dec. 1728. Death of Girdhar Bahadur; his son Bhawani Ram governs Malwa.

? July 1729. Daya Bahadur succeeds as governor.

22 Oct. 1731. Death of Daya Bahadur at Tarla.

19 Jan. 1732 (i.e., 22nd Rajab, but of 1144). Muhammad Khan reaches Ujjain as governor.

his hand" (as two letters put it). He was the intermediary of all the Mahratta intrigues and movements against the Mughal Government in Malwa. By treacherously leaving the fords of the Narmada (of which he was officially in charge) unguarded, he facilitated Baji Rao's invasion of Malwa. [Mandaloi papers, printed in Sardesai ii. 364-370.]

SEC. 81.—GOVERNMENT OF MALWA BY BHAWANI RAM.

[*By the Editor.*]

On the death of Girdhar Bahadur (8th December 1728), the Emperor wrote in his own hand to his son Bhawani Ram condoling with him and requesting him to defend the province against "the infidels." Bhawani Ram was created a Rajah with the title of Chimna Bahadur, two lakhs of Rupees were granted to him, and Sayyid Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, the Maharana (through Sawai Jai Singh), Durjan Sal and Md. Umar Khan were ordered to march to his aid.

Chimnaji Apa and Udaji Puar, after their great victory at Sarangpur, went about plundering the country round Ujjain. Bhawani Ram hurriedly recruited more men and threw up earthworks round the town. On the 20th December the Mahratta army laid siege to Ujjain and daily fights took place. Bhawani Ram's difficulties were aggravated by his lack of money. He owed a large sum to the troops of Girdhar Bahadur who had raised nearly 8,000 men in addition to the regular contingent of his office and also artillery. The men in arrears were ready to break out into mutiny, and the news of this crisis tempted the Mahrattas to prolong their stay in his neighbourhood. On the 23rd January 1729, when the siege of Ujjain had lasted 35 days, Bhawani Ram made a sally. There was a fight at close quarters with losses on both sides, after which the Mahrattas retreated.

Months passed away, but no money nor the promised reinforcement from the Court reached Bhawani Ram. He owed 5 lakhs of Rupees to his troops. The Mahrattas, after trying to take Sarangpur, went on towards Sironj where Najm-ud-din Ali was resting, having entrenched himself and placed obstacles round the town.

New difficulties now arose. Najm-ud-din Ali Khan wrote to announce that he had been appointed to the governorship of the province and that the revenue collected was to be held in trust until his arrival. He also wrote for the miscellaneous revenue (cesses) to be collected and sent to him. The Court wrote to the Khan to desist from such acts and to return to his own faujdari of Dhamuni. When Najm-ud-din Ali reached Kaliyada, 3 miles from Ujjain, he began to raise all sorts of trouble. (April 1729). The Court's orders were shown to him, but he went on as before. Finding persuasion useless, Bhawani Ram had no course open but to resist force by force. He brought his tents out of Ujjain and encamped opposite Najm-ud-din. From morn to night the men on both sides stood armed and ready. Durjan Sal and Umar Khan, failing to persuade Najm-ud-din to refrain, finally left him. The strong attitude of Bhawani Ram, however, had the desired effect, and the baffled Sayyid at last marched away.

Meantime, the rumour of Bhawani Ram's supersession had thrown his affairs into confusion. The zamindars refused to pay the revenue. His soldiers mutinied and demanded their arrears; in concert with the neighbouring zamindars and men from the city of Ujjain, they surrounded Bhawani Ram at Kaliyada, but he fought and put them to flight.

Next year (1729—1730) his troubles were renewed. Kanthaji (about June 1729) had invested Khargun [south of the Narmada, 25 m.s. of Mandleshwar] for four days and levied a blackmail of Rs. 50,000, and had then crossed the Narmada [at Barwana] into Malwa and was raiding the country round Dhar,—while Malhar and Udaji had assembled their troops and were waiting at Chikalda for the arrival of Baji Rao and other leaders from Burhanpur. This year the Mahrattas took up their quarters for the rainy season within the province of Malwa. But Jai Singh had not yet moved out of his capital Amber, and his general Zorawar Singh (then at Rampura) had sent to Ujjain only 700 horsemen as aid. Bhawani Ram had by this time exhausted his money and his credit and had no means to pay new recruits.

The Emperor assured him that Rao Ram Chand (of Kota?)

and Rajah Udwat Singh of Orchha had been ordered to go to his aid, while Jai Singh was on the march with 30,000 men. Meantime, a second Mahratta force of 5,000 (under Udaji) had burst into Malwa and was plundering Dhar Dharampur and Malori in the Mandu district. Finally a letter came from the Emperor informing Bhawani Ram that the governorship of Malwa had been made over to Jai Singh, under whom he was to serve. [*Ajaib-ul-afaq*, B.M. Or. 1776, ff. 11b, 74b—78b, 80b—86a, and Nos. 195, 197, 180, 189.]

SEC. 81.—GOVERNMENT OF MALWA BY DAYA BHADUR.

[*By the Editor.*]

This seems to have happened in June or July 1729. But Jai Singh evidently did not assume the viceroyalty, as we find Daya Bahadur, a son of Girdhar Bahadur's father's brother Chabela Ram, in charge of the government of the province for some years before his death at the same post in October 1731. The new governor, Daya Bahadur, who probably replaced his young nephew Bhawani Ram* in July or August 1729, set about his duty with great vigour. His energetic administration and strict collection of revenue were resented by the insubordinate local chiefs. But his greatest enemy was the chaudhuri Nandalal Mandaloi. We have several letters in which he tries to flatter and tempt Nandalal into giving him his support. This chaudhuri was courted by the Mahrattas in equally flattering terms. Jai Singh's influence kept him on the side of the Mahrattas and he did not even reply to Daya Bahadur's pathetic letter of appeal. In March 1730, the governor, learning that Nandalal was raising a force of 50,000 men, invited him to a conference at Ujjain or, as an alternative, offered to visit him at Indor, in order to hear his grievances and settle terms of alliance with him. But still the chaudhuri did not respond to the invitation, nor to another letter written in April 1731.

*As Daya Bahadur wrote to Nandalal on 25th January 1730: "In *Malavi Sal* 1132 (?) Rajah Girdhar Bahadur was slain by the Mahratta sardars at Sarangpur. Then, to take revenge on them, I had gone to Dihli, petitioned the Emperor, and come back with the charge of the province." (Hindi letter. printed in Sardesai, ii. 364.)

In June 1731 Baji Rao was at Burhanpur and wrote promising aid to Nandalal. Mahratta contingents were posted at Nalcha and Mandu, while the local "zamindars and tenants, having grown discontented on account of Daya Bahadur's oppression," had appealed to the Peshwa. From Nimar 5,000 men, peasants and revenue collectors, had come to strengthen Nandalal's forces.

The gathering storm burst on the head of the unhappy governor in October of that year. He had run three mines under the Mandu pass (*ghat*) and kept there 25,000 men ready to oppose the invaders coming from the south. The Mahrattas, learning of his preparations from the treacherous Nandalal, avoided the trap, and entered the province by another route, the Bhairo ghat. The mines, however, were fired, probably by accident, and many on the Mughal side, including Nandalal's kinsmen ('brothers, sons, and sardars') were blown up and perished.*

This took place on the 19th October. Three days later Daya Bahadur himself was attacked at Tarla, 4 miles west of Dhar, defeated and slain. As Baji Rao writes, "A great victory was gained. Rao Sahib [Nandalal Mandaloi], Thakur Narharadas and Mayaram the *wakil* rendered hearty assistance."

Jai Singh congratulated Nandalal warmly on this result: "You have defended our religion in Malwa and crushed the Musalmans, establishing *Dharma*. You have fulfilled my desire."

The Emperor was highly displeased when these facts were reported to him. He wrote to Jai Singh blaming Nandalal for "having called in the Mahrattas—Malhar Holkar and Ranuji Sindhia—by sending *wakils* to them, and established them in

* As Daya Bahadur wrote angrily to Nandalal, "What is your policy? To save the Mahrattas, give your brothers, sons and sardars up to slaughter and put the kingdom in the enemy's possession? What is this that you are doing? Have you lost your senses?...Take counsel with your chiefs and do not give your own country of Malwa up to another...But if you invite the enemy and give such advice to Jai Singh, you will gain nothing. Know that in the future these Mahrattas will not remember this day." (Sardesai, ii. 367). *Bharo-pura* is 3 m.n.e. of Mandu, on the northward road from the Narmada.

Malwa with his full support, after giving up to death thousands of men—his own brothers, sons and chiefs." He also accused Jai Singh of having instigated this treasonable surrender of the province, and then proceeded, "Never mind. Revenge will be taken for it. The Mahrattas came to Malwa on three other occasions but fled beaten. So this time, too, they will meet with similar chastisement and be expelled. Take care! The date has been fixed for the starting of the expedition from here."

Evidently to carry out this policy, Muhammad Khan Bangash was sent to Malwa.

SEC. 82.—MUHAMMAD KHAN BANGASH'S CAMPAIGNS IN
MALWA, FIRST YEAR.

When Muhammad Khan Bangash reached Dihli in the end of 1729, on his return from Bundelkhand, the vacancy in Malwa caused by the death of Girdhar Bahadur was still unfilled. Muhammad Khan did his best to retain his place at Allahabad, a province of which the greater part was productive and easily held. Unsuccessful in these efforts he applied for the onerous charge of Malwa, for which under the existing conditions there was little or no competition. [*J. A. S. B.* 305.]

His appointment to Malwa, for which the rescript was dated the 17th Rabi I. of the 12th year (1143 H. = 29th Sept. 1730), was obtained through Zafar Khan Roshan-ud-daulah Panipati aided by the reigning favourite Rahim-un-nissa known as Koki Jiu (Madam Foster-sister), to both of whom heavy bribes were paid. There was much discussion, as usual in Muhammad Khan's affairs, about revenue assignments and money grants. Very little money could be obtained. On the 5th November 1730 Muhammad Khan had reached Agra, where some guns were obtained from the arsenal. His force numbered some 8,200 horse and 2,500 foot. At length Agra was left on the 16th Nov. 1730 and the camp pitched at Jajau, eighteen miles south of the city. Proceeding by way of Dholpur, the Chambal was crossed and Gwaliyar reached a few days afterwards. Here a halt was made. [*Id* ; *Aziz-ul-qulub* 40b.]

As letters urging haste came from Khan Dauran, three commanders were sent on by forced marches to Sironj,

Mandleshwar and Sarangpur. In December 1730 Muhammad Khan himself had reached Sadhaura, 172 miles north of Ujjain, and here he received a letter from Nizam-ul-mulk proposing a conference on the banks of the Narmada. On the 25th January 1731 the army was at Sarangpur, fifty-two miles north-east of Ujjain. Holkar, who was at Shahjahanpur, sixteen miles off [to the south-west], hearing of its approach sent his heavy baggage back across the Narmada. As the Muhammadans were entering camp at Sarangpur, the Mahrattas fell on them, but soon fled "like crows on seeing a bow." On the 27th January the Muhammadans relieved Shahjahanpur. Ujjain the capital of the province was occupied on the 30th. [J. A. S. B. 308.]

On the 18th February Muhammad Khan again took the field, and went towards Dhar fifty miles to the south-west of Ujjain, while another force under Ahmad Khan the Nawab's second son was sent to deal with Holkar in the direction of Sarangpur and Shahjahanpur. Muhammad Khan himself reached Dhar on the 24th February 1731. The Mahrattas appeared five days afterwards and some skirmishing took place. Next day Holkar arrived. Yar Muhammad Khan of Bhupal, turning traitor to those of his own creed, had persuaded the Mahrattas to attack Ujjain. Muqim Khan the officer in charge beat off the Mahrattas who then went in pursuit of Muhammad Khan. The fighting round Dhar went on for nearly ten days to the end of Shaban (8th March 1731). As the result of this first year's campaign the Mahrattas were expelled from Ujjain, Mandleshwar, Dhar and Dipalpur, while their new forts on the Narmada had been levelled. [Id. 310.]

Having heard that Nizam-ul-mulk was on his way from Burhanpur, Muhammad Khan on the 8th March, 1731 set out for the Narmada. Successive letters had informed him that Nizam-ul-mulk had on the 30th Dec. 1730 crossed the pass of Fardapur and gone into Baglana and on the 28th Jan. 1731 had arrived at Galna. In these letters Nizam-ul-mulk exposes his plan. Pilaji Gaekwar and Udaji Puar had quarrels of their own with Baji Rao Peshwa and were willing to enter into a compact with the Muhammadans. To obtain Muhammad

Khan's accession to this alliance was apparently the object of Nizam-ul-mulk's journey. As he put it to the Nawab "Union is strength." From Dhamangaon he wrote on 8th February that he hoped soon to be at the Narmada. However, he did make a start from Burhanpur on the 24th Feb. The meeting between the two nobles at length took place near the Akbarpur ferry on the Narmada early in April. [*Id.* 311.]

According to prevalent rumour Muhammad Khan Bangash when accepting the Government of Malwa had secretly bound himself to lead a campaign against Nizam-ul-mulk as soon as the Mahrattas had been sufficiently dealt with. At any rate this belief was held throughout Nizam-ul-mulk's own army: and they became quite certain of the fact when their commander suddenly marched to the Narmada. To their astonishment, instead of the fighting to which they had looked forward, peaceful negotiations began. For twelve days the two nobles interviewed each other. We do not know any details of what took place between them, but there can be little doubt that they had agreed to act in concert. Muhammad Khan finally left Akbarpur on the 8th April. [*Id.* 313, *Ahwal* 199-200.]

No very long time had elapsed before the whole of Nizam-ul-mulk's scheme fell to pieces. Hearing of the coalition against him, headed on the Mahratta side by his rival Trimbak Rao Dhabariya the senapati, Baji Rao hastened northwards to Gujarat. On the 11th April 1731, between Dhaboi and Baroda* he came up with the confederates and attacked

* The battle took place at Bhilapur, 11 m. s. e. of Baroda. We have two accounts of it from Marathi sources. "Trimbak Rao Dabhare had been opposed to Baji Rao from the first. When the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of Gujarat were given to Baji Rao, Dabhare began to recruit men, created a split among the Maratha leaders and began to act against Baji Rao. Expecting that he would get the help of the Nizam, he assembled 35,000 men, and determined to march into the Dakhin, saying openly to his men: 'Baji Rao has seized the kingdom of our master, I am going to free him'." [*Peshwa Shakavali*]. Baji Rao writes, "Trimbak Rao Dabhare, Udaji Anand Rao Puar, Kanthaji Raghujji Kadam Bande, Pilaji Gaekwad, and Chinnaji Dada [=Damodar], with 30,000 men came to fight me. The battle took place on the 4th Shawwal.....five kos from Dabhoi. Trimbak and Zavaji Dabhare, Maloji Puar, Pilaji Gaekwad's son [Sambhujji], in all 14 chiefs

immediately. Trimbak Rao was killed with one son of Pilaji and some other leaders. Udaji Puar and Chimnaji Damodar were taken prisoner. Pilaji and other leading men were wounded but escaped. With the news of this disastrous affair came word that Baji Rao had immediately turned back, had recrossed the Narmada, and was marching for Surat and the south. Nizam-ul-mulk trembled for the safety of his capital Aurangabad. Forthwith he began forced marches westwards and seems to have fought one action with Baji Rao somewhere in the neighbourhood of Daman. But by the end of August the two sides had arranged their differences and Baji Rao returned to Satara. By a secret compact Nizam-ul-mulk was left undisturbed in the Dakhin on condition that Baji Rao might pursue undisturbed his designs against the northern part of the Mughal Empire. [J. A. S. B. 313, *Khujista-kalam* for the letter.]

For the rest of the open season before the coming in of the rains of 1731, Muhammad Khan was employed in reducing forts and repelling desultory incursions by the Mahrattas. Two forts Kalkli and Chikalda, belonging to Udaji Puar on the right bank of the Narmada, were occupied on the 10th April. Some Bhil forts were then taken. From these operations he was called away to meet Malhar Holkar who was plundering

were killed, Udaji Puar and Chimnaji were captured, Anand Rao Puar [Jaswant Rao], Pilaji Gaekwad and Kumar Bahadur [Kumar Baba Puar] fled wounded. Bande fled. Their army was plundered. On our side Narayan Dhandhere was slain." The family chronicle of the Dabhare tells us: "Baji Rao seduced Dabhare's officers and induced the men to desert to him under various pretexts.....With only 5,000 men Trimbak Rao stood up for battle, Baji Rao hemmed him round. From dawn to the third quarter of the day Trimbak fought valiantly, slew many men on the Peshwa's side and drove the latter one *kos* back. Thinking that he had won the battle, he began to play his band. Then Trimbak's step-mother's brother, Bhao Singh Toke, secretly corrupted by the Peshwa, ordered his *bargirs* to fire. Trimbak was shot through the temple and fell dead on his elephant in the evening. His brother Jaswant Dabhare arrived at 9 P.M., cremated his body, and then pursued Baji Rao to Satara.....where the Peshwa hid himself in the women's rooms in the palace" (Sardesai, ii. 250-256). [J. S.]

near Mandleshwar. Before the Nawab could come up with him Malhar had made off into Jaipur territory. Other Mahrattas crossed the Narmada and after plundering the country near Mandu retreated to their homes. Antu was plundering round Shahjahanpur. On the 19th May 1731 the governor reached his capital Ujjain, and after a week's rest started against Antu. On the 13th June as the Nawab approached Kauth,* Antu withdrew. [*J. A. S. B.* 314-315.]

The next day an express came from the officer commanding at Sarangpur that he would be overwhelmed by Holkar unless immediately reinforced. At midnight Muhammad Khan started and reached Sarangpur, nineteen miles to the north, a little after sunrise. Before they had come off the line of march they were set upon by Holkar Antu and others. All day the fighting went on. Near sunset the Mahrattas took to flight, and the Muhammadans were out until midnight pursuing the fugitives and plundering their camp. Muhammad Khan now tried to collect some revenue and went to Sironj, 136 miles north-east of Ujjain. He preferred apparently to make his head-quarters at Sironj, as being nearer his line of retreat on Hindustan. Here he seems to have passed the rainy season of 1731. No money could be collected and Muhammad Khan spent his time in urgent appeals to the Court for assistance. [*J. A. S. B.* 317.]

SEC. 83.—MUHAMMAD KHAN IN MALWA: SECOND YEAR'S
CAMPAIGNS.

About the commencement of his second year in Malwa (October 1731) Muhammad Khan opened a campaign to the north of Sironj. Several forts were reduced and finally Shahabad,† the residence of Rajah Chhattar Singh Narwari, was invested. Terms had nearly been agreed on with him when news came of a fresh invasion by Baji Rao. The Rajah absconded; and the governor had no alternative but to return to Sironj and face the new danger. [*Id.* 320.]

* Kauth, 19 m. s. of Sarangpur. (*Ind. At.* 53 N. W.)

† Shahabad, 55 m. s. w. of Narwar and 84 m. n. w. of Sironj.

As affairs had been arranged in Gujarat, there was no danger to the Mahrattas from that direction, they turned with their full force upon Malwa. It was reckoned that they had now one hundred thousand horse in the province. Fath Singh and others were posted with thirty thousand horse at Khimlasa, 42 miles east of Sironj; Chimnaji (Baji Rao's brother) Malhar and others with an equal number were in Umatwara,* between the Kali Sind and Parbati rivers; twelve thousand were still south of the Narmada; another twelve thousand were coming up by way of Sagar. Directly the Mahrattas were announced the zamindars flocked to them to pay the *khandani* or black-mail that they habitually levied. Having thus secured themselves these Rajahs went home and stirred not hand or foot to aid the Muhammadans. Muhammad Khan's attempt to open negotiations direct with Rajah Sahu at Puna was unfruitful. He was referred to Baji Rao, Pandit Pardhan, "who was his sole and only adviser in all matters". [*Id.* 321.]

On reaching Sironj Muhammad Khan's first impulse was to deliver an immediate attack on the enemy at Khimlasa. But before starting he learnt that Malhar with fifty thousand men was already within fifteen or sixteen miles of Sironj. Other twenty thousand men were scattered about to the south and west. It was obvious that if Muhammad Khan moved to Khimlasa it would take him at least fifteen days to defeat and pursue the enemy. While he was absent Sironj Bhilsa and other towns would be plundered. In fact the game was up and he was checkmated. He sent for the Mahratta leaders, gave them presents and entered into agreements with them. The Mahrattas then evacuated the province for the time being. [*Id.* 322.]

The rainy season of 1732 was passed at Sironj, this leisure season being employed in repeated applications to Dihli for help. Muhammad Khan's resources were exhausted, his jagirs were in the hands of the Bundelas. If his reports were thought

* *Umatwara*.—The only place with a name approaching this word in the position indicated is *Antah*, 28 m. due east of Kota (*Ind. Atlas*, 51 S. W.) [J. S.]

long-winded and exaggerated, let them send someone else who can abbreviate their lengthiness. He would willingly serve under the new man. If things went on much longer as they were, the Mahrattas would overrun Hindustan ; why not resist their encroachments now. Had not Shaikh Sadi written "You may stop with a needle the source of a stream which when full you cannot ford upon an elephant?" [Id. 323.]

No help came. The local chiefs were told that a new governor was about to be appointed. Nizam-ul-mulk, although appealed to, made no sign. The only answer from Court was an upbraiding letter from Samsam-ud-daulah. Soon a rescript in the Emperor's own handwriting reached Muhammad Khan informing him that Rajah Jai Singh Sawai had been appointed his successor. He was directed to report himself at Agra, to which place the Emperor said he intended to proceed. Muhammad Khan after making over the town to his successor's officers left the province and reached Agra on the 16th December 1732. [Id.]

Apart from difficulties about money and the general non-success of his arms, three causes appear to have led to Muhammad Khan's disgrace ; first, the complaints of the jagir-holders in Malwa, persons who were influential in the palace ; secondly, the attack on Chhattar Singh of Narwar, who was the protégé of the eunuch Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan and others ; thirdly, the friendship which had sprung up between the governor and Nizam-ul-mulk. Perhaps the last of these was the greatest offence, for at that time Nizam-ul-mulk's acts were most jealously watched by the clique in power at Dihli. The subsequent rapid advance of the Mahrattas shows that they were already too strong for resistance by one provincial governor, and it is clear that with inferior means Muhammad Khan did as much if not more than all the forces of the Empire led by the Wazir and the Amir-ul-umara were able to accomplish. [Id. 324, Rustam Ali 261a].

Jai Singh's rule in Malwa was both short and inglorious. In 1148 H. (1735-6) after two years' struggle the Mahrattas expelled him from the province, and at once advanced to Gwalियar and beyond it. No effectual resistance was made, and Samsam-

ud-daulah, the directing spirit at Dihli, and his bosom-friend Jai Singh thought it the highest wisdom to propitiate the invader.* On the 16th July 1736 a meeting took place at Dholpur. Accompanied by Ranuji Sindhia, Malhar Holkar, Jaswant Rao Puar and others, Baji Rao visited Rajah Jai Singh. An agreement under seal was executed by which the Mahrattas bound themselves not to pillage the imperial territories in the future. In exchange Baji Rao received the appointment of *deputy* governor of Malwa from Rajah Jai Singh. Appearances were thus saved ; but no good result followed. As we shall soon see the Mahrattas in no way refrained from their depredations. Compromise they ever treated as a sign of weakness, and concession as an incentive to fresh demands. [J. A. S. B. 327.]

* Malwa was thus divided: "Sindhia Holkar and Jaswant Rao Puar settled that they should divide the territory which had fallen to their king. maintain forces and work in concert. 31 per cent. of the income was to go to the Government [of Rajah Sahu], 30 p. c. to each of Sindhia and Holkar, and 9 p. c. to Puar. This was approved by Baji Rao. The rates were subsequently modified and finally the respective proportions were as follows,—45 p. c. to the king, 22½ p. c. to Sindhia and Holkar each, and 10 p. c. to Puar." (Sardesai, ii. 375-376). [J. S.]

CHAPTER X

MUHAMMAD SHAH: COURT AFFAIRS 1721-1733 AND MAHRATTAS IN NORTHERN INDIA 1732-1738.

SEC. 84.—THE DHILI SHOE-SELLERS' RIOT.

The shoe-sellers' riot in the eleventh year of the reign occupies a considerable space in all the histories of the time; and, besides its value as a picture of the turbulence of the capital, it is important as conducing to the downfall of the group of palace favourites whose influence was all powerful on the Emperor's mind throughout the first twelve or thirteen years of his reign.

By the common usage of the lower order of Muhammadans, the first half of the month Shaban is devoted to festivities, among the chief of which are the illumination of lamps and the discharge of fireworks in the streets. In the evening of the 8th of the month (8th March 1729) one Subhkaran, a jeweller belonging to the imperial establishments, was on his way home from the house of the eunuch, Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan, curator of the Jewel House. The man had been for many years protected by the all-powerful Roshan-ud-daulah Panipati, by whose aid he had obtained an imperial rank (*mansab*), and had received an important office on the Lord Chamberlain's establishment.*

His way home, for he lived behind the Jauhari-bazar, took Subhkaran past the shoe-sellers' shops in the square or *chawk* of Sadullah Khan, situated to the south of the palace. These men were all Panjabis, and their shops, which were very large and numerous, lined both sides of the road. All were bigoted Muhammadans, strict in their prayers: their elders were men of dignity, well dressed and long bearded, many knowing their

* Ashob 56a-64b (basis of this narrative); *Bayan-i-waqai* 497-507; *Warid* 26-32 and 37.

Quran by heart and able to expound it. As the munshi's palki approached, both Hindus and Muhammadans were busy letting off squibs in the street, in the way usual at that season. One of these squibs fell into the palki and burnt a hole in the munshi's darbar clothes: the servants running at his side remonstrated and after words the two parties came to blows. The retinue were armed while the shoe-makers had only their rasps; but the latter being the more numerous seized one of the sepoys and took from him his sword and shield. Subhkaran in an angry mood made his way home and at once ordered the man who had been disarmed to return and punish his assailants.

After nightfall the man, accompanied by a crowd of his friends, went back to the shoe-sellers quarter and caught a stripling who was beaten till he almost died. Hearing the cries, one of the elders known as Haji Hafiz, rose from his cot and ran barefooted to the boy's assistance. In rescuing the boy the Haji himself received a sword cut and fell down dead. The assailants leaving the body where it fell made off home. At dawn the shoe-sellers, and after them the whole city, gathered round the body and swore that until the murderer and his employer were killed, the body should lie there unburied. All the lower class Muhammadans joined themselves to the shoe-sellers. The body was placed on a cot, and in the greatest excitement shouting *Din Din* they carried it off and laid it before the door of Subhkaran.

During the night Subhkaran had sought refuge in the mansion of Sher Afkan Khan Panipati, then Lord Chamberlain (*Khan-saman*) and therefore his official superior. Subhkaran as already said was a protégé of Zafar Khan Roshan-ud-daulah, also from Panipat. Roshan-ud-daulah was connected by marriage with Sher Afkan Khan, and the two men for this reason and their being natives of the same town were the closest of friends. Sher Afkan Khan was the younger brother of another very influential noble, Lutf-ullah Khan Sadiq. For these two reasons (1) that the fugitive was his official subordinate and (2) was the protégé of his bosom friend, Sher Afkan Khan refused to give the man up to the mob; in fact, stoutly denied that the man was in his house. Leaving the body at the

munshi's door, the crowd went away to make complaint before the palace.

At the time of their arrival there, Muhammad Shah was on his way back with his mother Qudsiya Begam from a visit to the garden known as Jafar Khan's. He was greeted with cries of "The Faith", "The Faith", and "Justice!" "Justice!" and the men were allowed to tell their story. An order was given to Qamar-ud-din Khan the Wazir, who also held the office of superintendent of the audience chamber, to send a palace attendant to arrest the accused wherever he might be found. Sher Afkan Khan, the man's protector, refused absolutely to comply with the order. And thus the Thursday passed.

From early dawn on the Friday (11th Shaban 1141 H.= 11th March 1729) the shoe-sellers traversed the city calling upon every Muhammadan to join in their protest in defence of the Faith and its followers. The point of assembly fixed upon was the Great Mosque; and by the time of the midday prayer its spacious court was thronged. They so crowded on the praying space and the pulpit that the service was interrupted, while the noise and confusion increased every moment. The most demonstrative groups were those led by the Arabs, Abyssinians, and Constantinople Turks in the service of Rumi Khan and the dependents of Sayyid Arab Ali Khan the Baghdadi, most of whom had been employed in the imperial artillery from the time of Haidar Quli Khan, formerly *Mir Atash* or Master of the Ordnance. These men although unarmed acted as leaders. They pressed in a circle round the pulpit, the kneeling worshippers had no room to rise to their feet when required by the ritual, the officiant was prevented by rough usage from pronouncing the bidding to prayer, blows and curses were showered on the *Qazi* and the expounder of the law, accused of supporting the unbeliever. Swords were not drawn, no blood was shed; but the *Qazi* and his son were buffeted and kicked till they were nearly dead, and the expounder and the reciter were dragged off the pulpit, thrown on the ground, and thoroughly thumped till they nearly fainted.

Reports of the outbreak reached the palace and by order of the Emperor the Wazir and Roshan-ud-daulah went with

their troops to allay the disturbance, restore order and cause the prayer to be completed. The Wazir was the first to reach the spot and he entered the mosque with his followers by the northern gateway. He lavished promises of help to the Muhammadan cause and by his smooth talk abated for the time the vigour of the assault on the Qazi and his subordinates. But the accession of such a great noble, as it seemed to them, only made the mob more resolute in the pursuit of their vengeance. Unfortunately Roshan-ud-daulah now appeared with his following at the eastern gate, the entrance used by the Emperor. His retinue was made up of ignorant Afghans, puffed up with notions of their valour, men from Khurja, Sikandra, and other parganas round Dihli; and leaders from Shahjahanpur, Mau-Shamsabad and Farrukhabad (the "Indian Afghanistan"), with a few men from the towns about Thanesar in Sarhind. From another direction, the southern side, came up Sher Afkan Khan, who had been trying to make the heirs of the murdered man accept the price of blood. Now, hearing that the Wazir and Roshan-ud-daulah had come, he too had turned out from his house with the whole of his armed train of Hindustanis at his heels.

With the idea of preventing more men crowding into the mosque, Roshan-ud-daulah ordered his Afghans to close the gates. The sight of Roshan-ud-daulah and Sher Afkan Khan once more roused the mob to fury. With cries of "The Faith, the Faith" and "Strike the infidels on the face", they brought forth their only weapons, the iron-heeled shoes that they had hid under their arm-pits and the stones and brickbats they had collected in the long skirts of their coats. These they hurled at the two nobles with loud curses and foul abuse. On Sher Afkan Khan fell the first brunt of this attack; and his "dignity was subjected to the indignity" of being struck by these shoes and other missiles. Some fell on his turban; others passed him and struck the plumes of Roshan-ud-daulah's gold-brocade head-dress. The rioters then attacked the Afghans who were standing in rows behind their masters. All this time the Wazir held aloof near the pulpit, a mere onlooker.

At last, alarmed at the danger to the two nobles, and

angered at seeing the bruised and bleeding faces of their own captains, the Afghans lost all patience and set upon the attacking party, sword in hand and shield on arm. The bazar men would have soon got the worst of it. But the artillery who had taken up their cause now fell on, armed with fusils and European pistols. Joined with them was a body of unruly Mughals from the quarter of Mughalpura. One of the Habshis fired from near the pulpit at the two nobles. Thereupon the Afghans wild with excitement rushed forward ; and the ranks of both sides were inextricably intermingled. The Afghans were far more numerous than the artillery men while the shoe-sellers were unarmed. Up to this point the Mughals round the Wazir had hardly been able to restrain themselves ; but now, as the day was going against their fellow countrymen, they disregarded all the Wazir's orders. Seizing their weapons they took part in the fray.

The other Mughal troops were drawn up mounted in the streets outside the masjid waiting to escort the Wazir on his return. Excited at what was taking place these men rode up the flight of steps leading to the gates, dispersed the Afghans guarding them, burst them open, and with one shout dismounted ran at full speed into the masjid. Following them came the Wazir's elephant and the camels bearing his wall-pieces and rockets. Many of the rioters lost their lives. After holding out as long as they were able and seeing many of their leaders and comrades fall, the Afghans began to yield ground. Sher Afkan Khan received a cut on his right wrist and his sword fell from his grip. Some of his followers were killed and others wounded ; the rest sought safety in flight and made for the south doorway. All this time other Afghans had stood round Roshan-ud-daulah like a living shield. When Sher Afkan Khan retreated they forced Roshan-ud-daulah to follow. His bulk and corpulence rendered him incapable of nimble movement, they lifted him on their shoulders fighting as they went. Exhausted and breathless they reached the gate.

Issuing from the mosque they fled to the mansion of Dil-diler Khan, the elder brother of Sher Afkan Khan, distant only a few paces. When the Afghans inside learnt that the two nobles

had reached a place of safety they, too, left the mosque and sought the same refuge. The rioters, disregarding Qamar-uddin Khan the Wazir's orders, wished to follow and continue the fight, and surrounding Dil-diler Khan's house burn and destroy it, seize their prey and wreak vengeance. In the end they were persuaded to desist. A number of nobles in the train of Roshan-ud-daulah who had no taste for fighting hid themselves in the corners and arches and turrets of the mosque. Driven from these refuges by the bullets that were flying about, they clambered over the arches adjoining the bazar and let themselves down into the street below as best they could. One great man Azam Khan in thus escaping met with a ridiculous adventure. Below the place where he climbed over was a thatched shop full of earthenware pots. In spite of the strength of the thatch his legs went through and he was caught in the beams and bamboo supports. The shop-keeper, angry at the damage done and the danger to his wares, seized a bamboo and belaboured Azam Khan's feet so that they became all swollen and broken, and for many days he was unable to stand.

As the result of the day's doings the Wazir, without having moved hand or foot, became a popular hero as the defender of Islam against the unbeliever. Muhammad Shah was also delighted that the trouble of a decision had been taken off his shoulders. Removing the turban from his head, the Emperor gave it to an eunuch to carry to the Wazir as a present—with orders for his immediate attendance. Leaving men to clear the mosque of the rioters and posting strong guards at the doors, after he had said the Asar prayer in the screens at the Holy Footprints and had given thanks to God and presents to the guardians of the shrine, the Wazir returned with the eunuch to the audience-hall and reported to the Emperor. Samsam-ud-daulah First Bakhshi had remained on duty at the palace all day. Both nobles after presentation of gifts now took their leave, and the Emperor retired into the palace. The murdered shoe-seller was buried that night on the site of the munshi's house which was demolished by the crowd; in the end a mosque was erected over the grave. For many a year

this affair formed the subject of poems, both in Persian and in Hindi.

SEC. 85.—COURT PARTIES AND COURT FAVOURITES (1721-1733)

Throughout his reign Muhammad Shah was influenced by private favourites, most of them women and eunuchs, whom his weakness encouraged to interfere in public affairs. As one writer [Ashob, 11a] says, the nobles of this time delighted in nothing but childish stories such as that of Hamza the Arab, who fought in seventy-two battles although he had become a martyr in the first of them—or the rubbish of the *Shahnama* and the *Mahabharat*: and to them these lines applied

Birds of a feather flock together,
Children are fond of childish things ;
A crow goes gladly to roost with other crows,
How could he prefer the nightingale's song?

As we have already seen, these intriguers coalescing with Nizam-ul-mulk's public rivals had been able to render his tenure of the post of chief minister so intolerable that he had abandoned the field to them and retired to the Dakhin. During the first half of the reign the most conspicuous and the most influential of these favourites was the woman Rahim-un-nissa, known familiarly as *Koki Jiu* (Madam Foster-sister), with her acolytes Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan, a palace eunuch, Roshan-ud-daulah Zafar Khan of Panipat, known usually by the nickname of *Turra-i-baz* (Falcon's Crest), and the holy man Shah Abdul-ghaffur. During the same period the baneful influence of Khan Dauran Samsam-ud-daulah the Amir-ul-umara was equally paramount. The Wazir was an indolent man of intemperate habits ; while Muhammad Shah's only share in the government was, as one writer says, "to sit on the throne and wear the crown." [K. K. 940, Warid 44.]

KOKI JIU.

This clever and capable woman, Rahim-un-nissa by name, was the daughter of Jan Muhammad, geomancer (*rammal*), originally a thatcher in Old Dihli. He became a Muhammadan in his childhood, obtained some education in the schools of his

quarter, and having acquired a knowledge of geomancy gained his living through telling fortunes by that method of divination. His six children, four sons and two daughters, were sent to school and all obtained some proficiency in letters. But the eldest girl Rahim-un-nissa was the most intelligent and excelled her brothers in handwriting and composition. She visited the mansions of the nobility as her father's messenger and thus acquired most polished manners. By degrees the fame of her father increased until he was consulted by the ladies in the harems of the royal Princes dwelling in the palace-prison of Salimgarh. Like all eastern women they had the liveliest faith in omens and the casting of dice, whether proved by the event to be true or false. One of the chief palace-friends of Rahim-un-nissa was Nawab Qudsiya, the mother of Roshan Akhtar (afterwards Muhammad Shah). During the illness of one of her children Jan Muhammad's prophecy of a recovery was fulfilled ; from this time the Begam became a devout believer in him and his powers. Among other things Jan Muhammad, after consulting his dots and lines, had announced that Roshan Akhtar would soon ascend the throne. After this the Princess could not bear Rahim-un-nissa to be out of her sight. The door-keepers, however, interfered with the woman's free access and a thousand wiles and entreaties were necessary before she was admitted. To overcome these obstacles it was given out that Rahim-un-nissa had been suckled by the same nurse as Roshan Akhtar, and that while still unweaned the Prince had become very fond of her. From this time forth, she became known as Koka or Koki Jiu, that is, Madam Foster-sister. She was employed to write letters and to act as intermediary between the Begam and her friends outside, a service she performed skillfully without detection. [K. K. 940, *Siyar* 75, Ashob 45b, Warid 44, Khush-hal 1042.]

During the first two years of Muhammad Shah the Sayyid Wazir and his brother were all powerful and the Emperor a mere cypher. But after their disappearance and the sudden death of Muhammad Amin Khan, Muhammad Shah obtained a certain amount of liberty in State affairs, and in the exercise of this power Koki Jiu's voice was predominant. It is doubtful

whether she became the Emperor's concubine ; more probably she was not. Her power came from a belief in her or her father's power to read futurity and prescribe the course leading to success and fortune. The Emperor himself, a youth of eighteen when he came to the throne, was occupied in frivolous pursuits, and to the neglecting of all public business, spent his time in idle talk and jesting with Amir Khan Umdat-ul-mulk and others of the same character. One day Muhammad Shah is reported to have said that if she were a man he would make her Wazir. A disrespectful courtier suggested that Roshan-ud-daulah's beard should be cut off and stuck on her face.* It is said that during the period of her power Koki Jiu held possession of the imperial seals and was permitted to impress them on documents on the Emperor's behalf. In the opposition to Nizam-ul-mulk during his ministry, Koki played a leading part, provoking the Wazir to compose a satirical quatrain, of which the last line was "To-day a filthy woman is in the place of Alamgir." [*Bayan*, 530.] A specific instance of the court paid to her is found in a statement made by Muhammad Khan Bangash that on his appointment to the Government of Malwa he paid or promised her one lakh of Rupees (£10,000). There can be little doubt that a considerable portion of these *douceurs* surreptitiously found its way into the pocket of the Emperor. He was not wise enough to see that for a little immediate profit he was ruining the State. [*J. A. S. B.* p. 306 ; Ashob 45b.]

HAFIZ KHIDMATGAR KHAN.

One of the triumvirate who acted as Koki Jiu's agents was the eunuch Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan. Under the name of Khwaja Ambar he had been from childhood in the service of Alamgir by whom he was educated. His training by Alamgir had produced in him an appearance of ability which he did not actually possess. He was like 'gilded copper', and in reality he retained the qualities of slaves and eunuchs, who prefer men of base birth and low habits to the well-born. One writer, Warid, declares that Khidmatgar Khan, refused to take bribes, and being thus a hindrance instead of a help, Koki after

* Dalpat Singh's *Malahat-i-naql*, B.M. Or. 1828, 32a.

one year's trial dispensed with his services. Be that as it may, he was generally believed to be one of her confidants and agents until his death, which took place on 21st June, 1732. His chief man of business, Khush-hal Chand Kayasth, was cruelly treated in order to make him disgorge the money obtained from the eunuch's office of privy-purse-bearer, and the accumulation from his lands in pargana Mirat. Dogs were set upon the man and his flesh torn by them before he would reveal the place where the money was hoarded. [K. K. 940 ; Warid 44, 47 ; Ashob 45a—46 b ; Khush-hal 1060.]

ROSHAN-UD-DAULAH.

We have already mentioned the rise of Khwaja Muzaffar in the first year of Farrukh-siyar. During the changes of Government following the deposition and death of Farrukh-siyar, he succeeded in making friends among the men of the new régime. Early in the reign of Muhammad Shah he formed a close alliance with the favourite Koki and soon acquired great wealth from the presents made to him to secure his support. He had no obvious qualities to account for his great position, but he possessed no doubt the suppleness required in a courtier.* Outside the Court he did not shine ; his service as faujdar of the troublesome country of Mewat did him no credit. But he was gracious in manner and hospitable, and the repute was great of his charity, more especially to religious mendicants. He was a devoted follower of the holy man Shah Bhik, who is buried at Thaska near Thanesar. Roshan-ud-daulah's yearly illumination of the road from Dihli to the shrine of Qutb-ud-din was long a subject of popular talk. He was also a great builder. In Dihli he built a mosque near the palace and a college with mosque in the main street or Chandni Chauk, both having their domes and minarets adorned with copper-gilt plates. In Panipat he erected in the same style another school and a tomb for himself. In Karnal and Panipat he added gilt domes to the shrines of Shah Sharf Buali Qalandar, also arches

* Or, as Warid (58) says, applying a proverb to him, "He showed you wheat (as sample) but delivered you barley,"—i.e., he was a man of great promise and small performance.

and a pulpit. In Thaska also he adorned the shrine of the same saint and added a house for pilgrims, a hall of assembly and a relief kitchen, which he endowed with several villages. At Dihli he also repaired and cleaned annually the shrine known as Qadam-i-sharif (The Holy Foot-prints) and on the twelfth day of Rabi I., the day on which the prophet was born, he distributed there food gratis and other largesse.* [M. U. ii. 333 ; Ashob 47b-56a ; Ghulam Ali 17a.]

SEC. 86.—SHAH ABDUL-GHAFFUR : HIS CAREER AND INFLUENCE.

The third member of Koki's group of councillors was Shah Abdul-ghaffur a native of Tattha, who passed as a Sayyid but is believed to have been really a cotton-weaver. In the reign of Alamgir he found his way to Kabul and secured the friendship of a eunuch in the employ of Prince Muazzam (afterwards Bahadur Shah), then governor of that province. In the end he was expelled from the province as a forger. He resided for a short time at Lahor, then joined Bahadur Shah's camp when he was on the way to Agra to contest the throne with his brother Azam Shah. During the advance from Agra to the Dakhin, Abdul-ghaffur followed to Haidarabad, himself on foot and his wife on a pack-bullock belonging to the eunuch who had formerly befriended him. In the same manner he found his way back to Hindustan. After the disturbance at Lahor following on the death of Bahadur Shah (1712) Abdul-ghaffur went off to Dihli.

In the popular belief Abdul-ghaffur was the intimate of jinn^s and devils, from whom he had learnt magic spells and incantations. In his early days he had served a Hindu recluse who lived a life of solitude on the summit of a hill in the wild country beyond the Indus. From this man Abdul-ghaffur received his initiation, and went to and fro as his emissary to the Rajahs of the hill country and his other disciples. Some

* He loved to clothe himself in gorgeous raiment and to use gold in every possible way. This is shown by the gilt covering he gave to the domes of his buildings. It was a tradition that after his retinue had passed through the streets, poor people swept up the dust in order to recover the atoms of gold-dust that had fallen from his attire. [Ghulam Ali, 52a.]

time afterwards the Jogi died and Abdul-ghaffur succeeded. His ambition was not satisfied however with such a confined domain, and he made his way, as already stated, to the camp of Shah Alam (afterwards Bahadur Shah), then governor of the Kabul province. Here he altered his appearance to that of a Muhammadan mendicant.

When he followed the camp of Jahandar Shah to Dihli Abdul-ghaffur took up his quarters in an old mosque outside the city, having with him one or two Sindi followers. These men hawked about in the city the amulets he wrote and on the proceeds they and their master lived. Gradually his fame spread and people flocked to consult him. [Ashob 68a—69b.] He claimed to know every science and every art and professed to read the future. One part in ten of his pretences was true: the rest false. The ignorant guards at palace gates and the illiterate eunuchs became his disciples, and he was asked by women of the imperial harem for amulets against sickness. Nawab Qudsiya mother of Mhd. Shah became his patron and he was asked to interpret her dreams, and this increased his reputation. Some of the persons to whom he had given amulets recovered. He and Koki his firm friend had sworn an oath to stand by each other. She made him out to the Begam a saint (*wali*) with supernatural powers (*tasawuf*). He pledged his word for the competence in geomancy of Koki and her father. At length through his friend the eunuch and the recommendation of Qudsiya Begam he made the acquaintance of Muhammad Amin Khan Itimad-ud-daulah. Over this noble he soon obtained great influence, his glibness of tongue secured belief in his universal knowledge and he was soon admitted to his patron's most secret councils. Owing to this intimacy the common people believed the Shah to be the spiritual director of Mhd. Amin Khan. In the intrigues leading to the assassination of Husain Ali Khan, we have seen him play a prominent part, passing between the conspirators and Muhammad Shah's private tents in the disguise of a milk-woman and carrying Mhd. Amin's letters. On Muhammad Amin Khan's death shortly after his accession to power, Abdul-ghaffur attached himself to Koki's party and for twelve years

was nearly as powerful as she was herself. Qamar-ud-din Khan supported him out of respect to his father's memory, and Nizam-ul-mulk, during the short period that he was at Dihli, paid deference to Abdul-ghaffur's apparent claims as a holy man. [Warid 39-42 ; Ashob 64-72 ; Khush-hal 1041-1042.] Subsequently Abdul-ghaffur having made an alliance with Koki Jiu became all powerful and accumulated immense wealth. His income from his offices is said to have amounted to five thousand Rupees a day, in addition to as much more from bribes. Of these latter something under one-fourth was made over to the Emperor ; the balance was divided in equal shares between Koki and Abdul-ghaffur. His habits were miserly in the extreme. [Warid 58-71.]

Abdul-ghaffur was not loved himself by either the courtiers or the crowd ; but the hatred to him was as nothing to that provoked by his son and daughter. Early in the reign Abdurrahim, his son, a good-looking youth, was raised to the rank of 6,000 *zat*. But his conduct was exceedingly dissolute ; he never hesitated at taking life, with or without pretext. One of his freaks was to dress up as a loose woman with his hands and feet *henna*-dyed and wearing many gold ornaments ; in addition a sword and shield hung across his shoulder by a gold-embroidered belt. In this guise he would parade the streets preceded by mace-bearers and matchlockmen with matches lighted. They entered every assembly and took part in every disturbance. At other times, clad in complete steel, with nothing to be seen but his two eyes, he would ride out with his retinue similarly attired. Woe to anyone who looked their way : without fail he was cut down. But if the other side was too strong for him, he fled. Dancers were called to dance at his gate while he sat there wine-cup in hand. In a little, he would attach rattles to his ankles, cover his head with a shawl and join in the dance. Armed men were posted at each end of the street to prevent anyone passing up or down. If anyone persisted, his life was taken. Litters carrying the wives of poor men were stopped ; the women were brought before him, and those he approved were appropriated. For the gratification of other and more unnatural passions he expended large sums of

money. The daughter was even more shameless. [Ashob 66b.]

When towards the end of 1144 (June 1732) the eunuch Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan died, his servants were very harshly treated in an attempt to obtain possession of his wealth accumulated as clerk of the privy purse. About the same period disgrace began to overtake the other members of the combination, for whose downfall Samsam-ud-daulah had been plotting from the first. Koki lost her hold over the Emperor. One of her brothers, Ali Ahmad Khan, gave offence by his conduct as superintendent of the office of Confirmator (*arz muḳarrar*); and worst of all the Queen Malika Dauran quarrelled with her. Koki's money was demanded. She replied that it was all the Emperor's and sending the key of her rooms in the harem to the Begam left the palace. Samsam-ud-daulah brought against Roshan-ud-daulah a charge of having embezzled the money granted to him for payments to keep the roads from Peshawar to Kabul open. And Abdul-ghaffur at length disgusted even the Emperor by the absurd length to which he carried his claims of authority, spiritual and secular. [Khush-hal 1061-1062.]

Roshan-ud-daulah's disgrace came about in this way. Early in the reign he had become the intermediary for the payment of a monthly sum to keep open the passes into Kabul. This money was disbursed by the hand of Nasir Khan, the provincial governor, who had obtained his appointment through Roshan-ud-daulah; the payment is stated to have been five lakhs of Rupees a month, but that is most probably an exaggeration. Roshan-ud-daulah also managed the affairs at Court connected with the port of Surat and with many parganas of the Gujarat province. Samsam-ud-daulah charged Roshan-ud-daulah with embezzling the Kabul money, and since, according to him, the State obtained no benefit, this payment to the pass Afghans was abolished. Remonstrances and appeals were sent again and again by Roshan-ud-daulah but passed unregarded. From this time Roshan-ud-daulah fell out of favour with Muhammad Shah, and soon demands were made upon him to account for all the Government money that he had received. The auditors stated the balance still at three *krors* of Rupees.

Under this pressure the Nawab paid in two *krors* of Rupees and escaped further molestation. But his influence, already shaken by his ignominious share in the shoe-sellers' riot of 11th March 1729, never revived. His position was also weakened by the conduct of his third brother Munavvar Khan, one of the Emperor's boon companions, who fell in love with and carried off Nur Bai, a dancing woman who was Muhammad Shah's mistress. At first Munavvar Khan's death was decreed ; in the end his life was spared but he lost his rank and jagir. After some years Ishaq Khan the new favourite procured his restoration and he was given the office of Bakhshi to the Ahadis. Roshan-ud-daulah died at Dihli on the 12th Zul Hijja 1148 H. (23rd April 1736).*

As Muhammad Shah paid no attention to public business, Abdul-ghaffur for full twelve years held the supreme direction of affairs ; if he opposed, nothing could be done, even the Emperor's wishes were then ignored. At length in his thirteenth year Muhammad Shah rebelled. [Warid 60.]

SEC. 87.—FALL OF ABDUL-GHAFFUR.

A small thing first of all provoked the Emperor's anger. One day he paid a visit to the shrine of Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar. Near by was a large handsome chapel lately erected by Abdul-ghaffur. Muhammad Shah expressed a desire to inspect it, but the doors had been firmly closed up and the keys taken away. The door had to be opened with a borrowed key : and for the time nothing was said. Next came a complaint made by outcry below the palace balcony by Shaikh Muhammad Fazil and Moti Lal, two men employed by the Shah in his office as Master of the Mint. Muhammad Fazil had left the mint to take a contract lease of Sonepat, one of the Shah's parganas, coupled with a loan of one lakh of Rupees for working it. Time passed and the lessee fell into heavy arrears. Stronger and stronger pressure was put upon the debtor and abusive language was addressed to him. In revenge Muhammad Fazil, bringing his successor at the mint Moti Lal over to his side, now made

* Khush-hal 1061b; Ashob 53-55a; Ghulam Ali 47-54.

formal complaint that Abdul-ghaffur had embezzled public money.

Behind the scenes these obscure men were urged on by Samsam (First *Bakhshi*) and Saadat Khan (governor of Oudh). They pressed the complaint home and the Emperor said that the money must be recovered. Abdul-ghaffur was contumacious and refused to listen to the Wazir who was on his side and counselled submission. The Shah abused the Wazir in good set terms and proceeded to send for Muhammad Fazil and Moti Lal, the two men who had dared to complain. Roz Afzun Khan, a palace eunuch, brought this act to the Emperor's notice, and Abdul-ghaffur was prevented from doing anything. Matters were pushed further, and as much as 60 lakhs of Rupees was found to be the amount of his defalcations.

Abdul-ghaffur turned a deaf ear to Qamar-ud-din Khan the Wazir, who wished him well, and listened in preference to Samsam-ud-daulah and Saadat Khan, who were only plotting his ruin. To increase his extravagance of conduct they pretended that the Emperor was inclined to forgive and forget and was about to appoint the Shah to be governor of the Tattha (Sind) province. With this idea in his head he became more violent than before. One day he started for the imperial audience although the Wazir had warned him that he was not master of himself and had better remain at home.

Now, in deference to his character of holy man, he was never called upon to make obeisance but uttered instead the usual greeting between equals of "Peace be upon you", to which the Emperor would reply in the appointed form of words. On this day Abdul-ghaffur marched in and said nothing. Muhammad Shah without any comment, himself said "Peace be upon you." Omitting to return the salutation the Shah began to use strong language. The Emperor rose in silence and retired towards his apartments. When he had gone a pace or two, he called the Wazir to his side and said "I suffer all this through you." The Wazir answered "How could this slave dare such a thing?" "Then having placed your hand on my feet, renounce all interest in this matter." The Wazir acted accordingly.

Returning to his house Abdul-ghaffur continued to curse and swear. But of what avail was his empty talk! An account was now drawn up requiring from him 3 kros of Rupees. A *chela* was sent to obtain the money or to bring the Shah in a prisoner. Abdul-ghaffur's only answer was abuse and the question "Does the palace still stand?" He was arrested and put in prison in the palace. In spite of what was got rid of, cash to the amount of one kror of Rupees was seized besides property and buildings. His principal servants were imprisoned until they gave up their hoards—his chief man Dakhni Rai paid one lakh, his head clerk Kunwar Sen, and Sampat Rai (Dakhni Rai's brother and the brother-in-law of the historian Khush-hal Chand), the Shah's deputy in the Horse Market, and other employés paid varying sums according to their standing. [Khush-hal 1059b-1061b.]

SEC. 88.—ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE DOWNFALL OF
SHAH ABDUL-GHAFFUR.

The historian Warid gives a very detailed account of Abdul-ghaffur's decline from favour and his last days: Muhammad Shah, after having been under Abdul-ghaffur's tutelage for years, at length rebelled and in the thirteenth year (1731-32) called upon the auditors to report the total income received by Abdul-ghaffur from his offices and, after deducting the sum he had paid into the treasury, to report the amount still due. The balance of actual revenue due was found to be twenty-five lakhs. The Wazir was told to realize the money. Qamar-ud-din, on account of his father's friendship with Abdul-ghaffur, was on the whole well inclined towards him. After a stormy interview, the minister advised Abdul-ghaffur to pay one half, and he, the Wazir would provide the other. Abdul-ghaffur rejected the proposal with indignation. When the officials arrived to confiscate his property Abdul-ghaffur declared that he would have them beaten with shoes. Thereupon the Wazir reported to the Emperor that he had done what he could to befriend the man, and whatever measures were thought necessary might be resorted to.

Muhammad Shah was already displeased with the conduct

of Abdul-ghaffur's son, who though a beardless and smooth-faced youth was already an oppressor of the helpless. Abdul-ghaffur himself was also a harsh man. A month before his fall, he called for a servant who happened to be at his prayers. Another man was sent to drag him to his master, whether he were kneeling or standing up. Abdul-ghaffur said to the culprit "By God! Your only lord, without whom you would starve, is Abdul-ghaffur—and he is seated here. What God were you worshipping away there? If you do it again, I will punish you." Another story is that once when asked to disburse the money to put a half finished building in repair before the rainy season—he dragged the man to the side-room where his treasure was locked up and said: "Here have I had locked up for many years the god in whose power all things are; both cloud and rain are under my control, and without my will not a drop of rain can fall."

When the Wazir had thrown over Abdul-ghaffur, the Emperor, easy-going as usual, sent some slaves for the unpaid money. If the man had met the demand by prompt payment he would probably have been pardoned; but he sent instead a sharp answer. Guards were placed over him to prevent his either eating or drinking. In a few days he paid up twenty lakhs and some thousands of Rupees, and obtained a respite of twelve days within which to produce the balance. After sixteen days men were sent to Abdul-ghaffur, who instead of producing the money used language about the Emperor that could not be applied with decency to the lowest in the land. One of the slaves repeated the language; and at last Muhammad Shah's anger burst forth. Abdul-ghaffur was ordered to be arrested, the whole of his hoards to be cleared out, locked up, and placed under seal. This time he made no resistance but announced that shortly the palace and all in it, Muhammad Shah included, would disappear. As he had made Muhammad Shah so would he destroy him. When, in reply to his questions, he was told that the palace still stood and the Emperor lived, he would say half aloud that Muhammad Shah was dead though the fact was concealed by the courtiers. The various stages in his downfall occupies two or three months, but it was

on the 4 Zul Hijja 1144 H. (28th May 1732) that he was finally arrested and locked up in the fort. After having been in prison at Dihli for one year Abdul-ghaffur, his wife, son, and daughter were sent to the fortress of Ruhtas in the province of Bihar. He died there on the 22nd Shawwal 1148 H. (5th March 1736). His character is thus summed up by Warid: "He never spent money on a good work, never conferred a favour, never did a kindness." [Warid 60-69, Khush-hal 1061b.]

By the year 1734 the favourites who had held Muhammad Shah in thrall from the beginning of his reign were discredited and dispersed. Samsam-ud-daulah thus obtained for a time a free hand. But it was not long before the weak monarch was once more under the control of new favourites, of whom the most prominent were Muhammad Ishaq and Amir Khan Umdat-ul-mulk, having as time went on Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jang (governor of Oudh) for their ally. For the present we turn to other subjects.

SEC. 89.—INCREASING ENCROACHMENTS OF THE MAHRATTAS
(1732—1735).

We have already carried the story of the Mahratta invasion of India north of the Narmada to the point where Gujarat had been partly occupied, Bundelkhand partitioned, and Malwa temporarily overrun. This brought us to the year 1145 (1732) and Rajah Jai Singh Sawai's appointment to be governor of Malwa. The northern advance by way of Gujarat was now stayed, partly because that province was difficult of subjugation, partly because the Rajput principalities of Udepur and Jodhpur more or less barred the road. The Mahratta efforts to reach the heart of the Empire at Dihli and Agra were now concentrated upon Malwa and the smaller Rajput States to the north of it. It was here that the Peshwa Baji Rao found a fitting field for his genius as partisan leader and diplomatist. It was his lieutenants, Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranuji Sindhia who founded the States of Indor and Gwaliyar, the ruler of the latter wielding from 1790 to 1803 supreme power in Upper India. Let us now devote our attention to the events in Malwa

and the country adjoining it from 1732 to 1738, and in so doing the narrative will be more clear if we divide it into parts corresponding to the period of Mahratta activity in each year beginning with the 1st October, about the period of the *Dasahra* festival, and ending with the 30th June of each year, when the rainy season had usually set in and the armies on both sides were accustomed to retire into quarters.*

CAMPAIGN OF 1145-46 H., 15TH YEAR OF MHD. SHAH
(1 October, 1732—30 June 1733).

Times had changed since, as Warid notes (p. 80), two thousand Mahrattas could be put to flight by one hundred Hindustani horsemen, and the Mahratta women and children could not with safety pass two nights in succession in the same place. For several years the plunderers had not ventured outside of Malwa ; but now becoming bolder they swarmed over the country up to a few miles from Agra, and the Hindu States, obtaining no help from the Mughals, compromised with the invaders by paying their demands.

One after another the great nobles were ordered to proceed against the enemy ; but all with one consent began to make excuse. [Warid 117.] At length Muhammad Shah, though wedded to ease and idleness, resolved to march in person. The tents were sent out and in Shaban 1145 H. (February 1733) he made one or two short marches and then crossed the Jamuna. After proceeding for a short distance along the river bank he crossed back again. In this cowardly and childish manner several months were consumed. The imperial camp never got beyond Faridabad, sixteen miles south of Dihli, there was confusion and disorder throughout the camp, and the open season was fast coming to an end.

Qamar-ud-din Khan, the chief minister, knowing the Emperor's character guessed that he was in reality disinclined to take the field. To the Emperor's great relief, the Wazir offered to undertake the campaign and his offer was at once

* Warid on the Mahrattas, 76, 80-85, 91-96, 99-100, 116-127 (carrying the history down to March 1734).

accepted. He started from Dihli on the 21st Shawwal (5th April 1733). With him went his cousin Zahir-ud-daulah and his son-in-law Firuz Jang (son of Nizam-ul-mulk). On reaching Agra they were joined by Muhammad Khan Bangash. It was reported that the Mahrattas were between Sironj and Narwar engaged in plundering the Umaid landholders. An advanced division was sent on beyond Narwar to Loda Dangar, south of Kularas. There it was learnt that the Mahrattas had recrossed the Narmada in spite of a feeble attempt by Rajah Jai Singh to hinder their retreat. After this the Rajah had sent off his baggage towards his own country of Amber and had already moved himself one march in that direction. Either thinking the campaigning season was over or obeying an order from Dihli, the Wazir recalled his troops, and they rejoined him at Shiupuri. Some say that he received urgent and reiterated requests from the Emperor to return at once to Court, —one of the letters quoting the line "With you wine is lawful ; without you, water prohibited." On his return march the Wazir turned down the Duaba to Ghazipur [in the Fathpur district] to punish Bhagwant son of Udaru Kichar, who in March 1732 had killed Jan Nisar Khan, faujdar of Kora Jahana-bad. After the first day's bombardment, Bhagwant fled to Asothar. Here Muhammad Khan was left to settle the matter, while the Wazir hurried back to Dihli to thwart a combination against him between Samsam-ud-daulah, Burhan-ul-mulk and Mubariz-ul-mulk. He reached the capital about the end of June 1733. Warid attributes the futile nature of his proceedings to the constant use of alcohol and his addiction to the company of women. [Khush-hal 1063b, Rustam Ali 265, Warid 85, Ghulam Ali 54b.]

CAMPAIGN OF 1146-47 H.—16TH YEAR OF MHD. SHAH

(1 October 1733—30 June 1734).

This year the Mahrattas returned with more boldness than ever. They spread themselves from Gwalior to Ajmer, a distance of 220 miles. They were specially active in the Bhadawar country a few miles east of Agra. The Rajah who was at Court obtained leave to return for the defence of his

country. But it was too late. Before he arrived the villages and towns had been plundered. He took refuge in his fort and resisted for a time. But he soon saw that to look for imperial help was useless. He might as well try "to measure the sun with an ell-wand or imprison the wind in his closed hand". He paid three lakhs of Rupees to the Mahrattas and thus persuaded them to retire. [Warid 118, *Siyar* 289.]

At this juncture the shortcomings of Rajah Jai Singh of Amber came into special prominence. For twelve years he had been governor of Agra and for four or five governor of Malwa. From the gates of Dihli to the banks of the Narmada he was in supreme authority. But in spite of all the disorder around him, the Rajah, supported by the Court influence of Samsam-ud-daulah, sat calmly at home and did nothing, though he possessed an army of 30,000 horsemen and a still larger number of matchlockmen. Several times in previous years the Rajah had received from Muhammad Shah large sums, as much as thirty lakhs or twenty lakhs it is said, for payment to the Mahrattas. Half would be paid to them and half retained by the Rajah; the Mahrattas then went home and Jai Singh returned to his own State. After two or three years of this procedure, the Mahrattas began to expect their "breakfast", as Warid styles it, and every time grew greedier and more avaricious. But for fears for Samsam-ud-daulah's displeasure, Muhammad Shah was afraid to take away the Government of Agra or Malwa from Jai Singh. Samsam-ud-daulah himself, although well able to do so, undertook no campaign against the invaders. [Warid 119—120.]

For years it had been the custom at Court, when the Dakhin intelligencers reported the invasion of Gujarat and Malwa to send out Muhammad Shah on long visits to the various gardens round the capital, or to distract his mind by hunting and shooting expeditions in the many royal preserves. Meanwhile the Wazir sought relaxation by a visit to his country-house on the canal about twelve miles from Dihli, where he would remain a month or longer. His time was taken up with fishing or hunting deer. All business was suspended, and the country remained practically without a Government. The

pious Muhammadan could do no more than raise his helpless hands to Heaven.*

This year (1733-34) it was the turn of Samsam-ud-daulah to be ordered out against the Mahrattas. He spent three or four months in sending out and bringing back again his advance tents, or in fruitless efforts to persuade someone else to take his place. At length, when the season was nearly over and the Mahrattas would be about to retire as usual, Samsam-ud-daulah sent for his brother Muzaffar Khan, long governor of Ajmer, from his head-quarters at Narnol in Mewat. The first orders were issued on the 28th June 1733, but it was not until the 20th February 1734 that his tents were set up in the gardens near the city. Another month was spent in further preparations and at last on the 30th March 1734 the first march of six miles was made. By this time the spies had reported that the Mahrattas had begun to retreat; and it was quite clear that before Muzaffar Khan could reach Agra they would have recrossed the Narmada. In December there had been a contest between Malhar Holkar and Yar Muhammad Khan of Bhupal, in which several lives were lost.

Muzaffar Khan succeeded in reaching Sironj, but the enemy had disappeared, and thus without once coming into action, it would seem, the army retraced its route on the 21st June 1734. Muzaffar Khan was admitted to audience on his return to Court. [Ghulam Ali 54a, Rustam Ali 265b, *Siyar* 289.]

CAMPAIGN OF 1147-48 H., 17TH YEAR OF MHD. SHAH
(1 October 1734—30 June 1735).

In this year, the Mahrattas having spread over a very wide extent of country, it was resolved to send out two armies, one under the command of the Wazir, Qamar-ud-din Khan, and the other under that of the Mir Bakhshi, Samsam-ud-

* Warid (123) quotes the proverb,

'The earth dried up, the clouds without dew,

Alas! for the poor handful of grass.'

Khak-i-khushk wa abr-i-be-nam,

Wai bar musht-i-gyah.

daulah, the former taking the defence of the eastern and the latter of the western half of the invaded territory.

Qamar-ud-din Khan received his audience of leave-taking on the 20th November 1734. The Wazir marched by way of Agra against Pilaji Jadon and Baji Rao, having with him his own troops and artillery and the whole of the Turani Mughal leaders. The Rajahs through whose States he passed were called upon to serve. From the 3rd to 12th February 1735 he was in contact with and fighting the Mahrattas. Apparently this was in the neighbourhood of Narwar, and his antagonist Pilaji Jadon. The army advanced as far as Sipri and Kularas on the boundary of Malwa. Pilaji Jadon continued to oppose the advance at the head of 30,000 to 40,000 Mahrattas. There were three or four encounters in which the Wazir had the advantage. As soon as the rainy season was at hand, the Mahrattas, obeying Baji Rao's order of recall, returned to the Dakhin. The Wazir reached Dihli on the 21st May 1735, having been preceded, eleven days earlier, by Samsam-ud-daulah. [Ashob 104-106, Khush-hal 1066-67, Rustam Ali 267, Ghulam Ali 54*b*.]

On his side Samsam-ud-daulah marched out with all his own troops and the Wala-shahi or bodyguard, a corps distinguished by red turbans, accompanied by many nobles and Rajahs. He was joined *en route* by Rajah Jai Singh of Amber and his army. The objective was Ajmer, where Malhar at the head of a much smaller force was plundering as usual. Sambhar was one of the places which had suffered from his marauders. There is no record of any fighting; and Jai Singh was for a long time at Tal Kakariya. Samsam-ud-daulah was persuaded by Jai Singh that the wisest measure was to accede to the Mahratta demands. It appears that the exacting of the one-fourth of the revenues was agreed to, before the Mahrattas would retire beyond the Narmada. An annual sum of 22 lakhs of Rupees from Malwa was promised. One Mahadeo Pandit was accepted as the Peshwa's agent and the imperial army went no further than the Kota and Bundi States. All the new recruits, who had gone to great expense to buy horses, were at once dismissed. Samsam-ud-daulah

reached Dihli on the 21st or 22nd May 1735. [Ashob, *Bayan* 532, Rustam Ali 266-67, Khush-hal 1067*a*.]

SEC. 90.—CAMPAIGN OF 1148-49 H., 18TH YEAR OF MHD. SHAH.
(1 October 1735—30 June 1736).

When the Mahrattas again took the field after the rains of 1735, they displayed more actively than ever. They visited and plundered Udepur in Mewar, Mairta and Nagor in Marwar, the imperial territory of Ajmer, and the town of Rupnagar to the north of it. As in the previous year, two army corps were despatched from Dihli, that sent to the south-east commanded by the Wazir, that to the south-west by Samsam-ud-daulah. Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-mulk, governor of Oudh, was directed to co-operate in the neighbourhood of Agra. [Rustam Ali 267*b* : *J. A. S. B.* (1878) 326-27.]

The Mahrattas were in Bundelkhand, through which their friends Harde Sah and Jagat Raj, sons of Chhattarsal, allowed them free passage : a few hundred of their horsemen had come even as far as the Jamuna to look out for fords. It was expected that they would cross into the Duaba, plundering Kora, Kalpi and Etawa as they went. Chimnaji, brother of Baji Rao, had come near to Gwalियar by way of Sironj and Bundelkhand ; Baji Rao himself being detained this year in the Konkan where he was carrying out an expedition against the pirate stronghold of Janjira. Pilaji Jadon had been sent north into Malwa to support Chimnaji Malhar Rao Holkar and Sindhia.

Crossing at the ferries opposite Auruya and Sarai Ajit Mal, [in the Etawa district] the Mahrattas plundered Khanpur, Derapur, Mangalpur, Sikandra, and Shinganpur [in the Cawnpur district], while their collectors levied *khandani* or ransom-money from the villagers and imperial officials. The invaders were also numerous in the Gwalियar country, Bijipur fifty-two miles south of Gwalियar had been surrounded and the inhabitants of Antri had fled to Gwalियar city, twelve miles away. It was feared that Agra might be invested.

Muhammad Khan Bangash, who had been told off for the defence of Agra and Gwalियar, began to cross the Jamuna on the 10th Jan. 1736. Reports were received that one force

of Mahrattas had come beyond Nurabad fourteen miles north-west of Gwaliyar in the direction of Agra and that another was close to Antri in Bhadawar. Accordingly on the 24th Jan. 1736 a division of two thousand horse and two thousand foot advanced to Dholpur to protect the ferries on the Chambal. The local clansmen, Daudotias, Sengars and others, were sent to guard all the routes and crossing places. The enemy from Nurabad came daily to the Chambal banks but found themselves unable to cross. At length the Mahrattas renounced their attempts and retired into Bhadawar. They could make no impression on Gwaliyar itself, which was held by two thousand Pathans from Mau sent by Muhammad Khan Bangash, added to one thousand men of the local forces. [J. A. S. B. 328.]

While Muhammad Khan had thus come to the rescue at Agra, Qamar-ud-din Khan had pushed on across the Chambal to try conclusions with Pilaji. At Narwar he left his wives and family and such portion of his impedimenta as was in excess of his needs. When he reached Orchha he encamped on the banks of Arjal lake, 12 miles east of it, which is deep long and wide, surrounded by hills, and twelve to fourteen miles in circumference. On the further side in the plain and on the hill-sides was the camp of Pilaji. To both armies the command of this piece of water was a necessity. Throughout the month of Ramzan (January 1736) there were daily skirmishes but no decisive fight. [Ashob 105-106.]

One day both sides came out in force. In this battle the Mahrattas got the worst of it and fled. Thereupon Sher Baz Khan, a near relative of the Wazir's and proud of his fame for valour, rode out from the army attended by his two sons, mere raw boys, and made for a body of the enemy. As he galloped he cried to his two 'tigers' whelps, "I am teaching you how you must hunt your prey." In the onset the elder boy was killed and the other Mir Muhammad Azam made a prisoner. The latter a boy of ten or twelve was disarmed and carried off seated behind a Mahratta trooper. The boy drew the man's dagger from his waist and before he could turn had stabbed him three times. The man fell and the boy rode off

to the Muhammadan camp. Meanwhile Sher Baz Khan had fought his way back to his elder son and lifting the body on to his horse rode off lamenting aloud for his second son. When Muhammad Azam returned the father's weeping was turned into joy. [Ashob 106.]

On the 1d (13th Feb. 1736) Pilaji, having been reinforced by troops from Baji Rao's army on the Narmada, came out early to give battle. The fight was continued throughout the day, but during the night the Mahrattas quitted their camp, and proceeding by forced marches soon crossed the Narmada. Pursuit was made to Sipri and Kularas, to Sironj and Ujjain, and when satisfied that the Mahrattas had vacated Malwa for the time, the Muhammadans under the Wazir marched back to Dihli. [Ashob 107.]

On his side Samsam-ud-daulah started to reinforce Rajah Jai Singh in his efforts to eject Malhar Rao Holkar from Rajputana. At Toda Tank he was joined by the Maharajah by whose advice he prepared field entrenchments and took up his position within them. Malhar, who had no more than 7,000 to 8,000 men, awaited the arrival of Partap Singh Hada of Bundi. Urged by ill-will to Jai Singh and hoping to save his own dominions, this man had put his well-equipped army at the disposal of the Mahrattas. As soon as Partap Singh had joined him, Malhar advanced and took up a position 10 or 12 miles from the Muhammadan entrenchments. Every day from a little before sunrise until the time of evening prayer, the Mahrattas skirmished round the camp, and not a soul could set a foot outside the ditch of the entrenchments. The Muhammadans fired their cannon continually, but dared not come out into the open.

In a short time all supplies of grass and grain were cut off. The men's horses were no longer able to stand. At length the men of the Ahadi regiment, some 1,000 to 1,500 in number mostly of Baluch and Mughal race, marched out headed by their petty officers without leave or order from the general. They were about eight miles from camp and busy collecting anything they could lay hand upon in the villages, when suddenly they were surrounded by Malhar Rao and Partap Singh

with their men. For some hours the Mahrattas fared badly as the imperial veterans were armed with bows and matchlocks. The Mahrattas were thus unable to close and ply their spears and straight swords. At length when the arrows and ammunition were exhausted the Mahrattas came on. Partap Singh Hada and his Rajputs being better mounted than Malhar's men outstripped their allies and poured their blunderbuss fire into the Muhammadan ranks. Many fell and the rest dispersed. The historian Ashob had two kinsmen among the wounded—one Shihab-ud-din Beg after lying three days under a heap of dead bodies was recovered and lived for forty years, but lame and without the use of his hands which had been eaten away by ants. It was three days before Jai Singh could collect the dead bodies, which was done with the permission of Malhar Rao. After their defeat the Muhammadan commander and the Rajah again gave strict injunctions that no man should leave the entrenchments without their orders. [Ashob 108-109.]

In due course Malhar Rao returned as usual to the Dakhin, thus releasing the two commanders from their difficult position. Samsam-ud-daulah returned to Dihli, where he was received as if he were a conquering hero ; and Jai Singh went home to his own State. Soon afterwards by Samsam-ud-daulah's advice the Emperor accepted the proposal brought forward by Jai Singh that he should relinquish the Government of Malwa in favour of the Peshwa Baji Rao. In pursuance of this scheme on the 6th Zul Qada 1148 H. (18th March 1736) Yadgar Kashmiri with Kirpa Ram and Najabat Ali Khan was sent off to Jai Singh to open the negotiations. On the 8th Rabi I. 1149 H. (16th July, 1736) Jai Singh and Baji Rao met at Dholpur where an agreement was entered into whereby Baji Rao became the deputy governor of Malwa under the Rajah. Accompanying Baji Rao were his son, and his chief commanders Ranuji Sindhia, Malhar Holkar, Jaswant Rao Puar, and others. [Ashob 110b ; Ghulam Ali 54b ; Rustam Ali 267-68 ; *Siyar* 294, 309 ; *J. A. S. B.* 328.]

Mahratta sources throw more light than do the Muhammadan on the nature of these transactions. To start with, the Emperor had been willing to concede the following terms :

First, an assignment to Baji Rao of thirteen lakhs of Rupees from the revenue of the country south of the Chambal, for one season, payable in three instalments. Secondly, an authority to be given him to levy an annual tribute of 10,60,000 Rupees from the Rajput States, beginning at Bundi and Kota [and extending] as far as Bhadawar. The second item would, it was hoped, create ill-feeling between the Rajputs and the Mahrattas. Documents in accordance with these proposals were secretly prepared and made over to Yadgar Khan, with orders not to produce them unless necessary. Unfortunately for the Muhammadans, the agent of Baji Rao discovered what had been done and informed his master. Baji Rao convinced now that the Emperor was at his mercy, raised his demands. He must have the whole province of Malwa in assignment, the Pathans at the same time being dispossessed from Bhupal. He must be put in charge of the forts of Mandu, Dhar, and Raisin. Next, he demanded the whole tract south of the Chambal in jagir, with the appointment of faujdars. Then he required a payment of fifty lakhs in cash or in an order on Bengal. In a little time he added to his list Allahabad, Benares, Gaya and Mathura in jagir. Finally he required the hereditary rights of a sardesh-pandya in the six provinces of the Dakhin. [Grant Duff 254.]

Rajah Jai Singh as we have said had agreed to nominate Baji Rao as his deputy in the Government of Malwa. This was, in effect though not in form, a cession of the province. As to the other concessions the only one agreed to was the last, the hereditary appointment of sardesh-pandya. The rate of payment was the same as that of desh-pandya, namely half that of *deshmukh*, or five per cent. of the revenue. The object of this payment being conceded by Samsam-ud-daulah was the injury thereby done to Nizam-ul-mulk and his provinces.

SEC. 91.—CAMPAIGN OF 1149-50 H., 19TH YEAR OF MHD. SHAH.
(1st October 1736—30th June 1737).

The concessions recently wrung from the Muhammadan Government had no deterrent effect upon Baji Rao's plans of conquest. When the open season came round again his horse-

men were once more upon the move. By Zul Qada 1149 H. (March 1737) they were swarming in Bhadawar, the country lying to the east and south-east of Agra. To repel this renewed invasion armies from Dihli again took the field, and Saadat Khan governor of Oudh was directed to co-operate. On the 8th March 1737 the tents of Samsam-ud-daulah the Mir Bakhshi were erected outside the city and on the next day (the 9th March) he began his march eastwards, his first stage being Talpat, 15 miles south of the city. The Wazir on the 21st March likewise made a start by moving into camp at the Char Bagh. Samsam-ud-daulah preceded the Wazir and reached Mathura early in the month of Zul Hijja 1149 (1st to 29th April 1737). On the 5th Zul Hijja (5th April 1737) he was at Hasanpur, eighteen reputed *kos* from Mathura, intending to march the next day to Shergarh and the day after to Brindaban, with a view to joining Samsam-ud-daulah and Saadat Khan who were then at Agra. It was reported that Jai Singh of Jaipur (Amber) had moved out from his capital. Although, much to the Wazir's disturbance of mind, a heavy force of Mahrattas was said to have gone towards Rewari; for two days he did not give up his intention to continue his march eastwards as he was very anxious to come into touch with the enemy before he returned. An additional piece of bad news was received, that Budh Singh of Bundi had risen. [Khush-hal 1070b, Rustam Ali 270b.]

Baji Rao, leaving his heavy baggage at Jaitpur with Jagat Raj Bundela, second son of the late Rajah Chhattarsal, advanced to the banks of the Jamuna, forty miles from Agra. On his way he attacked Rajah Anuradh Singh of Bhadawar. The Rajah came out from his town of Ater with a well-equipped force of 7,000 horse besides foot-soldiers and 45 elephants. One of the Rajah's brothers who had long been at strife with him, went over to the Mahrattas. On this man's advice they left half of their force standing in front of the Rajah, while the other half came suddenly from Gohad and Barhad, entered the town of Ater, and began to plunder. To save his capital the Rajah retreated fighting and took shelter in the fortress at Ater. In the end he sued for terms and paid

twenty lakhs of Rupees and gave ten elephants. After this opening success the 'Peshwa's principal officers, Malhar Rao Holkar Pilaji Jadon and Wituji Bulé, went across the Jamuna and carried fire and sword through the Duaba. [Siyar 309, Ghulam Ali.]

SAADAT KHAN FROM OUDH DEFEATS PART OF BAJI RAO'S ARMY
IN THE DUABA.

In Zul Hijja (April 1737) the Mahrattas had crossed the Jamuna near the town of Rapri and commenced an investment of Shukohabad. Lal Jiu Khatri, the officer in charge, paid 1,50,000 Rupees and gave one elephant and thereby saved the town. Advancing up the Duaba burning and plundering as they went, the Mahrattas raided Firuzabad and Itimadpur, the latter town only 11 miles east of Agra. Leaving that place they came to Jalesar. Suddenly as day dawned the troops of Saadat Khan appeared in sight. He had come from Etawa a distance of 85 miles, by forced marches. The advanced guard under his nephew Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jang consisted of 12,000 horse.

Thinking the attacking force inferior to themselves in numbers, the Mahrattas, as their fashion was, tried to envelop it completely. Abul Mansur Khan retreated slowly, fighting all the time, towards Saadat Khan's main body numbering 50,000 cavalry. As the retiring vanguard drew near, Saadat Khan and his men gave their horses the rein and charged the enemy. The Mahrattas broke and fled. Each man sought a road for himself and a hot pursuit was maintained for many miles. At the edge of a piece of water in Itimadpur the pursuers overtook three chiefs and nearly one thousand men. These became their prisoners. Such horsemen as escaped the sword re-crossed the Jamuna. When crossing they had marked the ford and the depth of water at it by planting bamboo stakes in the bed of the river. But in the hurry of escape many mistook the ford and were drowned. The majority got across in safety. This affair took place upon the 22nd Zul Qada 1149 H. (23rd March 1737). Malhar Rao rejoined Baji Rao at Kotila near Gwaliyar. [Ashob 112a.]

Saadat Khan continued his march westwards to join Samsam-ud-daulah. At Mathura, which Samsam-ud-daulah reached shortly after the 1st April 1737, they met. With the Mir Bakhshi were 25,000 horsemen and many cannon and numerous elephants. Muhammad Khan Bangash was also there with a contingent of about twelve thousand men. One day Samsam-ud-daulah had invited Saadat Khan to a banquet in his tent. In the midst of the feast they learnt that Baji Rao passing Fathpur Sikri and leaving on his right the town of Dig, in the country of Badna Jat, had managed to get as far as Dihli. In the utmost alarm the imperialists broke up camp and began a hasty return to the capital 'placing the finger of vexation upon the teeth of shame.' [Rustam Ali 272.]

SEC. 92.—BAJI RAO ATTACKS DIHLI.

We must now explain how this sudden and unexpected movement took place. As Saadat Khan arrived at Agra Baji Rao had moved away from the Chambal, where his left flank was confined by the river and his camp intersected by deep ravines, to opener country upon the north-east. There through his agent in Samsam-ud-daulah's camp he heard of the boastful account that Saadat Khan himself gave of his successful action. "I was resolved," Baji Rao writes, "to let the Emperor know the truth, to prove that I was still in Hindustan, and to show him the Mahrattas at the gate of his capital."*

* As Baji Rao wrote to his brother Chimnaji Appa, from the environs of Sawai Jai-nagar on 15th Zul Hijja: "Entrusting my heavy baggage (*bungah*) to Rajah Jagat Raj of Bundelkhand and sending it to Bundelkhand, I became lightly equipped.....Saadat Khan had written to the Emperor and the amirs many such false stories as that he had defeated the Mahratta army which had crossed the Jamuna,—of whom 2,000 horsemen had been slain and 2,000 drowned in the river, including Malhar Holkar and Vitoba Bule,—and that he was driving the Mahrattas back beyond the ChambalThis report had been sent to me by Dhondo Govind.....I decided to go and burn the city of Dihli and make the Emperor see that the Mahrattas exist.....So I started on 26th Zul Qada, leaving the king's highway and making long marches.....Covering forty miles a day, in two marches I arrived at Dihli, near Kushbandi, on 7th Zul Hijja, leaving Barapula and Kalika's temple on my right hand." (*Brahmendra-Swami Charitra*, letter 27.) [J. Sarkar.]

Six days before Samsam-ud-daulah and Saadat Khan had united their forces, Baji Rao was on his way to Dihli, crowding a ten days' journey into two days and nights by continuous travelling. He passed the camps of the Wazir and of Samsam-ud-daulah on each side of him at a distance of a day's march. In the afternoon of the 9th Zul Hijja 1149 (9th April 1737), the vigil of the Feast of Sacrifice, he suddenly appeared at the small hill on which stands the temple of the Hindu goddess Kalka, an ancient place of worship about six miles south of the city near the Khizrabad grove and between the shrines of Nizam-ud-din Auliya and Nasir-ud-din 'the Lamp of Dihli'. Several times a year there are gatherings of worshippers which continue all day and sometimes all night. Traders bring their wares and there is a sort of fair. The day of Baji Rao's arrival being the Ram Navami, commemorating the birth of Ram Chandra, was a fair day. Baji Rao at once, after seizing some elephants and camels coming out of the city, sent his men to slay and to plunder at the temple. After this had been effectually carried out, he and his horsemen rested for the night at Malcha near to the grove at Tal Katora which belonged to the Emperor and was known as Muhammadabad. It is two *kos* from the city wall and four from the palace. The first idea of burning the suburbs was abandoned in order that the Emperor and Samsam-ud-daulah, from whom he expected concessions, should not be driven to extremities. Baji Rao wrote letters to the Emperor and to Rajah Bakht Mal. In reply the Emperor asked him to send in his agent [Dhondo Pant], but Baji Rao declined unless a guard for him came out. But his answer was politely worded and he said that "as he apprehended mischief to the city from the contiguity of his troops, he was about to retire to the *Jhil* tank" (possibly Tal Katora is meant). [Ashob 113a, Rustam Ali 273a, Baji Rao's letter cited before.]

The plundered fugitives first brought the disastrous news into the city, and thence it was carried into the palace. Clamorous groups of the wounded and plundered assembled at the gates; but when called upon to tell their story, they were in such a state of terror and contradicted each other so

much that the facts could not be arrived at. The Emperor and his courtiers laughed at them. What could Baji Rao have to do at Kalka Devi? It was some small raid of Mewati thieves and nothing more. Why had the traders been so careless and over-confident as to take their goods into a waste place? But doubts still lingered in the minds of the courtiers; and in the afternoon a man disguised as a mendicant was sent to Kalka Malcha and Tal Katora to find out how things stood. The messenger returned before midnight. Appearing before the Emperor he took out of his beggar's wallet a handful of grain, mostly dry unground gram, a few scraps of raw half baked bread devoid of salt and some pods of red pepper.* These were the alms he had received in the Mahratta camp. He told them that in the morning by breakfast time there would be an attack on the city. [Ashob 113b.]

Plans were at once discussed, but they felt that they had little chance of resisting successfully in the open field. At one time they would enter into arguments how these "devils" could have reached Dihli without encountering the two formidable imperial armies already in the field. If those had been defeated, the only thing left for the Emperor and Court was either to demand terms or escape down the Jamuna in boats. Thus, amid much vague and silly talk, unconsidered advice was tendered and useless proposals were brought forward by each man according to his disposition and ability. Sad-ud-din Khan, the head of the imperial artillery, although far from a hero, had passed a lifetime in the company of experienced men, had served under Nizam-ul-mulk in the Dakhin, and knew the mode of fighting peculiar to the Mahrattas. Compared to the other courtiers he might be called a renowned warrior. His voice prevailed. It was held to be derogatory for the Emperor to command in person against low fellows, mere ploughmen, like the Mahrattas, while to take refuge altogether behind the fort walls would be even more disgraceful. As

* The red pepper was first crushed by the Mahrattas between stones picked up from those lying about—and then eaten as a relish with the bread.

there were from 10,000 to 12,000 horse and nearly 20,000 foot in the garrison, it was resolved to send these out under the command of the Emperor's favourite Amir Khan, entitled Umdat-ul-mulk Mumtaz-us-sultanat. [Ashob 114b.]

In spite of his many weaknesses Amir Khan was after all a man of noble descent, by nature brave and valiant. There were also other leaders. One was Aghar Khan, son of Aghar Khan the Mughal, who had commanded troops in the Dakhin, and had gained some victories over the Mahrattas. He still had a force of men of his own race, and a considerable number of armed Turkish, Qalmaq and Qarghiz slaves. Another Mughal who offered his services was Mubariz Khan, the superintendent of the mace-bearers. He was the son of the Mubariz Khan governor of Haidarabad who in the year 1137 H. had been defeated and slain by Nizam-ul-mulk. The imperial artillery was placed by Sad-ud-din Khan at the disposal of Amir Khan; while two Rajput officers of the Ambari regiment of the bodyguard, Rajah Shiu Singh and Rajah Ajmeri Singh, joined him with five hundred and two hundred and fifty men respectively. [Ashob 115a, Rustam Ali 273b.]

The Emperor was left in the fort guarded by 3000 of the artillery, 1000 of the Shah Ala regiment, the matchlockmen and artificers, and half of each regiment of the bodyguard, the other half being sent to join Amir Khan. The command of the fort was in the hands of Sad-ud-din Khan. As a precaution in case of disaster, all the boats from the ferries for a distance of fifteen to twenty miles up and down the river were collected and placed under the palace window. If necessary the women of the harem could be embarked on them and thus escape from dishonour. Eunuchs were sent round to all the principal lords to excite them to vigilance while all night long heralds went round from house to house warning the men of the palace guard.

An hour after nightfall Amir Khan drew up his men outside the wicket gate known as the Phatak of Misri Khan. Here he was joined by Aghar Khan and Mubariz Khan. After a council of war they began to entrench themselves from the city to the grove at Tal Katora, their guns being placed at

intervals along this line. There they waited for the Mahrattas to develop their attack. By the time that these preparations were completed the day had dawned ; not a sign of the enemy was to be seen. The defenders' position was strong and looking to the Mahratta distaste for storming entrenchments, it was probable that the Muhammadans would have held their own, had not some of the more fiery and hot-headed of the young nobles insisted on assuming the offensive. [Ashob 115b—116a.]

Chief of these was Mir Hasan Khan Koka, recently created Khan Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash Zafar Jang, whose sole longing was to justify his claim to be in fact as in name 'the Victorious in war'. As the proverb says, "His iron was always in the fire." This young man was good looking and very ambitious to be thought a soldier. Although the son of a man from Iran, he modelled himself in all things on the Pathans of Mau Shamsabad and Shahjahanpur ; his costume from head to foot, his saddlery and equipment, his life and manners, every movement and gesture aped those of the Pathans. Lately he had been appointed by the Emperor to command the imperial escort, a force smaller in numbers than the other bodyguard regiments but more relied on, its men being tried and chosen fighters with good horses and excellent arms. In this sudden peril the regiment was ordered to remain in the palace, a duty which did not accord with Mir Hasan Khan's ambitions. Calling the Emperor a coward for hiding within the fort, Mir Hasan Khan marched his regiment off without orders and joined Amir Khan. [Ashob 116b—117a.]

Hasan Khan's influence prevailed with the younger nobles who were eager for the fray ; and cursing Amir Khan and his friends as arrant cowards, these men led their troops forward into the open.* Directly they appeared in sight, Baji Rao, who was on the alert, mounted and set his troops in array. Ahead he sent five hundred well mounted and well armed Rawat horse (under Satwaji Jadon) to draw the enemy and

* "Near Rikabganj, outside the city, with 7 or 8 thousand troops." (Baji Rao's letter). [J. S.]

discover their strength and position. These skirmishers came on below Tal Katora and Malcha into the plain. When they had arrived an arrow's flight from the line of swivel-pieces they were joined by Baji Rao. He ordered them to charge, to ply their spears and lay about them with their long straight swords. Against them were Mir Hasan Khan and other youths such as the sons of Kokaltash Khan, young Koka Khan, and other swashbucklers, experienced in street brawls but ignorant of real war. The brothers and sons of Shiu Singh and Ajmeri Singh Rajputs were also there. Looking on Baji Rao and his scanty force as an easy prey, they advanced at the head of about two thousand horse, paying no heed to the remonstrances of the older men, whom they accused of want of spirit. [Ashob 117a.]

Baji Rao recognized at once by the way they rode and their reins, that they were unsteady inexperienced troops. To lure them on he made his men retreat once or twice, and as these gave way the Muhammadans grew bolder and pursued more hotly. They were soon two miles from their supports under Amir Khan, and beyond Tal Katora on the farther side of it from the city. Satwaji Jadon sent back notice that the Muhammadans were coming on. In a moment Malhar Holkar, followed by Ranuji Sindhia, had turned and was upon them. With spear and sword busily at work they rode down the Muhammadans, wounding severely and unhorsing fully a thousand of them. Many of them bore the marks of their wounds to their dying day. Close on a thousand riderless horses were captured with their saddles and gorgeous equipments in scarlet and gold. Baji Rao reported 600 Muhammadans killed and wounded, 2000 horses and one elephant taken. On the Mahratta side very few men were lost and only one officer was wounded.* [Ashob 117b, Rustam Ali 273b.]

Meanwhile Mir Hasan Khan fled in the extremest perturbation.

* Baji Rao writes, "Rajah Shiu Singh and ten or twelve other *darbari* nobles were slain, Mir Hasan Khan was wounded, 250 to 300 of the Emperor's bodyguards fell, 400 men were wounded.....Khans fled into the city, 2,000 horses were captured, 5 or 6 thousand fled; Indraj Kadam, an officer of Ranuji Sindhia, had two of his fingers shot off." [J. S.]

tion towards Amir Khan's army. Before he could reach a place of safety he was overtaken and with one prod of a lance point unseated ; his horse was seized, his fine clothes and weapons taken, and he was left bleeding on the ground. If any wounded follower came up and appealed to him by his titles, he threw dust on his head and made humble obeisance saying "For God's sake, be quiet ! If you use titles to me the enemy will recognize me and I shall have to pay an enormous ransom." Koka Khan was killed outright. Rajah Shiu Singh when he saw the disgrace that his sons and relatives had brought on themselves rode out from the earthworks to their aid. The beaten horsemen could not be rallied and Shiu Singh was left alone. The Mahrattas surrounded him and though he defended himself, as a brave man should do, he was in the end cut down and killed. On the other hand Ajmeri Singh, one of the greatest boasters, was the first to flee ; also many of his followers being badly mounted were overtaken, wounded by sword and lance, and unhorsed, yielding up their arms to their captors. Deprived of all they possessed, they slunk naked and on foot through Amir Khan's ranks and crept back into the city with loud cries and lamentations to the intense alarm of the inhabitants.

This alarm was renewed when the dead and severely wounded were brought in by their relations. Quitting their posts in Amir Khan's division these men had made their way to Paharganj (south-west of the city) and the neighbourhood, where they collected cots from the shop-keepers. The corpses were laid in these cots and carried through the city lanes to their dwellings. The citizens prepared for flight and the contagion of terror spread to the fort and the palace. In a very short time the Mahrattas who were gathered watching events near the small hill of Malcha would have found their way unopposed into the city. [Ashob 118b—119a.]

RETREAT OF BAJI RAO FROM DIHLI.

The danger of the city being sacked disappeared as suddenly as it had arisen. Instead of advancing on the town

Baji Rao went off towards Mahramnagar* and Sarai Allahwirdi Khan. At once Amir Khan sent off an express with the joyful tidings to the palace. There they were more depressed and fearful even than those in the open field. The Emperor had sat in the privy council hall from a little after midnight holding open Court and discussing the measures to be adopted. Every messenger who reached the city had to fight his way from the city gate to the fort gate, and thence to the presence chamber through a huge crowd of eager askers for news. Mounted men were now despatched towards Sarai Allahwirdi Khan to verify the intelligence ; and reaching Mahramnagar they found that place entirely evacuated by the enemy. [Ashob 119b.]

The reason of this sudden flight was this : During the progress of the action with Mir Hasan Khan, Baji Rao heard that the Wazir and his Mughals on their return march to Dihli were at no great distance. The Wazir's vanguard was commanded by Zahir-ud-daulah Azim-ullah Khan, the Wazir's cousin, and the rearguard by Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang, eldest son of Nizam-ul-mulk. With these two reassuring pieces of news, the flight of Baji Rao and the arrival of the Wazir, Amir Khan returned to the palace and was received in audience. [Ashob 121a.]

SEC. 93.—BATTLE BETWEEN BAJI RAO AND THE WAZIR.

On learning that the Wazir and his army were drawing near, Baji Rao abandoned his attempt to take Dihli. About midday he left the field, by the time of evening prayer he was beyond Sarai Allahwirdi Khan, and had reached a place called Badshahpur,† 20 miles from Dihli. Here the Wazir confronted him. Both sides had reached the ground after long marching

* Ashob 121a says that Mahramnagar is 7 *kos* from Dihli. It has a *bagh* and a *sarai*, very handsome and well-kept ; founded by Mahram Khan, eunuch of the Wazir Itimad-ud-daulah Chin Bahadur Nusrat Jang. There is a market-place named after the eunuch. Sarai Allahwirdi Khan (*Ind. Atlas* 49 S. E.), 16 m. s. w. of Dihli and one mile n. of the Gurgaon Railway Station.

† Ashob says that *Badshahpur* is 15 *kos* from Dihli. There is a

and neither had time to form order of battle, or get their artillery into place. The Wazir, conscious of the fact that daylight would soon be gone, that twilight was upon them, that in a moment or two it would be night, forbade an engagement. In addition his men were quite exhausted, having come eighty or ninety miles over hills and through jungle by forced marches. In fact, only half of the army had yet arrived, the other half being still involved in the stony region of Mahabatabad ; and with the exception of the artillery attached to the general's escort, a few light swivel guns, and a few war rockets loaded on swift camels, there was no artillery ; the big guns were still on the march. Altogether the army was in no condition for giving battle. [Ashob 122a.]

But Zahir-ud-daulah had sworn on oath to attack the Mahrattas wherever he found them. Possessed by this idea and enraged at the affront done to the Emperor by the attack on Dihli, he drove his elephant on, taking with him his flying artillery and some other troops, and moving a little ahead of the Wazir, managed bit by bit to get away from him altogether. He sent back a message that being quite close and in touch with the enemy he intended to attack, and asked the Wazir to follow in support with his whole force. Then after breathing a prayer he drove his elephant forward with the shout "God is great". On the other side the Mahrattas marched out to meet him.* Champions on both sides issued from the ranks with weapons ready and fell upon each other. The general ordered his big kettledrums to play and brought his artillery and matchlockmen into action. Baji Rao replied with the roll of his drums and the blare of his trumpets. He then came on and with his vanguard attacked repeatedly the advancing

Badshahpur in the Gurgaon district, 20 miles s. w. of Dihli and 6 miles south of Gurgaon station. The Wazir had been at Kama 12 m. n. of Dig and 27 m. west of Mathura [Rustam Ali 273a], whence he had hurried back to Dihli on hearing of Baji Rao's arrival. There is a *Mahabatabad Kotera*, 17 m. s. of Dihli and 10 m. e. of Badshahpur. (*Ind. Atlas* 49 S. E.) [W. Irvine.] *Sarai Allahwirdi Khan* is one mile north of Gurgaon railway station and 7 m. n. of Badshahpur.

* Ashob had two elder brothers in Janish Khan's division of the Wazir's

Muhammadans. The Wazir soon arrived in support of Zahir-ud-daulah. [Ashob 122a.]

The combined attack proved too strong for Baji Rao and his men. When night had fallen he began a retreat towards Rajputana. He had lost thirty men, and according to his own account he moved eight miles to the westward of the field of battle. Before the day dawned on the morning of the 1d (10th April 1737) he was beyond Kot Patili, 93 miles from the capital. That day he marched on steadily all day long until he reached Narnol.* There he passed the night, but early in the morning resumed his flight, and in all haste went on to Ajmer. As the Wazir had come a tiring journey of over a hundred miles, his men and their horses were so tired out that no pursuit was possible. The wounded were attended to and the dead buried, while the rest of the army stood to their arms until dawn. As it was the festival day of the Sacrifice, the due rites were performed in a tent that had been erected for the purpose outside the camp : and the appointed largess was distributed. [Ashob 124b.]

force. They and Mir Ghiyas-ud-din had ridden ahead as scouts and came across Baji Rao and his Muhammadan mistress Mastani seated on one saddle cover, drinking and singing while they rested. The presence of these scouts was the first intimation the Mahrattas received of the arrival of the Mughals. Mastani, a *kanchani* or dancing-girl, followed Baji Rao on all his expeditions and never left his side. She rode on a tall horse, stirrup to stirrup with him, and was as good as any Mahratta in horsemanship, spear throwing and sword play.

* Baji Rao's letter (cited above) passes lightly over his repulse from the environs of Dihli. He writes : "After the flight of Mir Hasan Khan..... I halted at Jhil-talao. It was four hours (*ghatika*) to nightfall when I received the news of Qamar-ud-din Khan coming via Badshahpur. I immediately got ready and advanced. Our armies met in conflict. On reaching Bara, an elephant was captured by Jaswant Rao Puar. The horses and camels came to the camp. By this the sun set. If I rested at night, the Mughals would surround me.....The Jhil-talao was 16 *kos* off, on my Right was Qamar-ud-din Khan, behind me the City. On Thursday Khan-i-Dauran, Saadat Khan and Muhammad Khan Bangash would effect their junction with Qamar-ud-din. Therefore, leaving the Mughals [behind], I encamped 4 *kos* off. On our side Firangji Patankar was shot dead, 10 or 5 others wounded; the Mughals lost 10 or 5 killed, 10 or 20 wounded.

On the day after the battle after the time of midday prayer Samsam-ud-daulah reached the camp of the Wazir. When at Gao Ghat on the Jamuna, some fourteen miles north-west of Agra, he had heard of Baji Rao's sudden dash upon Dihli. He had come from Gao Ghat to Dihli in three days of continuous marching. Every twelve or fifteen hours a short halt was called for resting and feeding man and beast. On the 11th Zul Hijja (11th April) during the afternoon Saadat Khan too arrived. After defeating Pilaji Jadon he had gone to Agra but hearing of Baji Rao's movement on Dihli had marched in that direction with all possible celerity. [Ashob 124b.]

The three chiefs exchanged formal visits and held counsel together. As Baji Rao was already beyond Narnol and close to Ajmer whence he would soon pass into Malwa, pursuit was held to be useless. Even after long and painful marching through hot winds and heat like hell fire, they could not hope to come up with the enemy. They resolved instead to proceed to Court to congratulate the Emperor on the holy festival, and compliment him on the escape from a great calamity. On reaching the city they were received in audience. Saadat Khan was ordered back to his province and Muhammad Khan Bangash who had arrived with Samsam-ud-daulah was sent off to guard Agra, while the other two nobles repaired to their mansions in the city. So far as they were concerned campaigning was at an end for that year. Having returned to Gwalियar Baji Rao proposed to re-cross the Jamuna and re-enter the Duaba, but fear of Nizam-ul-mulk's interference in Malwa restrained him, and in the end he marched for the Dakhin and from Satara proceeded at once into the Konkan. Having received a promise of the Malwa Government in addition to a sum of thirteen lakhs of Rupees, he again opened negotiations with Samsam-ud-daulah in the capital. [Ashob 125a.]

With a view to draw the Mughals behind me, get them under control [lit. restraint] and thus defeat them, I began my [retreat] march. I have come by way of Rewari, Kot Patili and Manoharpur. All the Mughals [i.e., the Wazir and the three Khans] are encamped from Allahwirdi to Jhal-talao." [J. S.]

SEC. 94.—CAMPAIGN OF 1150-51 H.—20TH YEAR OF MD. SHAH.

(1st October 1737—30th June 1738)

By this time the opinion prevailed that Nizam-ul-mulk was the only man who could save the monarchy and stem the oncoming flood of Mahratta invasion. Hitherto he had been kept away from Court by Samsam-ud-daulah who "brooked no rival near the throne." Qamar-ud-din Khan, the chief minister, was so quiescent as to provoke little or no jealousy, but Nizam-ul-mulk was a different sort of man. He was also suspected, with some reason, of protecting his own territories in the Dakhin against the Mahratta inroads by diverting them instead into the country north of the Narmada, to which end he had agreed to their claims to one-fourth of the Dakhin revenues [*Ahwal-i-khawaqin*, 240b]. Even Samsam-ud-daulah at last began to think that affairs were in a condition with which he was no longer able to cope, and he became an advocate of a reconciliation with Nizam-ul-mulk. The Emperor was soon brought over to the same view and pressing letters of invitation were sent to the Dakhin governor.

Apparently Nizam-ul-mulk still retained the ambition of directing the Mughal Empire as its chief minister, a position that in name at least was far greater than that of a provincial governor however powerful, and was thus not unwilling to accept the invitation of Muhammad Shah in spite of the arguments to the contrary addressed to him by his counsellors. The Nawab who was at Burhanpur was for a time deterred from his purpose owing to trouble raised in Berar by some of Baji Rao's commanders, supposed to be acting under the direct inspiration of that leader, who hoped thereby to keep Nizam-ul-mulk in the Dakhin, or to use his own expression 'to put heel ropes upon him'. Sayyid Jamal Khan was sent off towards Berar, and in a few days crossing the Dewalghat entered that province with 1000 horse and 1500 foot. Goriya the Mahratta leader retreated before him and Jamal Khan encamped at Mangrul* where there is a shrine dedicated to Shah Badr-ud-

* *Dewalghat*, about 65 m. s. of Burhanpur and 5 m. from the western

din. When Jamal Khan reached the open country round Basim he was attacked by the Mahrattas whom he repulsed and pursued until they left the province. He then returned and made his report to Nizam-ul-mulk. [*Ahwal-i-khawaqin*, 241-246.]

Being re-assured as to the safety of his own dominions, Nizam-ul-mulk at length started from Burhanpur on the 17th Zul Hijja 1149 H. (17th April 1737), and after crossing the Narmada proceeded by way of Sironj. Yar Muhammad son of Dost Muhammad Khan of Bhupal and other local chiefs joined him. Pilaji Jadon also visited Nizam-ul-mulk and made a pretended submission, then left for his home in the Dakhin. The march northwards was soon resumed and after some difficult stages whence they suffered from scarcity of supplies the camp reached Gwalियar. Passing through Agra they were soon in the neighbourhood of Dihli which was reached on the 15th Rabi I. 1150 H. (12th July 1737). [*Ahwal* 245a, *Mirat-us-saffa* 63a.]

At Hodal, 55 miles from the capital, Nizam-ul-mulk was met by the Wazir Qamar-ud-din Khan and all his Mughal troops. The Wazir's harem was also of the party, Nizam-ul-mulk being the head of the whole family by reason of age. After thirteen or fourteen years' separation his eldest son Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang had now the pleasure of seeing his father, and presenting his newly married consort Qamar-un-nissa Begam (eldest daughter of the Wazir). Next day the progress to the capital was resumed stage by stage. The Wazir and Nizam-ul-mulk rode on one elephant followed by the Wazir's daughter who displayed all the state and retinue that she had brought from her father's house as part of her marriage outfit. She was attended by 50 to 60 young women servants, all of one age, of Turki, Qalmaq and Qarghiz race, dressed in cloth of gold and adorned with jewels. Over all they wore long cloaks of brocade trimmed with gold lace,—on their heads velvet or cloth of gold handkerchiefs, held on with chains and rings of

boundary of the Buldana district. *Mangrul* is 85 m. from it and 20 m. n. e. of Basim town in Berar.

gold, and over their faces veils sewn with pearls which left the face quite visible. They surrounded the Begam mounted on horses holding gold and silver sticks in their hand. At their backs hung a bow case with bow and arrows. [Ashob 126b.]

By the Emperor's express order Nizam-ul-mulk advanced with drums beating.* At short intervals the cortége was met by eunuchs and pages sent from the palace with presents and enquiries and pressing messages to hasten onward and relieve His Majesty of his anxiety. Nizam-ul-mulk caused his elephant to kneel and descending made obeisance for the honour thus done him. Crowds thronged the road and impeded progress. Within the city the roofs of the shops and houses were covered with sightseers; while mendicants "thicker than flies at a sweetmeat-seller's shop" gathered round the Nawab's elephant paying no heed to the sticks and bamboos with which the attendants tried to drive them off. His elephant could do no more than creep along and it was not till after midday that they reached the Dihli gate of the fort. Here Nizam-ul-mulk entered his litter, old and plainly fitted with broadcloth, while the Wazir used one fringed with pearls and covered with cloth of gold. The Wazir allowed Nizam-ul-mulk to be one or two paces in advance of him. At the Drum house they alighted and hand in hand looking neither to right nor left entered the privy audience-hall. On coming before the Emperor he made his offering and was honoured in return with a robe from the Emperor's own wardrobe and a jacket called a *charqab*, worn only by members of the Chaghatai house descended from Timur. The highest title that a subject could bear, that of *Asaf Jah*, that is, equal in dignity to Asaf the minister of King Solomon, was also conferred upon him. The mansion built by Sadullah Khan, the finest in Dihli, had been prepared for his quarters, and at the close of the day trays of food were sent from the imperial kitchen by the hands of eunuchs, and this practice was continued daily. [Ashob 128a.]

* By the etiquette of the Court, no noble could beat his drums within 3 miles of the Emperor's residence.

SEC. 95.—NIZAM, BESIEGED BY BAJI RAO AT BHUPAL,
MAKES HUMILIATING PEACE.

About a month afterwards, on the 17th Rabi II. 1150 H. (13th August 1737), the Nawab's eldest son Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang was appointed governor of Agra vice Rajah Jai Singh and of Malwa vice Baji Rao Mahratta. The condition attached to these appointments was that Nizam-ul-mulk should advance into Malwa against the Mahrattas. After the rains of 1737 were over, the march began, his troops numbering thirty thousand in addition to his train of artillery which was accounted the best in India. At Agra Muhi-ud-din Quli Khan, a great grandson of Sadullah Khan and therefore a cousin of Nizam-ul-mulk, was left as deputy governor. It was decided to abandon the direct route across the Chambal to Gwalियar. In coming from the Dakhin great difficulties had been experienced by this route. For many miles the banks on each side of the Chambal are cut into deep ravines, full at the bottom of either sticky clay or stagnant water, the road allows of only one man at a time, and even that with difficulty, thus troops have to march in single file, there is great want of drinking water, the villages to be found here and there are the abode of dexterous thieves and robbers. To avoid this country the army crossed the Jamuna below Agra and marched eastwards through Etawa and recrossing the same river at Kalpi passed into the Bundela country, where several of their Rajahs joined. Proceeding *via* Dhamoni and Sironj the army at length reached Bhupal tank in Malwa. Orders were sent to the Nawab's second son Mir Ahmad Khan (Nasir Jang) to try and prevent Baji Rao from leaving the Dakhin. [Khush-hal 1082, Ashob 1306, *Sujan Charitra* of Sudam 4a.]

The attempt to hinder Baji Rao's march was a failure,* partly for want of time, and partly from the defection of Nasir Jang's Mahratta allies. Although Jaswant Rao Dhabariya the

* From this point to the end of the chapter Grant Duff alone has been followed. The Marathi materials on which Grant Duff's account is based have been printed in *Brahmendra S. Charitra*, letters 33-36, 132, and 134. Also Rajwade, vi. No. 117. [J S.]

senapati and his officers and also Raghuji Bhonsla of Nagpur kept aloof from him, Baji Rao was still able to assemble an army of eighty thousand men with which he crossed the Narmada by way of Khargona near Punashah [in the Nimar district]. At that time Nizam-ul-mulk was at Sironj. In December 1737 the two armies came into contact near Bhupal. Instead of boldly advancing on his enemy Nizam-ul-mulk took up a strong position in the neighbourhood of the fort with the tank on his rear and a rivulet [or *nullah*] on his front. This excess of caution was fatal; the Mahrattas had believed themselves to be overmatched; but now they at once assumed the offensive.* They plundered up to the very lines of the army.

One division of the imperialists came out and offered battle on ground they had themselves chosen. The Mahrattas nothing loth attacked with vigour under the leadership of Ranuji Sindhia, Pilaji Jadon and Sayaji Gujar. On the imperialist side the defence was maintained chiefly by the Rajputs, the troops of Rajah Jai Singh of Amber led by his son, the Bundelas and the Hadas, (except the Hada Rajah of Bundi, who did not join Nizam-ul-mulk). The Rajputs lost about five hundred men and seven hundred horses; the Mahrattas, principally from the artillery fire, one hundred killed and three hundred wounded.†

* Baji Rao writes, "The Nizam's army took refuge in Bhupal fort. I set off against him on 3rd Ramzan [24th Dec. 1737]. He has with him the son of Sawai Jai Singh, Sabha Singh Bundela, his own son Ghazi-ud-din, Jats, Ahirs, Rohelas, Rajputs.....[in all] 50,000 troopers. Saadat Khan's nephew and the Kota Rajah are coming to his aid with 20,000 more men....." "The Nizam is a great *amir*; his army is 30 or 40 thousand strong, furnished with many *hain-nal*, *shutar-nal*, *barqandazes* and *rahkala*. And yet he hides himself in a fort! This is not creditable to him." [J. Sarkar.]

† Baji Rao writes that he fought this battle on 3rd Ramzan [*Brahm.* letter 34], but a letter in Rajwade vi. No. 117 gives 4th Ramzan [25th Dec.] as the date. As for the casualties, Baji Rao says, "The Rajputs lost 150 men in killed, we 50 or 60, while two or four hundred were wounded; about 100 horses were killed and five to seven hundred were wounded..... The artillery of the Nizam did severe execution" [No. 331. Rajwade, vi. letter 117, gives a different account, but it is unreliable. [J. S.]

During the engagement Baji Rao stood two rocket flights from the Nizam's position waiting for a chance of cutting him off should he quit the strong ground on which he stood. No opportunity was offered; nor did the Mahrattas gain any decisive advantage. But the Nizam recalled his troops.

After this action the imperialists were hemmed in more thickly than ever, provisions and forage becoming in a few days exceedingly scarce. Safdar Jang, nephew of Saadat Khan governor of Oudh, and the Hada Rajah of Kota when marching to the relief of the beleaguered army were intercepted and defeated by Malhar Rao Holkar and Jaswant Rao Puar. Safdar Jang retreated and the blockade became still stricter. All supplies were cut off and the men kept on the alert day and night. The Rajputs were willing to desert, but Baji Rao would admit of no overtures, for the greater the numbers the sooner would be his triumph.* Baji Rao wondered how Nizam-ul-mulk could have allowed himself to get into such a difficulty. "He is an old and experienced man, I cannot comprehend how he got himself into this difficulty; it will ruin him in the opinion of all India."

Help was called for from Hindustan and the Dakhin. From the former nothing much could be hoped for; Samsam-ud-daulah was not altogether displeased at Nizam-ul-mulk's failure. The Emperor's order that no advance was to be made until he should march in person, was equivalent to saying that no march should be made at all. More was hoped for from the Dakhin; and thither messengers were sent to urge the utmost haste. The Nawab's son Nasir Jang, having collected what troops he could from Haidarabad and Aurangabad, moved out as far as Phulmari. On his side Baji Rao invoked the aid of Rajah Sahu,

* Baji Rao writes, "The Nizam is entrenched in the city of Bhupal. There is famine in his camp, grain is selling at four seers a Rupee. His elephants and horses are starving. The Rajputs and the Nizam are distrustful of each other. They cannot flee away as he has kept all their baggage in the city.....Malhar Rao Holkar, Ranuji Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Puar have defeated Mir Manu Khan, the faujdar of Shahjahanpur, who was coming to the aid of the Nizam, near *Dārāi Sarai* and killed 1500 of his men." [No. 33.] [J. S.]

by whom a peremptory order was sent to the senapati then at Songarh near Surat. Baji Rao's own earnest appeals to Raghuji Bhonsla at Nagpur met with no response. The Peshwa's brother Chimnaji Appa, however, took up a position on the Tapti ready to oppose the march of the Muhammadans from Aurangabad. Before the two forces could come to blows news came that Nizam-ul-mulk had made terms with Baji Rao.

Nizam-ul-mulk had made an attempt to move, but encumbered by heavy baggage and stores he was compelled to return; his troops were driven under the walls or crowded within the fortifications of Bhupal. Having no artillery Baji Rao was unable to effect a breach, but his rockets and matchlock fire so quelled the Mughals that another attempt to break through was resolved upon. The baggage having been deposited in Bhupal and Islamgarh, the retreat began under cover of a powerful field artillery and numbers of swivel guns carried on camels. The Mahrattas charged, but failed to take the guns. But the retreating force covered no more than three miles a day and the Mahrattas continued to harass them. In time however the Mahrattas began to lose heart owing to the execution done by the other side's guns. At length Nizam-ul-mulk submitted to making terms and on the 26th Ramzan 1150 H. (16th January 1738) at Durai [Duraha] Sarai, 64 miles from Sironj, a convention was signed. In his own handwriting Nizam-ul-mulk promised to grant to Baji Rao (1) the whole of Malwa, (2) the complete sovereignty of the territory between the Narmada and the Chambal, (3) to obtain confirmation thereof from the Emperor, and (4) to use his best endeavours to obtain fifty lakhs of Rupees to pay Baji Rao's expenses.* Nothing could be got from the

* Baji Rao writes, "I fought the Nizam on 3rd Ramzan [24th Dec.] and then invested his army. Famine raged in his camp; grass could not be had. So, he sent.....to me to negotiate for terms. (Long negotiations)... On 15th Ramzan [5th Jan. 1738] I marched out and halted one kos off; the Nizam then came out and encamped beyond the lake.....Next morning he retreated to Bhupal, fighting with his artillery. But we have blockaded him as closely as we did Muhammad Khan Bangash." [No. 34.] "Leaving his baggage partly in Bhupal and partly in Islamgarh, and continuing the peace talk, he is marching away at the rate of a kos or 1½ kos a day.

Nawab himself, Baji Rao having already experienced six years before his unwillingness to part with his money. In Zul Hijja 1150 H. (April 1738) Nizam-ul-mulk re-entered Dihli, where already a new danger, the invasion of Nadir Shah, the new king of Persia, began to threaten the tottering Empire. [*Mirat-us-saffa*, 63 b.]

Our forces, hovering around him, have entirely cut off his grain grass and fuel supply. Rice is selling at one Rupee a seer in his camp, and even at that price many cannot obtain it. His horses are eating the leaves of the *Butea frondosa*. On 25th Ramzan [15th January] his Muslim troops ate up the artillery draught oxen, while the Rajputs were utterly fasting. Then he quickly settled the peace terms.....his agent being Aya Mal." Then follow the terms embodied in the text. (No. 35). [J. Sarkar.]

CHAPTER XI

INTERNAL CONDITION OF INDIA IN 1738— RISE AND PROGRESS OF NADIR SHAH.

[By the Editor]

SEC. 97.—DEGENERATION OF MUGHAL ARISTOCRACY.

The invasion of Nadir Shah involved the Mughal Empire in disgrace spoliation and dismemberment. It was, however, not a cause of the decline of the Empire, but one of the clearest symptoms of that decline. The Persian conqueror merely revealed to the world a fact accomplished long before. He broke the spell under which men had been regarding a gorgeously dressed corpse as a strong man.

How was the work of Akbar and Shah Jahan, Man Singh and Mir Jumla, thus undone? Why did the seemingly flourishing State of Aurangzeb fall down like a house of cards only 31 years after his death? In reviewing the history of these 31 years, we find first of all a startling decline in the character of the nobility and the efficiency of the army. For this the havoc of civil war was to some extent responsible. In the thirteen years following the death of Aurangzeb, seven bloody battles of succession* had been fought among his descendants in which large numbers of Princes nobles and the best soldiers had perished. Equally destructive of officers and men were the armed contests between rival nobles. For instance, the Nizam could confirm himself in the viceroyalty of the Dakhin only after defeating three rivals. For the governorship of Gujarat there were three ruinous encounters in which Shujaat Khan and Rustam Ali Khan fell and Sarbuland Khan was defeated.

* Bahadur Shah two, Jahandar Shah three, Farrukh-siyar one, and Muhammad Shah one.

The loss caused by domestic discord among the Mughals themselves was multiplied by the slaughter in operations against rebels like the Sikhs, Jats, Bundelas and Mahrattas and on two occasions against the Rathors. The gaps thus created in the ranks of the martial nobility were not filled by the natural succession of worthy offspring, nor by the rise of new men from the commonalty and recruits from abroad in sufficient number and of the right quality. To the thoughtful student of Mughal history nothing is more striking than the decline of the peerage. The heroes adorn the stage for one generation only and leave no worthy heirs sprung from their loins. Abdur-rahim and Mahabat, Sadullah and Mir Jumla, Ibrahim and Islam Khan Rumi,—who had made the history of India in the 17th century,—were succeeded by no son, certainly by no grandson even half as capable as themselves. In reading the huge biographical dictionary of the Mughal peerage (the *Masir-ul-umara* in 3 volumes of 900 pages each), one frequently comes across such entries as these: "This nobleman (naming a general or minister of the first rank) died in such and such a year; he left two sons who did not attain to much advancement" or that "he had three sons none of whom did anything worthy of being recorded here." Often, while the career of the founder of the family occupies eight or ten pages in this dictionary, his son's achievements are exhausted in half a page, and the grandson meets with a bare mention which he earns merely because he is his father's son.

Throughout the Mughal period, the best Muslim recruits for civil administration and war alike were foreign adventurers or converted Hindus. The strong and efficient exotics rapidly deteriorated on the Indian soil. Therefore, while the infusion of fresh blood into the nobility from the indigenous Muhammadan population and the foreign immigrants permanently settled in this country did not take place, the only hope of the continued life and vigour of the State lay in the regular flow of the right type of recruits from Bukhara and Khurasan, Iran and Arabia. When this flow stopped, the Empire shrivelled up like a tree cut off from its sap.

SEC. 98.—ALIENATION OF THE HINDUS AND SHIAS.

Akbar had guarded against this danger by making the first beginnings of the conversion of a military monarchy into a national State,—in effect, though not in constitutional form. He tried to range the Hindu warrior tribes behind his hired foreign troops, as the second and more reliable line of defence for his throne. Under him and his successors, Hindu Rajput soldiers had carried the Mughal banners to the banks of the Oxus and the Helmand in the west and those of the Brahmaputra and the Karnafuli in the east. They had garrisoned the Khaibar Pass, defended Garhgaon against the Ahoms and stormed Chatgaon from the Burmese. But Aurangzeb's attempt to annex Jodhpur on the death of his old servant Jaswant Singh, his invasion of Mewar, his incessant destruction of Hindu temples and his rigorous imposition of the hated poll-tax (*jaziya*), not only alienated the Rajput clans, but convinced all other Hindu races of India that they had no lot or part in the Mughal State and that for the preservation of their honour and liberty of conscience they must look elsewhere. This was the opportunity of the Mahrattas. This belief, rooted deep in the minds of the Hindu officers and vassals of Aurangzeb, made them indifferent or secretly hostile to their master's cause during his wars with Shivaji and his successors. To the Rajputs and Bundelas, who had so long been the staunchest supports of the Mughal cause, the Mahratta hero appeared as their heaven-sent deliverer,—a Rama slaying Ravana or a Krishna slaying Kansa. This feeling breathes in every line of the Hindi poet Bhushan's numberless odes on Shivaji. He really voices in smooth and vigorous numbers the unspoken thoughts of the millions of Hindus all over India. At the end of the 17th century they had come to regard the Mughal Government as Satanic and refused to co-operate with it.

By appealing to this feeling, Baji Rao I. easily entered Malwa and then made his hold upon that province good. He united the local Hindu chieftains as well as the neighbouring Rajputs of Jaipur and Mewar with the Mahrattas in an alliance against the oppressors of their common religion (*dharma*).

This point comes out very clearly in Sawai Jai Singh's letter to Nandalal Mandaloi (the chaudhuri of Indor), after the latter had treacherously caused an immense slaughter of his master's troops by his collusion with the Mahrattas (October 1731): "A thousand praises to you, because you, in sole reliance upon my word and with a view to benefit your *dharma*, have destroyed the Muslims in Malwa and firmly established *dharma* there. You have fulfilled my heart's wishes." [Sardesai, ii. 369.]

In the brief space of thirty-one years after Aurangzeb's death, his successors had to wage war, and more than once, with the Sikhs, Jats, Bundelas, Rathors, Kachhwahas, and Sisodias. Thus, no Hindu tribe of military value was left on the side of the Emperor. In addition to this, the Mahrattas were an open sore which drained the life-blood of the Empire and steadily reduced its size. The Hindus not only ceased to be loyal vassals of the Later Mughals, but became open enemies against whom large forces had to be diverted by the Emperor in his day of danger from foreign invasion.

The Persians are the cleverest race among the children of Islam. But they stand aloof from the rest of the Muslim world by reason of their belief in the hereditary right of the Prophet's son-in-law to his succession (*khalifat*). Their faith of Shia-ism is a heresy in the eyes of the immense majority of Musalmans, including those of Northern India, who are Sunnis. The liberal Akbar, the self-indulgent Jahangir, and the cultured Shah Jahan had welcomed Shias in their camps and Courts and given them the highest offices, especially in the secretariat and revenue administration, in which their genius naturally shone most. But the orthodox Aurangzeb had barely tolerated them as a necessary evil. In his reign the Shias felt that they were not wanted by him. Many striking examples of his anti-Shia bias are found in his letters and the anecdotes* about him compiled by his favourite Hamid-ud-din Khan. The populace were still more hostile to these heretics. The proposal of Bahadur Shah to read the *khutba* with a single Shia epithet,

* *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, ed. and tr. by J. Sarkar, sec. iv.

led to a riot at Lahor in 1712. Some years later, at Hasanabad near the capital of Kashmir, 2500 Shias were massacred by the Sunnis. [K. K. ii. 870.] Thus, to the ambitious and gifted Shia adventurers of Persia, India ceased to be a welcome home, or a field where the highest career was open to their talent.

SEC. 99.—WEAK CHARACTER OF LATER MUGHALS.

The decline of the Mughal nobility was mainly due to the decline in the character of the Emperor, because it is the first duty of a sovereign to choose the right sort of servants and give them opportunities for developing their talent and acquiring experience by instructing and supervising them during their administrative apprenticeship. In his private letters, Aurangzeb frequently complains of the lack of able officers during his reign as compared with the glorious days of Akbar and Shah Jahan: *az na-yabi-e-adam-i-kar ah ! ah !* But the following wise saying of the great Wazir Sadullah Khan, which Aurangzeb himself quotes with approval, is a deserved rebuke to such pessimism: "No age is wanting in able men ; it is the business of wise masters to find them out, win them over, and get work done by means of them, without listening to the calumnies of selfish men against them." [*Ruqat-i-Alamgiri*, No. 46.]

In fact, the deterioration in the character of the Emperors must be held to be the primary cause of the decline in the character of the nobility and the downfall of the Empire. The suspicious watchfulness of Aurangzeb and the excessive paternal love of his successors kept the Princes at Court or caused them to be over-chaperoned in their provincial Governments, thus preventing the development of any initiative or business capacity among them. The heirs to the throne of Dihli in the 18th century grew up utterly helpless and dependent upon others, without any independence of thought, fearlessness in assuming responsibility, or capacity to decide and act promptly. Their intellect and spirits were dulled and they found diversion only in the society of harem women buffoons and flatterers. When such Princes came to the throne, if they were wise they would leave the entire administration in the hands of able

Wazirs,—which provoked factious envy among the other ministers ; and if they were foolish, they constantly resorted to intrigue for subverting one too-powerful minister only to fall into the hands of another.

The *faineant* Emperor could not and would not govern the country himself, and yet he had not the wisdom to choose the right man as his Wazir and give him his full confidence and support. He was easily led away by the whispers of eunuchs and flatterers, and issued orders for the dismissal of old ministers and provincial governors in the vain hope of getting more money or greater servility from their successors.

Thus the nobles found that career was not open to talent, that loyal and useful service was no security against capricious dismissal and degradation, that their property and family honour were not always safe in such a Court. Their only hope of personal safety and advancement lay in asserting their independence and establishing provincial dynasties of their own. And such a course was also conducive to the good of the people of the province. They could enjoy peace and prosperity only under an independent local dynasty. For, so long as their rulers were sent from the distant imperial Court, every succeeding day a new favourite might beg or buy the viceroyalty, come with a new letter of appointment, and try to oust his predecessor. Whether these attempts succeeded or failed, the result was the same : the province was filled with war and the rumours of war, plunder, the withholding of taxes, and the closing of the roads. The history of Gujarat under Muhammad Shah graphically illustrates the point.

SEC. 100.—FORMATION OF FACTIONS AT COURT AND ITS EFFECT.

When Nadir Shah invaded India, the three highest ministers of State were Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-mulk (the *Wakil-i-mutlaq* or Regent Plenipotentiary), Itimad-ud-daulah Qamar-ud-din Khan (the *Wazir* or Chancellor) and Khwaja Asim entitled Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran (the *Amir-ul-umara* and *Bakhshi-ul-mamalik* or Head of the Army). Among the provincial governors the highest (if we exclude the Nizam and the semi-independent subahdar of Bengal) was Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-mulk, the

subahdar of Oudh and most prominently in the running for a ministership at Court. Of these, we may leave Khan Dauran out, as he was a carpet knight and Court flatterer, without any administrative capacity or experience. The Nizam had been born in Samarqand and had migrated to India in boyhood to seek his fortune under the Mughal banner. The same was the case with Qamar-ud-din Khan the Wazir, who was his cousin. Saadat Khan was a native of Khurasan and had entered India as an adventurer early in the 18th century. These men could feel no patriotism for India, because India was not their *patria*. They had nothing at stake in this country, no share in its past history traditions and culture, no hereditary loyalty to its throne. The Mughal Emperor was merely their paymaster, and if they could make better terms with his enemy, they were not such fools as to reject them out of a sentimental love for a land which merely gave them an excellent field for the display of their undoubted talents and promised them a rich reward. It was only in the succeeding generations that their families became rooted in the Indian soil.

When the Emperor was a sluggard or a fool, he ceased to be the master and guide of the nobility. They then naturally turned to win the controlling authority at Court or in the provinces. This selfish struggle necessarily ranged the nobles in factions, each group or *bloc* trying to push the fortunes of its members and hinder the success of its rival groups. The Dihli Court under the Later Mughals was divided between the Turani (or Central Asian) and the Hindustani parties,*—both Muhammadans, while the Hindu Rajahs sided with the latter. Each faction tried to poison the ears of the Emperor against the other, thwart its plants, stir up its discontented servants, and even engage in active hostility to it when at a distance from the Court. Rebels could not be opposed with all the armed strength of the Empire; they could always count upon secret supporters or at least neutral make-believe opponents in the Imperial Court and camp.

* In the second half of the 18th century the division was between the Irani (Persian Shia) and Turani (Sunni) parties.

This moral degradation of the nobility was accompanied by the intellectual bankruptcy of the bureaucracy, and indeed of the entire governing classes. There was no far-sighted leader, no clearly thought-out and steadily-pursued scheme of national advancement as under Akbar. No political genius arose to teach the country a new philosophy of life, or to kindle aspirations after a new heaven on earth. They all drifted and dozed in admiration of the wisdom of their ancestors and shook their heads at the growing degeneracy of the moderns.

The Mughal Empire had aimed merely at being a police Government ; and therefore when it could not do its police function well, when it failed to maintain internal order and external peace, it lost its sole reason for existing. The life of the country had hitherto been held together by the Court. Hence, when the throne was filled by puppets, dissolution took place in the bond that held the people together and co-ordinated their efforts and ambitions. Government ceased and anarchy began.

On the eve of Nadir Shah's invasion, the Jats by their depredations had made the roads near the capital unsafe and hindered trade and traffic. The Mahrattas by their regular annual incursions at first and their permanent lodgment in the frontier provinces (Gujarat, Malwa and Bundelkhand) afterwards, bled the Empire to death. The production of wealth was stopped not only as the direct result of their extortion and ravage, but also indirectly through the discouragement of industry and thrift which such insecurity of property creates.

The frequent civil contests, whether among the Princes and nobles, or between the Government and rebellious subjects, spread a sense of insecurity among the taxpayers. The peasants withheld the land revenue, which was the mainstay of the Government, and the lower officials evaded delivering their collections. The victor in the contest might crush the defaulting ryots and peculating *tahsildars* and turn them out of house and hold ; but by doing so he ruined himself all the same, as his only source of income was gone ; he had only

swelled the number of desperate homeless roving brigands and reduced the area under tillage.

The profuse bounty of Nature to this country, its temperate climate which reduces human want, and the abstemious habits of its people, all combined to increase the national income of India throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The huge "annual addition to the national stock" ultimately made its way to the hands of the governing classes,—if we leave out the small portion that was intercepted by the trader and the revenue-farmer. The wealth of Ind was the wonder and envy of other nations. But the Mughal Court and Mughal aristocracy had not the sense to insure this wealth by spending a sufficient portion of it on efficient national defence and the improvement of the people's intellect and character by a wise system of public education. Their wealth only made their weakness fatal to them and tempted the foreign invader by assuring him of a success as easy as the booty was large.

A Government which could not maintain order at home was still less likely to command respect abroad. The weakness of the Central Government was soonest felt in the frontier provinces: Malwa and Afghanistan were not guarded in strength. The Mahratta occupation of Malwa brought Dihli within striking distance of their arms, and Baji Rao in 1737 insulted the capital, pillaged and burnt its suburbs and returned to his base with perfect immunity. The defencelessness of Afghanistan brought Nadir Shah to India.

SEC. 101.—DECLINE OF THE SAFAWI MONARCHY AND AFGHAN USURPATION OF PERSIA.

The Safawi dynasty founded by Shah Ismail at the beginning of the 16th century, freed Persia from foreign rule and the wars of domineering nomad tribes. The new line of kings gave the country peace prosperity and extension of territory. The faith of the people, which had been persecuted by the former rulers as a heresy, now became the State religion. Wealth and civilization increased, and Persia again took her ancient position as one of the world's famous and independent

monarchies, the rival of Turkey and Hindustan in the eyes of the Muslim world.

For nearly a century and a half after the founder, a succession of wise warlike and active kings maintained the strength and glory of Persia. But about the middle of the 17th century began the inevitable decline in the monarchy from a continuous decline in the character of the monarch. In the words of the historian Sir John Malcolm, during the century following the death of Abbas the Great (1627), the Persian throne was occupied by "a succession of weak, cruel and debauched monarchs..... The lower orders became every day more unwarlike and..... ceased to be able to defend the State.....The nation may be said to have existed on the reputation it had acquired before." [*Hist. of Persia*, 2nd ed., i. 379.]

Shah Husain, the last of the Safawi line, who reigned from 1694 to 1722, was no doubt free from vice ; but he went to the opposite extreme of meekness and religious bigotry, and did still greater harm than his dissolute predecessors. He placed the administration entirely in the hands of the priests and thus alienated the old martial and official nobility. Under the advice of the keepers of his conscience the king persecuted and banished from the land the Sufi philosophers as heretics from Islamic orthodoxy, and thus enraged the intellectual classes. But the prestige of his worthier ancestors had given the State a momentum which made it continue to go on for nearly twenty years longer.

At last early in the 18th century the dissolution came, and from the hands of its Afghan subjects. Ever since Abbas I.'s conquest of Qandahar early in the 17th century, Southern Afghanistan had been a province of Persia. It was the home of the Ghilzai and Abdali tribes. The wise statesmanship of the earlier Shahs had left the subject races of the Persian Empire under their own laws, and often under their own magistrates. The turbulent character of the Afghan people, the wildness of their country and their position on the debatable land between the rival monarchies of India and Persia, enabled them to extort for themselves a considerable amount of local independence. Their submission to the Central Government was lax and

dependent on their own pleasure. In 1708, a new Persian governor of Qandahar, the converted Armenian Gurgin Khan, by trying to rule with a strong hand, caused an explosion. The Ghilzai tribe rose under Mir Wais, killed the governor, seized Qandahar and established their own rule there.

The successful rebel's son Mahmud gained the throne of Qandahar in 1717, and led his tribe on to the plunder of the effete king and people of Persia. The Safawi Empire now broke to pieces. Mahmud captured the capital Isfahan, and on 21st October 1722 Shah Husain Safawi resigned his ancestors' throne and the Afghan rule over Persia began. Mahmud was succeeded by his uncle's son Ashraf in 1725. But new dangers threatened the conquerors. Qandahar was held by Mahmud's brother, whom Ashraf could not oust from the fort. Thus the Ghilzai tribe became divided under two chiefs reigning at two distant places. The governor of Sistan annexed nearly all Khurasan and proclaimed his independence. But Ashraf's greatest enemy was Mirza Tahmasp, the son of the deposed Shah Husain, who had assumed the royal title and was trying to establish his power in the province of Mazendran. This Prince was a foolish effeminate and debauched youth, and could not have recovered his heritage by his own efforts. But he was now joined by Nadir Quli, the greatest Asiatic general of that age. [Malcolm, i. 401-465.]

SEC. 102.—NADIR DELIVERS PERSIA AND MAKES HIMSELF KING.

Nadir Quli was the son of Imam Quli, a poor Turkoman of the Afshar tribe long settled in Khurasan, who earned his bread by making coats and caps of sheepskin. Nadir was born in 1688 and passed his early years amidst great hardship and privation, which only called forth his extraordinary genius and energy. He was carried away to Tartary by the Uzbek raiders and kept there as a prisoner for four years. On returning home he served under some petty chiefs and finally took to a life of robbery with his own band of hardy and adventurous followers. The eclipse of Government during the Afghan usurpation of Persia enabled him to pursue such a career with safety and much profit in the ill-controlled frontier province of

Khurasan. Seizing the fort of Kalat by murdering his own uncle (who was its governor), he used the power thus gained to defeat the Afghan ruler of Khurasan and recover the city and district of Naishabur. This victory in the national cause secured his welcome by his lawful king Shah Tahmasp, whose service he entered in 1727. [Malcolm ii. 2-5, *M.U.* i. 823.]

The fame of Nadir drew the best recruits to his side and he became the centre of the Persian national effort to throw off the foreign yoke. His genius for war and diplomacy and his concentration of all authority in his hands led to his rapid and unbroken success. Persia was recovered from the Afghans, very few of whom returned to their own country from the slaughter on the battle-field or murder at the hands of the incensed peasantry. The Afghan domination had been a seven years' horror to the afflicted people of Persia. "Within seven years nearly a million of her inhabitants had perished, her finest provinces had been rendered desert, and her proudest edifices levelled with the dust; and this by enemies who had neither the force nor the wisdom to maintain the conquest." [Malcolm, i. 472.] The national deliverance of Persia was the work of Nadir alone, and naturally the enthusiasm of the people for him was unbounded. The king showed his gratitude by granting to the general half the kingdom with a richly jewelled crown and the right of stamping coins with his own name.

But during Nadir's absence in the eastern provinces, the king, who had injudiciously conducted expeditions in the west, lost his general's gains in that direction and made a humiliating peace. The national indignation was very great. The officers of the army felt that if Shah Tahmasp were left at the head of affairs, he would only undo all their recent work and bring back national servitude. They with one voice urged Nadir to assume the crown. [Anandram, 34; Malcolm ii. 8-11.] But though Tahmasp was deposed, 26th August 1732, his general did not as yet venture to sit on the throne. Abbas, an eight-month old son of Tahmasp, was proclaimed king, and Nadir became his regent with full authority. Four years later the

infant died, and Nadir became king with the title of Shahan-Shah Nadir Shah, 26th February 1736.

He wrested Armenia and Georgia from the Turks, and made a peace with the Russians by which he gained the lost provinces bordering the Caspian. The island of Bahrain was recovered from the Arabs. Next, the predatory Bakhtiari tribe of the Shuster hills was vanquished and enrolled in his army,—thus diverting their energies into a useful channel and keeping them from disturbing the peace. [Malcolm ii. 11-18.]

Finally, early in 1737 Nadir Shah started with 80,000 men against Qandahar. So long as that centre of independent Afghan power was not destroyed, it would remain a menace to the safety of Persia and constantly disturb the peace and prosperity of Khurasan. Moreover, without the conquest of Qandahar the full heritage of the Safawis could not be said to have come into his possession. This fort stood on the route of his advance to the Mughal Empire and he wished to enlist the Afghans under his banners to assist him in his foreign conquests, as Mahmud of Ghazni had done seven centuries before.

Qandahar was now in the possession of Husain, the younger brother of Mahmud (the usurping king of Persia). The old city* stood on the eastern slope of a ridge, two miles west of the modern city. Its walls were of extreme strength and the garrison had made preparations for a good defence. The Persian army invested it on 30th March 1737, but the siege dragged on for a year, and the fort fell† only on 12th March 1738. The fort and city were dismantled by the victor. In its environs he built a new city with quarters for the governor and soldiers, which was named Nadirabad by him, but is now known as modern Qandahar. He treated the defeated Afghan tribesmen very kindly, released all the prisoners taken, bestowed pensions on the tribal chiefs, enlisted the clansmen in his army, and by transplanting the Ghilzais to Naishabur and other places in Khurasan (the former homes of the Abdalis) and posting Abdali chieftains as governors of Southern Afghanistan (Qandahar,

* For a description of the fort and its walls, see J. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, i. 140-143.

† Anandram p. 7 says, to treachery.

Girishk, Bist and Zamin-dawar), kept his former enemies usefully employed in his service. His policy was to tempt the other Afghan forts to surrender to him by creating a reputation for himself as a merciful enemy and liberal master, and to enlist the Afghan soldiers under his banners as devoted supporters of his projected conquests of Central Asia and India. [*Jahankusha* 311-328, *Malcolm* ii. 20, *Anandram* 6-8.]

After the fall of Qandahar came the turn of the Mughal Empire ; and here Nadir made out a strong case for declaring war. He proceeded in such a way as to ensure that neutral States and lovers of international law would not be able to condemn his invasion of India as an act of wanton aggression and spoliation. Nadir was no mere soldier, no savage leader of a savage horde, but a master of diplomacy and statecraft as well as of the sword. The profoundness of his diplomacy was no less remarkable than the greatness of his generalship in war and the wisdom of his policy to the vanquished after his victories in the field.

SEC. 103.—CAUSES OF THE DIPLOMATIC RUPTURE BETWEEN THE
PERSIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE MUGHAL EMPIRE.

The conduct of the effete Court of Dihli towards Persia had been marked by violation of diplomatic usage and courtesy and even by unfriendly negligence. For several generations past there had been an exchange of envoys, presents and diplomatic courtesies between the Mughal Emperors of India and the Safawi Shahs of Persia. Abbas II. continued this practice even after he had wrested Qandahar from Shah Jahan and fought four campaigns against Mughal arms. At all events formal letters of congratulation used to be written by the one Court to the other at every new accession to the throne. But Muhammad Shah, forgetting this usage, neglected to felicitate Shah Tahmasp II. after he had overthrown the Afghan usurper and recovered the throne of his ancestors. Nay, the Dihli Government, no doubt out of a timid love of quiet, had kept up friendly relations with Mir Wais and his son Husain (the usurpers of Qandahar), though the latter had raided the province of Multan and ravaged the imperial territory.

After the expulsion of the Afghans from Persia, Nadir had sent Ali Mardan Khan Shamlu as ambassador to India to inform the Dihli Court that a campaign against the Afghans of Qandahar would be soon undertaken,* and to request that the Emperor would order his subahdar of Kabul to prevent these Afghans from escaping into his territory. Muhammad Shah replied that he had issued instructions to this effect and would reinforce the army in Kabul to have this work done.

After some time Nadir sent a second messenger, Muhammad Ali Khan with a similar request, and the Dihli Government replied in the same terms. When early in 1737 the Persians invested Qandahar and the local Afghans began to flee northwards into Mughal Afghanistan, Nadir despatched a force to Ulang Muragha, in the Qalat district, which was his last outpost on the Perso-Mughal frontier, to bar the path of the retreating Ghilzais. This detachment ravaged the country up to the end of the hills of Kalat, slaying about a thousand Ghilzais and capturing much booty and many prisoners. The rest of the tribe fled into Mughal territory, towards Ghazni and Kabul, there being no Mughal officer or army on the frontier to obstruct them. The Persian generals, not having received orders to cross the frontier, stopped there and reported the affair to their master. Nadir Shah then (30th April 1737) sent a third envoy, Muhammad Khan Turkoman to India by way of Sindh, to ask for an explanation of this breach of promise on the part of the Emperor. The messenger was ordered to spend not more than forty days in India but bring a reply within that period. The Dihli Court, however, would give him neither a reply nor the permission to return. Its imbecile policy is thus described by Ali Hazin : "As soon as this envoy arrived at Shahjahanabad, he delivered his letter and was told to wait ; but they were silent as to any answer. Sometimes they were unable to agree in their own minds on the question of writing

* Ali Hazin says that Shah Tahmasp II. after recovering Isfahan sent one of his nobles to India as envoy to report his accession and to request Muhammad Shah to keep the Ghilzais out of his territory, and that after the accession of the infant Abbas III. a similar message was sent. But *Jahankusha* 331 shows that both these embassies were sent by Nadir.

any answer at all ; at other times they were perplexed [as to] what titles they should use to Nadir Shah.....Thinking the detention of the ambassador a stroke of State policy, they waited to see, if perchance Husain the Afghan with the troops besieged in Qandahar gained the victory over Nadir Shah, and destroyed him or put him to flight ; on which event there would be no need of writing any answer to his letter."

A year passed away in this way, and then after the fall of Qandahar, Nadir wrote to his envoy in India to return at once. The matter had passed beyond the stage of correspondence and discussion. Nadir had decided on invading India. [*Jahāṅkusha*, 331-332 ; Belfour's *Ali Hazin*, 281-287 (which is paraphrased in *Siyar* i. 93-94.)]

SEC. 104.—NEGLECTED AND DEFENCELESS CONDITION OF
AFGHANISTAN AND THE PANJAB.

At this point it is necessary to stop the narrative of events, and look at the condition of the provinces forming the north-western frontier of the Mughal Empire. Afghanistan had been a precarious possession and source of weakness to the successors of Babar, but they had succeeded in occupying the country and keeping the passes from India open. The earlier Mughal Emperors had repeatedly visited Kabul. But during the long reign of Aurangzeb, the imperial authority there was seriously imperilled. The formidable rebellion, first of the Yusufzais of Peshawar (1667) and then of the Afridis of Khaibar (1672), was aggravated by a rising of the Pathan population along the entire North-western frontier against the ruler of Dihli. The resources of the whole Empire had to be concentrated under the Emperor's personal command against the tribesmen. After only a modified success Aurangzeb returned from the frontier where he had now spent two years, and peace of a sort was restored by profuse bribery to the border Afghans (1676). Next year Amir Khan* was appointed governor of Kabul and he held the post for 21 years with conspicuous ability and success.

* See J. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib* iii. (2nd ed.) 243 and *Studies in Mughal India* 111-117.

Aurangzeb ascribes this viceroy's administrative triumph to his tactful dealings, practical skill, policy of keeping the hillmen usefully employed by enlisting them in the imperial army, and his judicious and economical management of the treasury, which enabled him to pay regular subsidies to the clansmen living near the passes.

When Amir Khan died (1698), he was followed by no worthy successor. After a short lull, trouble began to revive. But Shah Alam, who governed the province from 1699 to his father's death in 1707, kept order fairly well. He had a large and efficient army, and used to move about the country a good deal, passing the winter at Peshawar (which was then included in Afghanistan), and the summer at Kabul or Bamian; but he was forced to continue the policy of bribing the pass Afghans to maintain peace. In 1709 or 1710, Nasir Khan, formerly faujdar of Jamrud, was appointed subahdar of Kabul, and he continued to hold this post till his death, about 1719, when his son, also entitled Nasir Khan, succeeded him and was later confirmed in his office by Muhammad Shah (1720). This second Nasir Khan's mother was of the Afghan race and he was expected to succeed easily in ruling the province and keeping the passes open. [M.U. iii. 833.]

But he was a simple-minded and indolent man. His chief business was hunting, and when not engaged in it he spent his time in prayer. [Siyar, i. 93.] Thus, the peace of the country was left to take care of itself, and the roads became unsafe. His patron at Court was Roshan-ud-daulah, a favourite of the Emperor, and the imperial grant for payments to keep the passes open was sent to Nasir Khan through the hands of this noble. Roshan-ud-daulah's rival Khan Dauran accused him of embezzling the money, and induced the Emperor to stop this payment as useless. Nasir Khan's appeals were disregarded. About 1730 Roshan-ud-daulah himself fell out of favour and was dismissed. The result was that things in Afghanistan were left to drift without the least hope of remedy.

As Ghulam Husain writes, "Neither the subahdar nor the Amir-ul-umara [at Court] kept himself informed about the roads and passes of the country. No guards remained on the

roads. Owing to the weakness of the Government, the local officers lost all fear of being called to account. None cared for any one else, none feared, none sought instructions from any [higher officer]. Everywhere every one did whatever he liked. Any one who wished could come and go [through these frontier roads, unquestioned]; the Emperor and his nobles never heard of it. They never inquired why no news-letter was coming to Court from any province or outpost." [Siyar, i. 93.]

When we contrast this negligence and slothfulness of Muhammad Shah with the sleepless vigilance* of Aurangzeb in respect of the Persian frontier, we can realize the depth of inefficiency to which the Mughal administration had fallen on the eve of Nadir Shah's invasion.

The governor of Kabul had sent repeated applications to the Emperor for money to pay his troops; but nobody paid any heed to them, as the faction opposed to him was now in power at Court and the Emperor never exercised his own judgment nor personally looked into any business. The soldiers posted in the province starved as their salary for five years was in arrears. Ill-fed, ill-equipped, ill-armed through poverty, they pressed the subahdar to pay them at least one year's dues out of the five, so that they might satisfy their creditors to some extent and have a little left over for the expenses of marching. Nasir Khan used to reassure them by saying "Friends! why this anxiety? I have written to the Emperor and also to my agent at Court, and the money is sure to come to-morrow if not to-day." When his agent presented the application to Khan Dauran the Amir-ul-umara, and in fear and trembling described the alarming situation in Afghanistan, that noble replied in derision, "Do you think that I am a petty simpleton that I shall be impressed by such a tale as yours? Our houses are built on the plain; we do not fear anything except what we can see with our own eyes. Your houses stand on lofty hills, and therefore you have probably sighted Mongol and Qizilbash armies from the roofs of your houses! Reply to

* Striking illustrations in Hamid-ud-din's *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, §§ 49-52, translated by J. Sarkar as *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*.

your master that we are writing for money to the governor of Bengal ; and when the Bengal revenue arrives after the rainy season, the money due will be quickly sent to Kabul."* [Anandram, 11-12.]

Those people of Dihli who bore testimony to the defenceless condition of Afghanistan, were sneered at as fools. Khan Dauran's friends even suggested that the deputation of Kabul citizens with this report had been stage-managed by the Wazir and the Nizam, (the leaders of the Turani faction), in order to discredit Khan Dauran and induce the Emperor to transfer his confidence to the former party ! [Siyar, i. 96.]

The result is best described in the words of Ghulam Husain : "It was impossible for Nasir Khan to prevent Nadir Shah's entrance into India. The Government was rotten, the Emperor was powerless. No money was sent to maintain the administration in Afghanistan. The subahdar, therefore, sought his own comfort and lived at Peshawar, entrusting the fort of Kabul to a *qiladar* with orders to control and watch the passes leading into India." [Siyar, i. 94.]

Equally neglected and defenceless was the next gateway of India, the province of the Panjab. Zakariya Khan (son of Abdus-samad Khan) was the governor of Lahor and Multan. His family had come from Ahrar in Central Asia, and therefore he was regarded as "a strong pillar of the Turani party." His mother was a sister of the late Wazir Muhammad Amin Khan's wife, and he naturally excited the bitter opposition of the Hindustani party under Khan Dauran.† Zakariya Khan was a brave and active soldier and good administrator ; he gave peace and prosperity to the province in his charge by repeated

* On this Anandram rightly remarks, "If the Afghans had been set to guard the frontier with their whole hearts and customary bravery, they could have stopped the advance of the Persian army long enough to enable reinforcements to reach them from Dihli, and then India would not have been sacked."

† An astonishing example of this party rancour is supplied by the historian Shakir Khan (an Indian Muhammadan of Panipat), who asserts that Zakariya Khan at the instigation of the Nizam and Saadat Khan, who wanted to overthrow Khan Dauran, disloyally admitted Nadir into Lahor !

campaigns against rebels and robbers. [*M. U.* ii. 106 ; Anandram 138.] But the Hindustani party who possessed the Emperor's ears, opposed all his applications to Court, misrepresented his character and motives and prevented money and troops from being sent to him when Nadir's invasion was imminent.

Thus, in the Emperor's hour of supreme need, factious jealousy and foolish distrust prevented any real attempt being made to repel the invader from the frontier, or even to check him there long enough to enable defensive preparations to be completed at Dihli and the army of the Empire marshalled in the Panjab. The 'gateways of India' fell into Nadir's hands at the first touch, and yet the foolish Emperor and his advisers delayed their own preparations for defence in the vain hope of the enemy not being able to force the passes of Afghanistan and the rivers of the Panjab.

Such was the condition of the north-western marches of India when the storm burst on them.

SEC. 105.—NADIR CONQUERS NORTHERN AFGHANISTAN FROM THE MUGHALS.

On 10th May 1738, the Persian monarch began his march into Northern Afghanistan to make an end of his Afghan enemies. Crossing the Mughal frontier at the Mukhur spring, he halted at Qarabagh, 36 miles s. w. of Ghazni. A powerful detachment was sent under his younger son Nasr-ullah to operate against the Afghans of Ghorband and Bamian in the north-west of Kabul. When Nadir reached Qarabagh, Baqi Khan the Mughal governor of Ghazni fled away in terror ; the qazis scholars and rich men of the city waited on the invader with presents and offer of submission. So, he entered Ghazni in peace, 31st May, and treated the people well.

Two other detachments had been operating against the Hazaras or hill Afghans south-west of Ghazni, who had defied Nadir's troops. All who made timely submission were pardoned. But the men who resisted were put to the sword, their women dragged into captivity and their houses destroyed. Thus securing his flank and Rear, Nadir advanced on Kabul. The

chief men of the city tried to avert the storm by advancing two marches to welcome him on the way, and he sent them back with robes of honour presents and reassuring words. But Sharza Khan, the commandant of the citadel, with the soldiers of the garrison decided to offer resistance, and shutting the fort-gates prepared for defence.

On 10th June, Nadir's advance-tents arrived near the fort, but a part of the garrison sallied out and made a hostile demonstration. The porters were not prepared for resistance, and therefore declining the challenge they quietly set up the tents at a safe distance from the walls, at Ulang, half a league to the east of the city. Nadir arrived here on the 11th, and next day he rode out towards the Black Rock to view the environs of the city and the defences of its citadel. The garrison issued in force and began to discharge their fire-arms at him; but a charge of the Persian escort drove them back to the foot of the wall. Nadir now began an investment of the city. His guns and mortars, dragged up to the neighbouring heights, played upon the walls. On the seventh day (19th June) the tower of Aqa-bin collapsed from the shock of a big gun fired from it, and a part of the wall* fell down; the citadel capitulated, and the imperial treasury horses elephants and stores at Kabul passed into Nadir's possession. [*Jahankusha* 333—335.]

Here he passed forty days to settle the affairs of the province, and here he was joined (1st July) by his son Nasr-ullah who had returned after subduing Ghorband and Bamian. In the meantime, a letter had been received from his envoy at Dihli reporting that the Emperor would neither reply to his letter nor give the ambassador his *congé*. At this Nadir Shah wrote a strong protest to the Emperor and sent it with a fast courier accompanied by some leading men of Kabul, who offered to explain the real state of things in Afghanistan to the Mughal Court. In this letter, Nadir Shah charges Muhammad Shah with

* Anandram 10. He tells the incredible story that the breach thus caused was large enough to let 500 horsemen gallop through it abreast. The recoil of a single gun could not have overthrown a quarter-mile of stone-wall. Hanway (ii. 359) says that Nadir massacred the greater part of the garrison, including Sharza Khan and his son, after the fall of Kabul.

the violation of his promise, delay in replying to embassies and detention of the last Persian envoy for more than a year, in violation of the usage of nations. He points out how the Afghans had done even greater havoc to India than to Persia, and therefore in crushing them he was really doing a service to the Mughal Empire. He explains how the hostility of the imperial garrison in Kabul and their alliance with the Afghans had forced him to fight them, but that after their submission he had guarded them from harm, as his sole intention was the punishment of his Afghan enemies. The party entrusted with this letter left Kabul on 3rd July. On their reaching Jalalabad, the Kabuli notables were forced by the local governor to go back, while the courier and his nine guards were robbed and murdered by a neighbouring chieftain, the son of Mir Abbas.*

Meantime Nadir Shah had left Kabul (19th July) on account of scarcity of provisions there, and moved into the more fertile and populous hills of Chahar-ek-kar Najrad and Safi. The hill-crests occupied by the local clansmen were stormed and the vanquished were forced to submit and enter the Persian military service. After passing 22 days here, he started for Gandamak on 25th August.

Then came the news of the murder of the courier. The Persian advanced guard made a sudden dash on Jalalabad and seized the grain stored there. The governor fled, the chief men submitted and yielded up the fort (7th September). But the city was subjected to a massacre in punishment of the attack on Nadir's courier. The hill-fort of Mir Abbas's son was stormed, the men were put to the sword, and the women (including his sister and wives) were brought away to the Persian camp as captives. [*Jahankusha* 337-339, Ali Hazin 289.]

After spending some days in regulating the administration of the country, the Persian king advanced to Bahar-Showlani† to the south of Jalalabad. In view of his expected long absence in India, the distance of Dihli from his base in Persia, and

* *Jahankusha* 335-337, Ali Hazin 288.

† Bahar 17 m. s. w. of Jalalabad; Showlani (spelt *Softi* in *Jahankusha*) 8 m. e. of Bahar.

probably also the accidents of war, Nadir Shah invested his eldest son Mirza Raza Quli with the crown of the deputy-king or regent of Persia (3rd November), and sent him back to that country amidst great pomp at the head of a strong force.

CHAPTER XII

NADIR SHAH'S INVASION OF INDIA.

[*By the Editor*]

SEC. 106.—NADIR SHAH CAPTURES PESHAWAR AND LAHOR.

On 6th November 1738, the march towards India was resumed. The main army under Nadir Shah passed Jalalabad on the 12th and halted a mile beyond it. From this stage a vanguard of 12,000 picked cavalry proceeded ahead, followed by another body of 6,000 men to guard the royal tents. Then came the Centre and the Rear.

Nasir Khan, the Mughal governor of Afghanistan, was, according to his usual custom, living at Peshawar when he heard of Nadir's conquest of Kabul and projected invasion of India. He assembled some 20,000 Afghans of the Khaibar and Peshawar districts and blocked the pass between Ali Masjid and Jamrud,—the last outpost being 12 miles west of Peshawar. His half-starved soldiery and hastily-raised tribal levies were in no condition to oppose the Persian veterans flushed with a hundred victories and led by a heaven-born general.

In the afternoon of 14th November, after the *asar* prayer, Nadir Shah left his camp and baggage at Barikab (20 m. east of Jalalabad) under Nasr-ullah Mirza and made a rapid march with light kit by the Seh-chuba route. Though the path was steep and extremely rough, he covered fifty miles before eight o'clock next morning, and fell upon the Indian army in the Khaibar Pass most unexpectedly from the flank. One charge of the Persians scattered Nasir Khan's raw levies ; but he resisted with his regular troops for some hours ; in the end he and several other nobles were captured ;* the rest of his army

* Mahdi says that Nasir Khan drew up his troops in line of battle and resisted the Persians for some time. *Siyar* (i. 95) says that this general was captured wounded and then revealed his name and rank. Anandram (13) asserts that Nasir Kh. was surprised while asleep in bed, and fled in

fled, leaving their entire camp and property in the hands of the victors. [*Jahankusha* 341-342, Ali Hazin 290.]

Three days after the victory, the Persian camp and rear-guard arrived there by the regular road. On 18th November Nadir entered Peshawar without opposition and occupied the governor's palace. On 12th December the advance was resumed. A strong column under Aqa Muhammad was sent ahead to raid and ravage the country and build a bridge over the Indus at Attock. During this onward march the other five rivers of the Panjab were crossed on foot, as they were all fordable in that season. The Chinab was crossed at Wazirabad about 60 m. n. w. of Lahor, (8th January, 1739).

Zakariya Khan, the governor of Lahor, though unsupported by his master, had made what defensive arrangements he could with his own limited resources. Some five thousands of his men, under Qalandar Khan, held the fort of Kacha Mirza* at Yaminabad, 30 miles north of Lahor as an advanced post, while the governor himself stood with the bulk of his army (probably ten or twelve thousand men) ten miles south, at the Bridge of Shah Daula. The Persian vanguard† took the fort, killed Qalandar Khan, and drove his troops away. At the news of it, Zakariya Khan fell back on Lahor, and Nadir advanced to the Bridge of Shah Daula, 20 miles north of that city. From this place, Abdul Baqi Khan, the Persian Wazir, wrote to Zakariya Khan advising him to submit and thus avoid useless bloodshed. [*Jahankusha*, 343 ; Hanway, ii. 365-66 : Anandram 16-20.]

confusion with Chiragh Beg Khan and a few other attendants. Hanway (ii. 362) tells us that Nadir bought over the pass Afghans whom the Dihli Court had kept in arrears for 4 years, and thus he could cross the pass easily and unopposed. Nasir Khan, deserted by his raw levies at the unexpected approach of Nadir, entrenched himself near Peshawar with 7,000 men, and fought for some hours; but his lines were stormed and his men slain or captured. Ali Hazin (290) says that an immense crowd of the Afghans and of Nasir Kh.'s troops were cut to pieces in the valley.

* There is a *Kot Mirzagan*, a little east of Yaminabad, in the *Indian Atlas*.

† Led by Nasir Kh., acc. to Hanway. Zakariya's total army is put by Ali Hazin at 14 or 15 thousand regular horse and his own militia.

The bank of the Ravi north of Lahor had been entrenched by Zakariya Khan and big pieces of artillery mounted there to oppose the Persian advance. On 10th January 1739, Nadir marched from the Bridge of Shah Daula, made a wide detour round Lahor, leaving the Mughal defences a long distance on his left, forded the river further downstream and encamped in the Shalimar garden, five miles east of the city. All that day Zakariya Khan succeeded in repulsing the attempts of the Persians to enter Lahor. The fighting was resumed next day (11th January), but early in the morning the governor's son with a handful of men left the field and made his way to Dihli by long marches. A large force of Indians under the zamindar of Adina-gar were coming to reinforce Zakariya Khan, when they were overtaken by the Persian skirmishers at Mulkpur, 12 miles from Lahor and dispersed, losing some captives.*

Zakariya Khan found resistance vain. No aid could come from Dihli. So, in the afternoon he sent Kifayat Khan, his agent, to Nadir's camp to offer submission and beg for safety. Next day (12th January), he himself went to the victor, delivered the keys of the fort and presented some large elephants and rare commodities. Nadir treated him kindly, but fixed a contribution of 20 lakhs of Rupees on the city, part of which was paid out of the Government treasury and the balance assessed on the rich people. On the 14th, the Khan visited the Persian king a second time, paid the money and thus saved the city from the horrors of a sack.† He was received graciously, presented with a robe of honour, an Arab horse with a gold embroidered saddle and costly trappings, and jewelled sword and dagger, and retained in the governorship

* The *Jahankusha*, p. 344, is obscure, and the lithographed text is corrupt. Adina Beg was faujdar of Sultanpur, 66 m. s. e. of Lahor, at this time [Tilok Das's poem]. I do not know any *Adina-gar*. There is a *Narowar* 14 m. e. of Lahor, but no *Mulkpur*. *Pur* may be *Haibatpur—Patt*. The text of the *Jahankusha* may also mean that these Indian troops forced their way to Lahor.

† Anandram 23; *Jahankusha* 344; Ali Hazin, 293. But Tilok Das says that Lahor was plundered after Nadir's entry into it, and that the Persian king, though appealed to, did nothing to restrain his soldiers. At Lahor the invaders first saw the wealth of a large Indian city.

of Lahor. But his second son, Haiyat-ullah Khan, was kept in the Persian king's train at the head of 500 retainers, evidently as a hostage for his father's fidelity.

Nadir spent sixteen days at Lahor. Fakhr-ud-daulah, the dismissed governor of Kashmir, who had been living here in great poverty and neglect, was reappointed by Nadir to his post. Nasir Khan was released from captivity and restored to the viceroysalty of Kabul and Peshawar. A Persian force was detached to guard the ferries and seize the boats on the rivers of the Panjab and see that travellers to and from the Persian army during its stay in India could easily pass. Thus the flanks and Rear of the invaders were completely secured.

At Lahor it was definitely learnt that Muhammad Shah had decided on war and was assembling his troops from all sides of his kingdom to oppose the Persians. Nadir then wrote a letter to the Emperor, saying that as he was a Turkoman and of the same race as the house of Timur, his intentions were entirely friendly to the Emperor of Dihli. He repeated his former assertion that he had crossed the Mughal frontier solely to punish the Afghans who were as much the enemies of India as of Persia, and he again complained that Muhammad Shah had treated all his three envoys in violation of friendship and diplomatic usage. Lastly, Nadir warned the Mughal Court of the consequences of going to war, though he held forth hopes of his pardon should the Indian army chiefs, after their defeat, submit to him. [*Jahankusha*, 345-346.]

Nadir's invasion spread ruin and disorder throughout the Panjab. A cavalry screen was by his order sent ahead to make swift raids (*turk-tazi*) and plunder the cities and richer villages of the province and at the same time reconnoitre the country 30 or 40 miles in advance of his army. At Attock he had instructed his vanguard to plunder and ravage without mercy. "Cities like Wazirabad, Yaminabad, Gujarat &c. and big villages (each like half a city) were reduced to black ashes. All over the land property was plundered and women outraged." [Anandram, 16 and 21.] Tilok Das bears witness to the plunder of Lahor Jalandhar and evidently other towns on his route. But this was not the only misery of the province.

A foreign invasion gives the wished-for opportunity to the lawless ; oppressors and predatory classes, so long controlled by Government, raise their heads when they see the Government engaged in self-defence. Shaikh Ali Hazin, who was travelling from Lahor to Sarhind at this time, thus describes the state of things (p. 292): "The whole province was in complete revolution. Every person put forth his hand to plunder and pillage, and some thousands of robbers beset the public roads. The whole of that time, whether on the road or at the [halting] stations, passed in fighting and contention."

SEC. 107.—NADIR MARCHES FROM LAHOR TO KARNAL.

Leaving Lahor on 26th January 1739, Nadir Shah reached Sarhind on 5th February. Here he learnt that Muhammad Shah was encamped with his army at Karnal, eighty-two miles from him. A force of 6,000 cavalry was sent ahead to reconnoitre the country up to the imperial camp and report on the enemy's strength and dispositions. Next day the main army reached Rajah Sarai [modern Rajpura], 16 miles south-east of Sarhind, and on the day following (7th February) Ambala, 13 miles further east. Here the Persian king left his harem and heavy baggage under a strong escort, while he himself marched out on the 8th with a mobile fighting force and light artillery carried on camels, and reached Shahabad, 17 miles east of Ambala, at the end of the day. This place was only 36 miles north of Karnal.

Meantime the Persian scouts had reached the outskirts of the Mughal camp in the night between the 7th and the 8th. They had fallen upon the artillery, killed some men and taken some others captive, and finally retired to Sarai Azimabad,* 12 miles north of Karnal. The following night these captured Indians were produced before Nadir who questioned them about the Mughal army. The party at Azimabad was strengthened and warned to scout cautiously without precipitating a battle.

* Azimabad is placed in the map accompanying Thörn's *Memoir of the War* and also Lett's *Atlas* about 3 miles north of Taraori and 10 miles south of Thanesar. The *Chahar Gulshan* gives it as the stage next to Thanesar on the Dihli-Lahor road. (*India of Aurangzib*).

On the 10th Nadir resumed his march from Shahabad and reached Thanesar (13 m. south) that evening and Sarai Azimabad (10 m. further south) an hour and a half after sunrise on the 11th.

This Sarai was a big stone and brick house, in which the faujdar and chief men of Ambala had taken refuge. But as soon as the Persian artillery began to play upon it, they cried quarter. Here full information was obtained about the imperial encampment at Karnal, which was only twelve miles off. We must now turn to the doings of Muhammad Shah and his advisers. [*Jahankusha* 346-348.]

SEC. 108.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE IMPERIAL COURT DURING
NADIR'S INVASION.

The proceedings of the Dihli Court during Nadir's invasion form a tale of disgraceful inefficiency, amounting to imbecility. The news of the loss of Kabul (19th June 1738) must have reached Dihli in the first week of July, but for several months nothing was done to guard the frontiers. When Nadir crossed the Khaibar Pass (15th Nov.), his motive could no longer be mistaken, and yet for two months afterwards no energetic step was taken to meet a danger now manifest to all. True, on 2nd December 1738 the Emperor had formally given leave to his three highest nobles, Itimad-ud-daulah Qamar-ud-din Khan (the *Wazir*), Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah (the *Wakil* or Regent) and Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran (the *Amir-ul-umara* and *Bakhshi* or the head of the military department), to set out against the invader, and one *kror* of Rupees had been granted to them for their expenses. They encamped outside Dihli in the Shalimar garden near Sarai Baoli and wasted full one month there.*

The news of Nadir Shah having crossed the river at Attock must have reached Dihli on 10th January, 1739. Then the imperial army was urged to hurry on. The Court still hoped

* Hanway (ii. 360) says that Khan Dauran stopped here owing to the Nizam's jealousy and discord. The *Dihli Chronicle* says that accountants for their armies were appointed as late as 14th and 20th December,—they took things so leisurely. No doubt this month (2-31 Dec.) was Ramzan or the month of fasting. But Aurangzeb had campaigned in Ramzan.

for much from the stand to be made by Zakariya Khan whom they had refused to reinforce. But when that poor governor proved no match for the world-conqueror, the cry of treachery was raised: the Hindustani party at Court falsely accused the Khan of having disloyally surrendered Lahor fort to the Persians, as he was a man from Khurasan like Nadir himself. [Shakir.]

At the first bruit of Nadir Shah's invasion, the imperial Court had discovered its incompetence and summoned the Nizam to give it counsel. He was the last survivor of the great age of Aurangzeb, a grey-haired veteran of many fights, a man rich in the experience of life, and an expert in diplomacy. But the Nizam was not given the supreme command and dictatorial authority which such a crisis required, nor did he enjoy the confidence of his master, whose ears were possessed by Khan Dauran and the Hindustani party. This Khan Dauran had a very high opinion of Rajput valour. He caused *farmans* to be sent summoning to the Emperor's aid his own protégés the Hindu Rajahs, especially Sawai Jai Singh. But Rajputana had been hopelessly alienated since Aurangzeb's time, and Jai Singh and other chieftains were now aiming at political salvation by declaring their independence and calling in the Mahrattas to help in dissolving the Empire. The Rajahs made excuses and delayed coming. Muhammad Shah even appealed to Baji Rao, as we learn from the following letter of the Peshwa to his general Pilaji Jadon:—

"I shall march to Northern India by regular stages. The Persian sovereign Tahmasp Quli has come to conquer the world. To help Muhammad Shah I am sending the Malwa force under Malhar Rao Holkar, Ranuji Sindhia, and [Udaji] Puar. It is a glory to this monarchy [i.e., the Mahratta State] to help the Emperor of Dihli at such a time." [Raj. vi. No. 130.] But reliance on the Mahrattas, even if seriously contemplated, proved like leaning on a broken reed. No Dakhini force came to the Emperor's assistance at Karnal, or even in time to defend Dihli after the imperial defeat in the field. On the contrary, the Mahratta envoy in the Emperor's camp at Karnal was glad to make his escape by jungle paths on 25th February and seek safety by retreating as far south as Jaipur. Baji Rao himself,

in his next letter, is found contemplating the defence of the Narmada line to bar the southward advance of Nadir. A Mahratta defence of Northern India was not to be thought of.

The imperial forces passed the month of Ramzan [December 1738] outside Dihli in utter idleness. Then came the news of the Persians having crossed at Attock. So, at last, on 10th January 1739, the three nobles began to march towards Lahor, after urging the Emperor with one breath and extreme emphasis that he should join the army in person. On the 18th they reached Panipat, 55 miles north of Dihli.

On that day (18th January), Muhammad Shah himself issued from Dihli, and on the 27th he reached Panipat, where his generals had been halting for nine days in expectation of his coming! Nadir's capture of Lahor had already been learnt by the Court, and it was found too late to save that city. So, it was decided to encamp and wait for the enemy at Karnal, where there was an abundance of water from Ali Mardan's canal and the extensive plain around supplied opportunities for manœuvring large bodies of cavalry. A halt was also necessary to enable Saadat Khan, the governor of Oudh, to join with his 30,000 horsemen. Reinforcements were also expected from Rajputana.

The Emperor's advisers, particularly the Nizam, therefore, decided to entrench at Karnal instead of risking a battle. Under the direction of Sad-ud-din Khan, Mir Atash, the camp was enclosed with a mud-wall many miles in circuit. Along this line the guns were ranged side by side; soldiers were posted in the trenches to keep watch day and night. [Anandram, 25; Shakir 40; *Chronicle*; *Siyar*, i. 96; *Bayan* 32, *Jauhar-i-samsam* in Elliot viii. 74.]

SEC. 109.—THE RIVAL FORCES AT KARNAL; THE IMPERIAL
ENCAMPMENT.

The Persian army at Karnal is estimated by Rustam Ali at 55,000 horse. This number is nearest the truth. We know from Mirza Mahdi's history that Nadir Shah had started from Persia with 80,000 troops, and though he had enlisted Afghans on the way and possibly also received drafts from home, he had

to detach large forces to garrison the many conquered forts and guard the long line of communication in his rear, as well as to escort his eldest son on his return to Persia. Hanway says that Nadir reached Tilawri (*i.e.*, Taraori near Azimabad) with 40,000 men; this was, clearly, exclusive of his vanguard and Rear. The entire Persian camp contained 160,000 souls, of whom one-third were servants, but these were all mounted and some of them completely armed, so that they could take part in plunder and the defence of their baggage. There were also more than 6,000 women, dressed with great coats (*barani*) of crimson cloth, like the men, and not to be distinguished from the latter at a distance. [Hanway, ii. 367.]

The imperial army is put by Nadir's secretary at three hundred thousand 'renowned soldiers',* 2000 fighting elephants and 3000 pieces of artillery. Rustam Ali's figures are two hundred thousand horse, innumerable foot, 1500 elephants and many guns. [Elliot, viii. 60.] The numbers are still further exaggerated by the later Lakhnau historian Ghulam Ali, who gives five hundred thousand horse and foot, 8000 pieces of artillery of all calibres, and 11,000 tents. [*Imad* 24.] Anandram who was a secretary to the Wazir and accompanied the army to Panipat, puts the number as 50,000 horsemen besides the personal contingents of the three nobles. We know that the Nizam had brought with himself only 3000 men. So, the total Indian fighting force at Karnal could not have exceeded 75,000 men.

But the number of non-combatants with it was excessive. Even at the end of the 18th century a modern European army operating in the same area carried nine non-combatants to one fighter. Lord Lake's camp contained three hundred thousand souls, out of whom only 30,000 were soldiers. As the Emperor himself with his harem and the luxurious *grandeess* with their families were present, we shall not be wrong in estimating the population in the camp at Karnal at a million men.

The circuit of the Indian camp is said by one authority to

* So many could not have been all 'renowned'! Hanway gives "nearly two hundred thousand, the great part of which was cavalry."

have been twelve miles. [Hanway, ii. 364.] But such an enormous length of wall could not be adequately defended against an active enemy with a very mobile cavalry and light artillery carried on camels. The result was that the Indian army from the very outset lost its mobility and aggressive power, and became helplessly beleaguered like the Mahratta army of Sadashiv Bhao in the town of Panipat 22 years later.

The wrong strategy of the Emperor became evident as soon as the enemy came into touch and made the neighbourhood unsafe for small parties. The Indian army, owing to its vast number,—a million souls, besides animals,—could scarcely find space to encamp on. The Persian horsemen made attacks from all sides, and carried off corn grass and fuel, so that the price of grain rose enormously in the camp.* [Rustam Ali.] Within four days of the battle of Karnal this huge mass of men had eaten up all their store of food, and then after five days of fasting the entire army surrendered.

SEC. 110.—NADIR COMES INTO TOUCH WITH THE INDIAN ARMY AT KARNAL, 12TH FEBRUARY.

The city of Karnal lies on the ancient highway from Dihli to Lahor, about 75 miles north of the Mughal capital, 20 miles north of Panipat, and nine miles south of Taraori, where so many historic battles for deciding the lordship of Northern India have been fought. Even Kurukshetra, the scene of the mythical warfare between the Pandavas and Kauravas, is only 22 miles north of it. Hence it was in the natural fitness of things that the decisive encounter between India and Persia took place at Karnal.

The canal of Ali Mardan Khan skirts the eastern side of

* Ali Hazin, then at Dihli, says the same thing: "The Indians having gathered their artillery around, were closely hemmed in by their own field-pieces, and as a division of the Qizilbashes had also formed a ring on every side of them, all intercourse with the outside was closed to them, and dearth and famine fell on that army.....Muhammad Shah and his innumerable multitude, finding the Qizilbash cavalry spread around them on all sides, were afraid to stir, and although they saw themselves unable to maintain their position, they remained on the spot."

the town. Between this canal and the river Jamuna east of it, there is a plain five to seven miles in breadth, fit for cavalry manœuvres on a large scale. Muhammad Shah had formed his entrenched camp along the western bank of the canal, with the walled town of Karnal immediately south of him. Sarai Azimabad, the last station of the invaders, stands 12 miles north of Karnal and some ten miles west of the canal. The first eight miles of the ground between Azimabad and Karnal were then covered with a dense jungle* with a single narrow path crossing it. The four miles immediately north of Karnal were a level plain free from jungles. Muhammad Shah's front and right were, therefore, naturally protected by the jungle and the canal respectively. The disposition of the Indian army was—the Nizam in the Van facing the north or slightly north-west with artillery on two sides of him, the Wazir in the left or west, the Emperor in the centre, and Khan Dauran in the right or east. [*Jahankusha* 346, 348; Hanway, ii. 364.]

Nadir Shah had arrived at Sarai Azimabad early in the morning of Sunday, 11th February, 1739. A force of 6,000 horsemen, composed of the best troops of Kurdistan, led by Haji Khan, divided into two bodies, had previously reconnoitred the country along both banks of the canal up to the very edge of the imperial camp. These scouts now reported on the state of the ground and produced prisoners captured outside the Mughal lines.

Learning the exact dispositions of the imperial army and the condition of the ground in its environs, Nadir Shah decided to avoid a frontal attack and make a wide detour along the east of Karnal, so as to keep touch with the Jamuna and its abundant water supply on his left flank and also to cut the Mughal line of communication with Dihli by seizing the town of Panipat in the rear. His strategy was intended to force Muhammad Shah to come out of his lines and accept battle on

* This jungle continued till the early years of the 19th century. Thorn (*Memoir of the War*, p. 480) writes in 1805 about the tract from Dihli to Sonapat, "The whole of this country, which was formerly fertilized by a canal dug by Ali Mardan Khan, is now overgrown with jungle, and is generally in a very desolate state."

a field chosen by Nadir or to remain helplessly shut up in Karnal while the Persians would march to Dihli unmolested. [*Jahankusha*, 348.] This plan succeeded admirably and much sooner than was expected.

Before sunrise on Monday 12th February, the Persian army marched out of Sarai Azimabad, crossed the canal some nine miles east of that town, and encamped on a level plain six miles north-east of Karnal, evidently a little north of Kunjpura and within sight of the Jamuna. While the main division halted here, Nadir with a small escort galloped to the neighbourhood of Muhammad Shah's position which was indicated by his standards and flags and the concentration of artillery round it. After reconnoitring the enemy's numbers and dispositions, he returned to his own tents.

In the evening a report was brought to him that Saadat Khan, who was coming from Oudh to the aid of the Emperor with 30,000 cavalry artillery and stores, had reached Panipat. Immediately a division of the Persian army was told off to intercept him. A second and very strong division was detached that very night to threaten the eastern flank of the Mughal camp, though small bodies of skirmishers had been already hovering round it at a mile's distance, cutting off stragglers. [*Jahankusha* 349.]

SEC. III.—KARNAL : INDIANS ISSUE FOR COMBAT.

The fatal Tuesday, the 13th of February, 1739, dawned. The Persian army advanced from its position in three divisions along the plain between the canal and the Jamuna, a belt nearly five miles in breadth. Prince Nasr-ullah, in charge of the Centre, was ordered to march from the bank of the Jamuna* and take post north of Muhammad Shah's camp, facing the Nizam's division. Nadir Shah himself, at the head of the vanguard, first arrived opposite the Indian position on the canal, but learning on the way that Saadat Khan had joined the Emperor at midnight, he swerved aside to his left and pitched his camp on

* Mirza Mahdi says "from the northern side of the river Jamuna," which implies that the Prince's division had been thrown across the river the day before, in order to protect Nadir's left flank. Not likely.

a spacious field, three miles east of the enemy and a mile or two west of the Jamuna. Here his son joined him with the Centre. In these movements the forenoon was passed, and the sun had begun to decline from the meridian, when suddenly the Indians were seen coming out of their lines to offer battle.

To understand how this happened it is necessary for us to know the events in the imperial camp. On receiving his master's appeal for aid, Saadat Khan had left his province of Oudh at the head of 20,000 horse, artillery and materials of war, and made successive marches for one month to reach Karnal. He had arrived at Dihli on 7th February and halted there for one day only. The 55 miles between Dihli and Panipat were covered in three days, and then on the 4th day, the 12th of February, he made a supreme effort and passed the remaining 20 miles, reaching Karnal at midnight with the main part of his army, while his camp and baggage slowly straggled behind, in a long line insufficiently guarded, one day's march behind, as was the usual thing with Indian armies.

We have seen that on the 12th the Persian scouts had advanced 32 miles from their own camp and secured news of Saadat Khan's position at Panipat. But the intelligence department of the Indian army seems to have been hopelessly careless or inefficient. Saadat Khan had not found out the enemy's whereabouts, nor taken care to protect his baggage train against a possible attack. The Emperor himself at Karnal had been equally careless. As Ghulam Husain writes, "None in the imperial camp knew of the near arrival of Nadir from Lahor, till one day some men of the corn-dealers (*banjaras*) who had gone six or eight miles outside to bring in fodder, came back wounded and panic-stricken after a sudden encounter with the Persian scouts, and the cry ran through the encampment 'Nadir has come! Nadir has come!' A mortal fear seized the army and the longing for Saadat Khan's arrival became keener." [i. 96.]

About midnight, 12th February, Saadat Khan arrived near Karnal. He was welcomed a mile in advance by Khan Dauran and conducted within the lines. In the morning he

waited on the Emperor. After the usual courtesies had been exchanged a council of war was held in the imperial presence and plans of operations were being discussed, when news arrived that the Persian advanced skirmishers had fallen upon Saadat Khan's baggage and were carrying off 500 loaded camels. [Harcharan.]

The Khan immediately took up his sword which he had laid down on the carpet before the Emperor, and asked for permission to depart and fight the Persians.* The Nizam counselled delay, urging that the Oudh soldiers were worn out by one month's incessant marching and required some days' rest to become fit again. Moreover, the sun had already begun to decline, and they would have only three hours of daylight left for fighting after reaching the field. Khan Dauran also pointed out that as the imperial troops had not been previously warned to be ready to fight that day, they would take a long time to assemble arm and form line of battle. It was (the two nobles urged) therefore better to fight the next day, when they would be able to advance in proper array with artillery and full preparations and to follow their accustomed tactics. One courtier even told Saadat Khan that 500 camels were nothing to a man like him, and that if he could defeat Nadir Shah,—as they hoped to do easily by a pitched battle the next day,—the entire Persian royal camp and its wealth would be their prey.

But he would not listen to this advice and insisted on going out to the rescue of his camp-followers. Sending out some heralds to proclaim in his camp that all his soldiers should

* Harcharan says that the Emperor distrusted Saadat Khan for being a native of Persia and made him swear fidelity on the *Quran* in his presence. *Siyar* asserts that Saadat had taken leave of the Emperor and was waiting for his baggage in the quarters assigned to him (behind those of Khan Dauran) when he learnt of the attack. But Shakir Kh. (then in the camp) Abdul Karim and Harcharan say that he heard the report in the Emperor's darbar. The *Dihli Chronicle* says that the Emperor ordered Saadat to go out and attack the Persians. Anandram says that the Emperor overruled Khan Dauran's objection to fighting on that day. All other authorities hold that the Emperor agreed with the Nizam to defer the action till next day.

assemble and follow him, he hastened to the point of attack with only his escort and the troops within call, amounting to a thousand horse and a few hundred foot, but without any artillery. The Indian cavalryman's employment depended upon the life of his horse, which was his own property, and therefore he was most reluctant to risk it or fatigue it too much. After a month of fast riding, they refused to stir out that day, saying that as their master had gone to visit the Emperor he could not possibly have issued for battle. Still, nearly 4000 cavalry and 1000 infantry joined him in the end. [*Bayan* 34, *Anandram* 27.]

As Saadat Khan came to the field, the Persian skirmishers pretended flight; he gave them chase and was thus lured away to a distance of two miles from his camp. He sent off couriers to the Emperor begging for reinforcements to complete the victory. Muhammad Shah took counsel of the Nizam, who replied that as the fight was in the east of the imperial camp, Khan Dauran who commanded the division nearest to that point, *viz.*, the Right Wing, should go. Khan Dauran obeyed the order* and issued forth on an elephant without waiting to assemble his full contingent or drag out his artillery. As he was very popular with the soldiers, many of them, on hearing of his having issued to battle, armed and joined him of their own accord in successive drafts, till at last he had some 8,000 horse round him.

Later in the afternoon, the Emperor himself marched out of his tents with the Wazir and stood with marshalled ranks by the side of the canal, but more as a distant spectator of the battle than as a participator in it. The delay in the starting of the different divisions, the absence of a common pre-arranged plan of battle and the lack of one supreme director of operations on the Indian side, led to their three divisions being separated from one another by more than a mile's interval. Saadat Khan formed the Right Wing which was in the extreme east and near the Jamuna, Khan Dauran's division now became the

* Immediately (according to *Bayan*), or after some grumbling, according to *Anandram*.

Centre and stood in the middle of the plain, while the Wazir and the Emperor formed the Left Wing bordering on the canal. Gradually, by the end of the day, when the successive groups of imperialists had marched up to the field, they formed a vast concourse of men, filling the wide plain from their own camp to the place of conflict, with two intervals as described above. The Left Wing (under the Emperor) had dragged out field artillery from behind the shelter of the trenches and had also pitched small tents in the plain for its chiefs ; it did not however, engage the enemy at all.

But this army was a mob ; it lacked cohesion ; it had no animating soul, no unity of command nor indeed any leading at all. The main portion of it stood stock-still, far away from the point of impact, without contributing anything to the struggle, and their vast number only caused a vaster butchery during the retreat. The extremely mobile enemy, led by the greatest living general in Asia, struck the Indian host or evaded it as they found most advantageous to them. Nadir Shah's genius neutralized the superiority in numbers and the desperate valour of many of the Indian soldiers.

SEC. 112.—BATTLE OF KARNAL, 13TH FEBRUARY.

When, a little after midday, Saadat Khan's army was seen to come forth to the plain, news of it was at once carried to Nadir. He was highly elated to hear of it. He had been wishing for such a day, as his Court historian remarks, and it had come unexpectedly soon. The Indian army had been drawn out of its strongly entrenched position, and at last a battle of manœuvres was possible in which the Persian general could show his genius.

Nadir's arrangements were swiftly made, so as not to let the enemy escape through night-fall before his work of destruction was fully done. He left a division to guard his camp ; his Centre was placed in charge of his son Nasr-ullah with many noted warriors and a powerful artillery. The vanguard was under his own command. Three thousand of his best troops were formed into three different bodies and placed in ambush. Two small bodies, each consisting of 500 swift horse-

men, were sent against Saadat Khan and Khan Dauran in order to draw them further into the field.* Nadir himself, clad in full armour and wearing an ornamented helmet, mounted a fleet horse and marched into the fight with one thousand picked Turkish horsemen of his own clan (the Afshar), to direct the battle. The Persian army was entirely composed of cavalry, and their artillery consisted of *jazair*, i.e., long muskets or swivel-guns, seven or eight feet in length with a prong to rest on. In addition there were *zamburaks* or long swivels firing one or two pound balls; "each of these pieces, with its stock, was mounted on a camel, which lay down at command; and from the backs of these animals, trained to this exercise, they charged and fired these guns." [*Jahankusha* 351; Hanway, ii. 368, 153.]

In order to baffle the elephants, on which the Indians mostly relied for effect, he caused a number of platforms to be made and fixed each across two camels. On these platforms he laid naphtha and a mixture of combustibles with orders to set them on fire during the battle. The elephants were sure to flee away at the sight of the quickly approaching fire and put the Indian army behind them in disorder. [Hanway, ii. 369.]

The Persian skirmishers had effectively screened their main position where Nadir had stationed 3000 of his best troops, dismounted his swivels and ranged them along the front with their barrels resting on prongs.

The battle began a little after one o'clock in the afternoon, with a discharge of arrows on both sides. The Persian scouts pretended flight, turning back in their saddles and discharging their bows and muskets while galloping, in the manner of their Parthian ancestors. Saadat Khan gave chase and was thus drawn to the ambush three or four miles east of the imperial camp and the support of its artillery. Suddenly the cavalry

* *Bayan* differs: "Nadir's Right Wing was placed under Tahmasp Quli Jalair, Left under Fath Ali and Lutf Ali Afshar, Centre under Nasr-ullah, and the vanguard, consisting of 4,000 cavalry carrying *jazair*, under himself."

screen drew aside in front and Saadat Khan's army was assailed by the discharge of many hundred swivel-guns at point-blank range. [Harcharan.] The bravest of his troopers who rode foremost fell. After standing this murderous fire for a short while, the Indian vanguard fled. [Anandram.] But Saadat Khan maintained his ground for some time longer, amidst a band of devoted followers, who fought to the death. But early in the evening he was forced out of the field, and the fight in the extreme Right of the Mughal army ceased.

The same fate overtook Khan Dauran's division in another part of the field (the Centre), though he made a longer stand. The rapid fire of the Persian swivel-guns carried death into his ranks, without a chance of reply. The masterly tactics of Nadir, aided by the recklessness and utter want of generalship of the Indian chiefs, had separated the three divisions of the imperial army from one another by more than a mile's interval, so that the soldiers of each division merely heard the sound of firing in the other parts of the field, but could learn nothing of the plight of their brethren, much less hasten to their aid. Khan Dauran could not co-operate with his friend Saadat Khan, however much he wished it. The Nizam, though the ablest general on the Indian side, was absolutely inert throughout the day and gave no help to Khan Dauran or Saadat Khan, probably because he hoped (as Abdul Karim suggests) to take the places of these rivals at Court if they perished. The Emperor was imbecile and stood like a wooden figure in the extreme Left. At the points of contact the Indians had a numerical inferiority and were far away from the aid of their heavy artillery. Their generals mounted on tall elephants became targets for the enemy's fire, while the nimble Persian horsemen hovered round beyond the reach of the weapons of the Indians.

The murderous fire of Nadir's gunners continued for two hours. The Indians fought bravely, but gave up their lives as a vain sacrifice, because (in the words of Abdul Karim) "arrows cannot answer bullets." When the situation became absolutely hopeless and most of their officers had fallen, about 1000 of the bravest soldiers of Khan Dauran dismounted and,

in the Indian fashion, tying the skirts of their long coats together fought on foot till they all died. [*Bayan.*] Khan Dauran himself had been mortally wounded in the face and fallen down unconscious on his *howda*. But a party of devoted retainers, under his steward Majlis Rai, surrounded his elephant and by desperate fighting brought him back to the camp, near sunset, but only to die. [*Anandram.*]

SEC. 113.—DEFEAT AND CASUALTIES OF THE INDIANS.

Saadat Khan had been suffering for the last three months from a wound in the leg which prevented him from riding or walking, and he used to be carried about in a chair or on an elephant. Though he had received two wounds in this battle, he could have retired in safety but for an accident. His elephant was charged by the infuriated elephant of his nephew Nisar Muhammad Khan Sher Jang and driven into the Persian ranks, though his men stabbed it with sword and dagger to make it stop. Surrounded by enemies, Saadat Khan continued to shoot arrows from his seat, to resist capture, when a young Persian soldier of his native city of Naishabur boldly galloped up to his elephant, and addressing him by his familiar name, cried out, "Muhammad Amin! Are you mad? Whom are you fighting? On whom are you still relying?" Then driving his spear into the ground, and throwing the reins of his horse round it, he climbed up to Saadat Khan's *howda* by the rope hanging down from it. The Khan now surrendered and was taken to Nadir's camp. [*Siyar*, i. 97.]

At the disappearance of these two leaders, the Indian army melted away, pursued by the Persian horsemen with heavy slaughter. The Emperor with his other nobles stood in battle order by the side of the canal (in the extreme west of the field) expecting an attack. But Nadir Shah kept his men back from assaulting such a strongly fortified position and its heavy artillery; he had a surer and easier means of compelling the Emperor's submission. At sunset, Muhammad Shah retired to his camp, after having all that day done absolutely

nothing to save his throne and his people.* The battle was over in less than three hours: it had commenced at the time of the *zuhar* prayer and ended at the *asar* prayer. [*Jahankusha* 351.]

The slaughter in the Indian army was terrible. Nadir's Court historian gives the exaggerated figures of 100 chiefs and 30,000 common soldiers slain and a vast number taken prisoner. [*Jahankusha*, 353.] Hanway shortly afterwards heard in Persia of 17,000 Indians having been killed. Harcharan-das gives 20,000 and the Mahratta envoy in the imperial camp 10 to 12 thousand men in one account and seven to eight thousand in a later report. [*Brahmendra* S. C. No. 41.] Rustam Ali says that Khan Dauran alone lost 5,000 men, to which we must add at least 3000 for Saadat Khan's division, making a total of 8000 slain.

Among the officers slain were Muzaffar Khan (a younger brother of Khan Dauran), three sons of Khan Dauran (Ali Hamid, Muhataram and another), Aslih Khan (the commander of the Emperor's bodyguard), Ali Ahmad Khan,† Shahdad Afghan, Yadgar Hasan Khan (Koka), Ashraf Khan, Itibar Khan, Aqil Beg Kambalposh ("Blanket-wearer"), Mir Kalu (son of Mir Mushrif) and Ratan Chand (son of the historian Khush-hal Chand, who was office-assistant to the imperial Paymaster). Saadat Khan and his nephew Sher Jang, as well as Khwaja Ashura (a son of Khan Dauran) were captured alive.

The loss on the Persian side was 2500 slain and twice as many wounded, according to Hanway, who estimates the Indian casualties in slain as seven times the number of the Persians killed. This relative proportion seems to me to be nearest the truth, though the figures for both sides are exaggerated.‡

* I reject the absurd story told in *Bayan* p. 41. Hanway (ii. 369) says that in the night following the battle the Indian camp was so very thin that from the Emperor's own quarters to those of the Nizam, which was nearly two miles off, hardly any people were found.

† So called by Mahdi and *Bayan*, but spelt as Hamid Ali in *Anandram* and the *Chronicle*. *Bayan* and *Anandram* call him Koka.

‡ The bed-ridden invalid Ali Hazin, who is eternally cursing India,

The gains of the victor were immense. Of the elephants, field treasury, guns, baggage and stores of all kinds taken outside the entrenchment, nothing escaped. The booty was beyond count. As soon as Saadat Khan and Khan Dauran were seen to leave the field, their camps were plundered *by their own followers* and the miscellaneous rabble that accompanied Mughal armies. In a twinkling no trace of these two nobles' vast encampments, not even a tent, was left on their sites. [Shakir, *Siyar* i. 96.] When the half-dead body of Khan Dauran was brought back, his servants had to borrow a small poleless tent from elsewhere to shelter his head in.

A great terror befell the Indian army. All night long the remaining soldiers stood on guard along the camp enclosure, armed and with their horses saddled, ready to meet the enemy's attack. [Shakir; *Chronicle*.]

SEC. 114.—CAUSES OF THE INDIAN DEFEAT AT KARNAL.

The defeat of the Indians at Karnal was due as much to their being outclassed in their weapons of war and method of fighting, as to their bad generalship.

Nadir was not really a Persian, but a Turk of a tribe settled on the Persian soil for centuries past. His soldiers were Turks and other nomads (like the Kurds), and not Persians proper. He conversed with Muhammad Shah in Turkish. [Harcharan.] Indeed, the Persians themselves designated his army accurately by calling them *Qizil-bashes* or Red Caps,* from the scarlet broad-cloth caps worn by them,—the very caps which we see to-day on the heads of the Turks and their imitators in Egypt and India. The true Persians are an Aryan people, with a strong Semitic strain infused into them after the Muslim conquest, but they have little Turanian or Turkish racial admixture. Their language is not akin to Turkish, their manners are different from those of the Turks, and their

its climate and people, says that the Persians lost only 3 killed and 20 wounded! *Siyar* and Ghulam Ali blindly copy these figures.

* "The battle-field became a bed of poppies from the crowd of *Qizilbash* troops, all of whom wore Turk-like [?] caps of red *sarlat*." [Anandram, 29.]

religion is the opposite of that Sunnism of which Turkey and the Turks are the orthodox champions. The Persians proper (the same race as the Parsis now settled in India) are very intelligent, refined, proud, and possessed of a delicate sense of humour, but no soldiers. Nadir's troops, the Qizilbashs, were men of the same race and same method of warfare as the so-called Pathan and Mughal conquerors of India, namely Turks and Turkomans from Central Asia, capable of making long and rapid rides and bearing every privation on the way.

In addition to this, Nadir's army contained a large proportion of men equipped with fire-arms, several thousands of *jazair-chis* or swivel-gunners. Their discipline was strict and their fire control was of the European type. They used to reserve their fire till the word of command and then deliver a volley. The effect on their enemy was as disconcerting as it was deadly. At Karnal, the Persian swivel-guns were planted in rows on the ground and kept ready for the Indians, who were lured there by the skirmishers, and then their rapid fire completely overthrew the enemy without giving them a chance to retaliate.

The Indian cavalry prided itself on its swordsmanship and cultivated sword-play and fancy riding, as if war were a theatrical show. They fought with the sword only and felt a contempt for missile weapons and those who used them. In describing the battles with the Persians for the possession of Qandahar in the middle of the 17th century, the Dihli Court historian sneers at the Persian troopers for declining sword-combats with the cavaliers of Hindustan. He taunts the Persians with cowardice pretty nearly in the same tone as the English writers employed during the last war in speaking of the German soldiers, who did not stand up to receive the bayonet charges of the British infantry.

The Indian Musalman and Rajput soldiers were very inefficient in the use of fire-arms. The only musketeers of any value in the Mughal army in the 17th century were the Hindus of Buxar, the Bundelas, the Karnatakis (of whom there were many in the service of the Bijapur Sultans, but none under the Later Mughals), and a small class of hunters called *Bahelias*.

usually recruited in the Allahabad province. The immense majority of the Indian soldiers did not fight with muskets, nor did they, as a rule, carry into the field portable light artillery of the *jazair* class in large numbers. The Indian ordnances were heavy cumbersome and of a more antiquated type than those of Persia and Turkey, and therefore the fire delivered by them was usually slow and inaccurate enough to be neglected. The Indian soldiers were trained to stake everything on the shock charge of heavy cavalry and hand to hand grapple. They had little mobility. Not so the Qizilbashs in the Persian service. Like their fellow-Turanians in Trans-oxiana or in the armies of the Usmanli Sultans of Constantinople, they formed the best cavalry in Asia,—hardy and fast horsemen, mounted on the fleetest and strongest breed of horses, and trained to the saddle from their childhood, as became a nomad race. They were also capital archers, accustomed to shoot from the saddle and fight while fleeing. They had a decisive advantage over the Indians, as men fighting with missiles have over those who can employ side-arms only.

The superior mobility of Nadir's soldiers enabled them to assume the offensive from the very beginning. They outmanœuvred the Indians and drove them to the place most advantageous to the attacking party; they fought or deferred engagement as it suited them.

The Indians' crowning folly was the employment of elephants in this modern age of muskets and comparatively long-range artillery carried on camels. Elephants had failed against mobile cavalry using missiles in the almost pre-historic times of Alexander the Great when fire-arms were unknown, and more recently against Babar's horsemen with their few slow and primitive guns. They were a sure engine of self-destruction when ranged against Nadir Shah in the year 1739.

SEC. 115.—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE WITH NADIR SHAH.

When Nadir Shah returned to his camp from the battlefield Saadat Khan was brought before him, after the *isha* prayer (8 p.m.) The king spoke contemptuously of the Indian army as a 'host of beggars' and remarked of their general Khan

Dauran that he knew how to die but not how to fight. [*Imad.*] He then inquired about the resources and intentions of the Emperor. Saadat Khan diplomatically replied "The Emperor's resources are vast. Only one of his nobles came out to fight to-day and has gone back on being accidentally wounded by a shot. But there are many other *amirs* and brave Rajahs with countless hosts still left." Nadir Shah remarked, "You are my fellow-countryman and fellow-believer. Advise me how I can get a ransom from your Emperor and go home to fight the Sultan of Turkey." Saadat Khan then advised him to summon the Nizam who was "the Key of the State of India" and settle peace terms through him.* Next day, 14th February, Nadir Shah sent a man with the *Quran* to Muhammad Shah to take an oath on it as to his good faith, and call the Nizam. Saadat Khan also wrote to the Emperor, advising him to send the Nizam and make peace.

The Nizam was now the last of the great nobles at the side of the Emperor, and the latter was naturally alarmed at the thought of sending him away. He asked, "If any treachery is done to you, what steps should we take?" The Nizam replied, "The *Quran* is between us. If there is treachery, God will answer for it. Then your Majesty should retreat to Mandu or some other strong fort, summon Nasir Jang from the Dakhin with a strong force, and fight the Persians."

The Nizam then left for the Persian camp with full powers to negotiate. Nadir received him well and complained, "It is surprising that while there are nobles like you on the Emperor's side, the naked Mahrattas can march up to the walls of Dihli and take ransom from him!" The Nizam replied, "Since new nobles rose to influence. His Majesty did whatever he liked. My advice was not acceptable to him. Therefore, in helplessness I left him and retired to the Dakhin."

The reply pleased Nadir. Turning to the subject of peace, he complained of the unfriendly indifference of the Dihli Govern-

* This history of the negotiations is mainly based upon Harcharan-das (who is supported by Rustam Ali, Elliot viii. 62), with some useful points from the *Chronicle*, Mahratti letters, Anandram 35-36; *Jahanqusha* 354, *Siyar* 97-98, *Bayan* 43-44.

ment during his struggles with his enemies, though the former sovereigns of Persia had often helped the Emperor's forefathers. The Nizam explained it by saying, "Since the death of Farrukhsiyar, the affairs of this Government have gone to rack and ruin owing to quarrels among the nobles, and therefore the ministers did not attend to Your Majesty's letters."

After a long discussion, it was agreed that the Persian army would go back from that place on being promised a war indemnity of 50 lakhs* of Rupees, out of which 20 lakhs were to be paid then and there, 10 lakhs on reaching Lahor, ten lakhs at Attock, and the remaining ten lakhs at Kabul. After making this settlement the Nizam took his leave. Nadir sent with him an invitation to the Emperor to dine with him the next day.

On Thursday, 15th February,† Muhammad Shah accompanied by all his nobles started for the Persian camp, the Nizam instructing him that he would have to converse with Nadir in the Turkish language. The Persian Wazir met the party on the way and vowed on the *Quran* that no treachery would be done to them. Outside the Persian encampment Prince Nasrullah welcomed the guest on behalf of his father. On their arrival, Nadir advanced to outside his tent, took Muhammad Shah graciously by the hand and leading him within seated him on the royal carpet by his own side. The Nizam, the Wazir and Muhammad Ishaq Khan were permitted to go inside, all others remained outside the tent.

As the two sovereigns were talking together, Ishaq Khan (Mutaman-ud-daulah) joined in the conversation. Nadir Shah in anger asked who the man was that had ventured to mingle his speech with that of kings. Muhammad Shah then introduced him as the tutor (*ataliq*) of his childhood. The Persian king put questions to Ishaq Khan and was so much pleased with his ready and intelligent answers that he pronounced him fit to be the Wazir of India. [Harcharan.]

* The *Siyar* (97) puts the figure at 2 kror. Not true.

† The *Dihli Chronicle* gives the date as 18th February, which is contradicted by Mahdi Harcharan and all other authorities.

The party then sat down to dinner. The Persian conqueror proudly remarked, "My practice is open war and not treacherous assassination," and then, in order to assure Muhammad Shah that his food was not poisoned, he exchanged his own dishes with those of the Emperor just as they were about to begin eating. [Harcharan.] As an act of courtesy, Nadir Shah himself handed the cup of coffee to the Emperor. The meeting ended happily, and about three hours before sunset Muhammad Shah took leave of his host and returned to his own camp. Here his family and servants, and indeed the whole camp, had been passing the hours of his absence in the greatest fear and anxiety, expecting his murder or at least captivity at the hands of Nadir. His safe return now, in the words of the historian, "restored to them the hearts which had left their bodies." [Anandram ; *Bayan*.] But the Persian investment of the Indian camp continued. [*Jahan*.]

Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, the head of the army (*Amir-ul-umara* and *Bakhshi-ul-mamalik*) died on the 15th. The story goes that when in the evening of the fatal 13th of February his senseless body was brought back to the site of his plundered camp, the Nizam, the Wazir and the Emperor's eunuchs came to inquire after his condition and offer condolences and prayers. Khan Dauran came to his senses for a while, opened his eyes and whispered in a very weak voice, "I have myself finished my own business. Now you know and your work knows. Never take the Emperor to Nadir, nor conduct Nadir to Dihli, but send away that evil from this point by any means that you can devise." [*Siyar*.] He then relapsed into unconsciousness and died after less than two days.*

The Emperor, on returning from his first visit to Nadir

* Anandram definitely asserts that he survived only one day after the battle. Mirza Mahdi says (p. 352) that he died the day after the battle, and M. U. (i. 819) supports this. Ghulam Ali (p. 25) makes him linger not more than one night. The Mahratta envoy's letter places his death 2 or 3 days after the battle. Harcharan-das makes the Emperor learn of his death four *gharis* after nightfall on the 15th. *Bayan* has the 3rd day after the battle. The *Dihli Chronicle*, however, gives 17th February as the date of his death, and the *Siyar* repeats it.

Shah. heard of the death of Khan Dauran. The Nizam immediately afterwards came to him and induced him to confer the deceased noble's office of Paymaster on his own son Firuz Jang, as a reward for his diplomatic success in turning Nadir Shah back [*Siyar.*] At this, Azim-ullah Khan, the son of the Wazir's brother, was filled with despair and envy and immediately started for the Persian camp with his own retainers to join Nadir, saying "I am older than Firuz Jang. Why has the Bakhshi's post been conferred on Firuz Jang, while I am available?"

The Nizam and the Wazir hastened after him and brought him back from the way. As the Nizam was older than Azim-ullah, he assumed the office of Bakhshi himself, and thus Azim-ullah was silenced. A truce was thus patched up at Court. But when Saadat Khan in the Persian camp heard of the Nizam's appointment as Bakhshi, the fire of his jealousy blazed forth, as he had long coveted this post and the Nizam had promised to help him in getting it. He now set to wreak vengeance on his successful rival and his ungrateful master. At his next audience with Nadir Shah, Saadat Khan told him how unwise he was in being satisfied with an indemnity of 50 lakhs, because if the conqueror went to Dihli 20 kros in cash and jewels and other valuable articles beyond estimate would be easily secured. "At present," Saadat Khan pointed out, "the imperial Court has no noble of eminence except the Nizam, who is a cheat and a philosopher. If this deceiver is entrapped, everything would happen as Your Majesty desired. If you order me, I shall call my troops and property from the imperial camp and place them in your camp." Nadir Shah agreed and it was done. [Harcharan.]

This plot took some time to mature. In the meanwhile the Nizam had paid a second visit to the Persian king on the 18th and the Persian Wazir had been feasted in the Nizam's tent the day after. [*Chron.*] Evidently these meetings were held for hastening the collection of the indemnity first agreed upon.

SEC. 116.—NADIR IMPRISONS THE EMPEROR AND NOBLES.

Nadir bided his time for striking his treacherous blow. His sure ally was famine. The agreement had been made on the 14th and verbally confirmed by the Emperor on the 15th; but as the money was not paid the investment of the imperial camp had continued [*Jahan*. 354]. The condition of the vast population within this huge enclosure was most sad, as we can see vividly in the letter of the Mahratta envoy who was present there: "Five or six days passed and then no food could be had in the camp. Grain could not be procured even at six or seven Rupees* the *seer*. The country was a desert, nothing could be had [from the neighbouring villages]. For five days the men went without food." As early as the 19th, or only six days after the battle, the supply of *ghee* had become entirely exhausted in the camp. [*Chronicle*.]

But there was no escape. The Qizilbash cavalry patrolled the road to Dihli and cut down or carried into slavery all who left the Indian camp. The few who slipped through the cordon of the enemy's cavalry were murdered or robbed of their all by the peasantry on the way. [*Ali Hazin*.]

When famine and despair had thus seized the Mughal camp in their grip, Nadir Shah summoned the Nizam to discuss certain matters which had yet to be settled.

On Thursday, 22nd February, the Nizam in full reliance on the treaty made a week earlier and without any apprehension, went to the Persian camp, in response to Nadir's letter. When he reached Nadir Shah's ante-room, he was detained there. Nadir sent him a message demanding 20 khrs of Rupees as indemnity and 20,000 troopers to serve under the Persian banners as auxiliaries. Asaf Jah was thunder-struck. He pleaded for abatement, saying, "From the foundation of the Chaghtai dynasty up to now, 20 khrs of Rupees had never been amassed in the imperial treasury. Shah Jahan, with all his efforts, had accumulated only 16 khrs; but the whole of it had been spent by Aurangzeb in his long wars in the Dakhin. At present even 50 lakhs are not left in the Treasury."

* Anandram, however, says that the price of flour reached Rs. 4 a *seer*.

Nadir replied in anger, "These false words will not do. So long as you do not agree to procure* the sum demanded by me, you cannot leave this place." So, the Nizam was detained a prisoner in the Persian camp that day and the next.

Nadir pressed the Nizam to write to the Emperor to visit the Persian camp again. The Nizam protested, saying that no such term had been agreed to before. The Persian king, however, assured him that he did not mean to break his promise, he had only found it necessary to meet Muhammad Shah a second time. [*Siyar*, i. 97.] The Nizam had no help but to write to his master, reporting the exact state of affairs.

The unexpected failure of the Nizam to return the previous night had already created anxiety and rumours of treachery among the Indians ; and now when the truth became known from this letter, consternation and a sense of utter helplessness seized the Emperor's Court and camp. The Wazir was the only great noble left at his side, and naturally Muhammad Shah turned to him for counsel ; but he replied that he could do nothing in such a situation and that the Emperor should act as he thought best. Muhammad Shah was perplexed in mind and overwhelmed with grief. Some of the younger nobles counselled resistance and one more appeal to arms before yielding himself up to certain captivity. But the Emperor knew that a further struggle would only lead to greater misery and ruin. He decided to go to Nadir, leaving it to God to work His will.

On Saturday 24th February, the Emperor started from his own camp, accompanied by Muhammad Ishaq and some eunuchs and personal servants (*khawas*) and a retinue of 2,000 cavalry only. The other nobles who wished to bear him company were kept back by him. Arrived in the Persian camp, he was, according to the report that reached the Mahratta envoy at Kamal, welcomed by none, but left for a long time alone and uncared for, and at night joined by the Nizam and Saadat Khan. Then he alone was taken to Nadir's tent. With this visit of the Emperor, as the Persian State Secretary rightly says, "the key for opening the whole Empire of Hindustan came into

* Literally, 'point out where the money is.'

the hands of Nadir Shah." In fact the Emperor became a captive and a guard was placed over him. The nobles who had accompanied him or previously gone to the Persian camp were told to consider themselves under arrest, and Nadir gained composure of mind, so far as the chance of any Indian resistance was concerned. [Anandram 42, Raj.]

Next day, 25th February, the Emperor's wives, children, servants and furniture were taken away from Karnal, and he was lodged close to Nadir Shah's tents. The captive nobles also called to themselves their families and retinue from their former camp. Qamar-ud-din Khan, who was the last great noble in freedom, was carried by the Qizilbashs to their camp, along with the imperial artillery at Karnal. The Persian official historian throws the veil of hypocrisy over this treacherous *coup d'état* played by his master. He describes the incident in these words: "Out of respect for the honour of the august family of the Emperor, the tents for his residence and the screens for his harem were set up close to Nadir Shah's tents and Abdul Baqi Khan, one of the highest nobles of Persia, was appointed with a party of soldiers to attend on Muhammad Shah everywhere and engage in doing the duties of hospitality to the guest." [Jahankusha, 354.]

It was proclaimed in the imperial camp that the minor officers who had not been taken to the Persian encampment, and all the common soldiers and followers could either stay at Karnal or go back to Dihli and their homes as they liked. [Siyar, Harcharan, Raj. vi.]

Great terror and bewilderment now fell on the Indian camp. They were sheep left without a single shepherd, and surrounded by wolves. Even their last remaining chief, the Wazir, was now taken away from them. The road to Dihli was beset by roving bands of Qizilbashs who had now no fear of resistance, and by the peasantry who had risen in insurrection at the fall of the Government which had so long kept order.*

* Hanway (ii. 369): Flying parties of the Persian army within forty miles round the [imperial] camp cut off not less than 14,000 Indian marauders.

The vast camp broke up, and every one fled wherever he thought best, but comparatively few effected their retreat in safety. [*Siyar* following Ali Hazin.]

Their condition is graphically described in the letter of one of these fugitives. The Mahratta ambassador at the Mughal Court, Babu Rao Malhar, had accompanied the Emperor from Dihli to Karnal with his own escort and property, and stayed there through these days of growing alarm and anxiety. At last on Sunday, the 25th, he felt that all was lost. Mustering courage, or in his own words, 'making a fort of his breast,' he issued from the camp at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. His elephants, camels, infantry and baggage and tents were sent towards Dihli by the royal highway, while he himself left it and plunged into the jungle for greater safety. Here he passed the night. Next day after riding some 80 miles along circuitous by-paths he regained the road near the imperial capital. Saadat Khan was coming along this highway with a strong Persian escort, and behind them the Mahratta envoy reached Dihli on the 27th. But that capital was no longer a safe abode. So, he left it that very day and halted for the night at Muhammad Khan's Sarai, some six miles south of the city. Thence, by way of Suraj Mal Jat's camp he reached Jaipur (on 6th March) without once halting on the way, and there he joined his colleague Dhondo Pant. His elephants and camels came, more slowly, from Dihli to Rewari. His feelings can be judged from his exclamation: "God has averted a great danger from me, and enabled me to escape with honour! The Chaghtai Empire is gone, the Irani Empire has commenced. Remain there in great caution!" [*Rajwade*, vi. No. 131.]

CHAPTER XIII

NADIR SHAH IN DIHLI: HIS RETURN.

[*By the Editor*]

SEC. 117.—STATE OF DIHLI CITY AFTER THE EMPEROR'S DEFEAT.

The people of Dihli had been as careless of the outer world as the imperial Court. They had not at first realized the character of the Persian menace, nor the genius of the upstart shepherd-brigand who was approaching their country. Confidence in the wardens of the marches produced a false sense of security, which was heightened by the magnificent display of the assembled forces of the three highest nobles sent from the capital on 2nd December 1738. When, on 19th January 1739, the secretary Anandram reached Dihli a day after the Emperor's departure to join the army, he found that every one, great and small, in the city had set his heart on accompanying the expedition. Some looked upon it as an opportunity for seeing the Panjab, others thought that a victory would be gained near the city and that they would return home very soon.

Then came the truth with startling suddenness. Early on the 15th February, news arrived at Dihli that two days earlier the enemy's forces had triumphed, the two largest divisions of the imperial army with their generals had been killed or captured, and the Emperor's camp invested. The population of Dihli was cosmopolitan and included a large miscellaneous body ever ready to engage in violence and plunder. The Gujars or pastoral brigands lived in the close vicinity of the city and might be expected to raid its rich bazars whenever they heard that the imperial authority was paralysed or temporarily weakened. [*Mad.* 66.]

But Haji Fulad Khan, the police prefect of Dihli, was a wise and energetic man. He kept the city safe by watching the streets day and night, and promptly pounced upon every creator of mischief. In the meantime the highways leading from

the city were totally closed by robbers ; life and property became insecure outside the walls. Private individuals like Anandram who lived beyond the fortified town hired armed retainers to guard their houses, barricaded the ends of their streets, and laid in stores of powder and shot for the defence of their homes and families. Twelve days passed in this kind of anxious watch, when on 27th February Saadat Khan arrived with 4,000 troopers and the lawless people were overawed. [Anandram, 38-41.]

The day after he had secured the Emperor's person Nadir Shah despatched to Dihli Saadat Khan as the Emperor's representative and Tahmasp Khan Jalair as his own plenipotentiary agent, with 4000 cavalry to take possession of the city and palace for the victor and make arrangements for keeping order, so that no part of the imperial property might be plundered or secreted during the change of masters and the necessary preparations might be made for receiving Nadir in the palace. The two nobles reached Dihli on 27th February. They brought two letters from Muhammad Shah and Nadir to Lutf-ullah Khan the governor of the city. The Emperor ordered him to hand over to Tahmasp the keys of the palaces and imperial treasuries and stores and to guard the Princes carefully. Nadir's letter praised Lutf-ullah for his honesty and devotion to his master and confirmed him in the government of Dihli on his own behalf.

Lutf-ullah Khan had talked of digging trenches round Dihli and making a defence. Therefore, Saadat Khan halted one march outside the city and wrote to Lutf-ullah advising him to make a peaceful surrender. Resistance was hopeless, and the governor yielded up the city to the agent of Persia. [Shakir.]

When the news of the occupation of Dihli reached the camp outside Karnal the two kings set out on 1st March. Muhammad Shah rode an arrow's flight behind Nadir, as courtesy required. The Emperor was accompanied* by only

* Harcharan. *Chronicle*. But Hanway (ii. 373) gives a different description of Nadir's march to Dihli with 350,000 men forming a column 12 miles long and 3 miles broad.

1000 horse and his Wazir by 10,000. The rest of the imperial army had dispersed to their homes immediately after the order of 25th February.

SEC. 118.—NADIR SHAH AND THE EMPEROR ENTER DIHLI PALACE.

The royal party arrived near the Shalimar garden north of Dihli on 7th March. Saadat Khan had advanced from the city a day earlier to welcome Nadir. On the 7th Luft-ullah went to the garden to wait on his master, who presented him to Nadir. The Persian king expressed great pleasure at Luft-ullah's ready obedience, and taking off a costly coat from his own person invested the Khan with it with his own hands. [Shakir.] Nadir and his army halted in the garden on the 8th, while Muhammad Shah went into the city to prepare the palace for receiving his august guest.

The fallen descendant of Babar and Akbar rode into his capital on a portable throne (*takht-i-rawan*) in silence and humility; no band played, and no banners were carried before him. [Chronicle.] A few nobles accompanied him,—Ishaq Khan, Bahroz Khan and Jawid Khan.

Next morning, Friday the 9th of March, the conqueror entered Dihli riding a grey charger. His troops lined the road from the limits of the Shalimar garden to the gate of the fort-palace of Dihli. The Emperor welcomed his conqueror, spread the richest carpets cloth of gold and other rare stuffs on the ground for him to set his foot upon (*pa-andazi*). Nadir Shah occupied Shah Jahan's own palace-chambers near the Diwan-i-khas, while Muhammad Shah lodged near the *deorhi* of the Asad Burj. [Anandram.] On this day the Emperor acted as the host and placed dinner before Nadir. The Persian army encamped, some round the fort, some on the bank of the Jamuna near the city, and some were quartered in houses throughout the city. [Ali Hazin, *Jahankusha* 355.]

Saadat Khan had been in attendance on Nadir the whole of this day. At night he was severely reprimanded by the Persian king for his failure to raise the promised ransom and was threatened with personal chastisement if he did not carry

out his word soon. It was too much for him. He retired to his own house and took poison.

The feast of Id-uz-zuha fell on Saturday 10th March. In the morning the name and titles of Nadir were proclaimed as sovereign from the pulpits of the Jama Masjid and other places of prayer. [*Siyar*, i. 98.] In the afternoon Nadir went on a return visit to Muhammad Shah's chambers and proceeded to his real business, the exaction of ransom. A little scene was now played in order to throw a veil of outward decency over the pre-arranged act of spoliation. We can easily detect the truth in reading between the lines of the following diplomatic narrative of the Persian king's secretary [*Jahankusha*, 355] :—

"Nadir Shah graciously remarked that the throne of Hindustan would be left to Muhammad Shah, in the terms of the agreement made on the first day, and that the Emperor would enjoy the support and friendship of the Persian monarch, because both were of the same Turkoman stock.

"Muhammad Shah bowed low in gratitude and gave profuse thanks to the victor for his generosity. He had received no small favour ;—it was the gift of a crown added to the gift of life. As a mark of his gratitude he laid before Nadir Shah the accumulated treasures stores and rare possessions of the rulers of Dihli as presents to Nadir and offerings for his health (*nisar*). But the gracious sovereign of Persia refused to take any of these things, though the piled-up wealth of all the other kings of the world did not amount to a tenth part of a tenth part of this immense hoard. At last he yielded to the importunity of Muhammad Shah and appointed trusty officers to take delivery of the money and other property."

SEC. 119.—DIHLI POPULACE RISE AGAINST THE PERSIANS.

While this peaceful meeting was being held in the palace, a scene of the opposite character opened in the city. Nadir's soldiers and camp-followers, mostly Turks, Kurds and Mongols, were wandering carelessly through the streets and bazars of Dihli as their king was in possession of the city. Suddenly, about four o'clock in the evening (Saturday, 10th March), some idle talkers and mischief-makers started the rumour that Nadir

Shah had been treacherously shot dead at the instigation of Muhammad Shah, by a Qalmaq woman-guard of the palace when he was returning from his visit to the Emperor.* [Anandram 44, *Siyar* i. 98.] As all had heard that Nadir would go to the Emperor's quarters that day, the story found ready belief. None cared to verify the news by a visit to the palace, though its gate was open and people were passing in and out of it on business. [Ali Hazin.] The rumour spread like wild-fire, and soon afterwards the hooligans and low people of the city armed themselves and began to attack the Persian soldiers and followers who were strolling through the streets alone or in groups of two and three. Their small number, their ignorance of the local language, and their unfamiliarity with the by-ways of the city put them at a disadvantage and they were slain. The rumour of the murder of their chief took the heart out of the Persians and they could not make any organized stand. The rising spread with the success of the rioters and the weak defence of the Persians. All night the murderous attack raged; it slackened after 3 o'clock next morning (no doubt owing to the exhaustion of the fighters), but revived with new energy at daybreak, which was the 13th bright lunar day of Falgun or the commencement of the *Holi* festival, when the lower classes of Hindus are particularly excited and often intoxicated. [Chronicle and Raj. vi. 131.]

Among the authorities Harcharan-das alone says that the citizens rose in tumult when they were driven to desperation by the violent attacks of the Persian soldiers on their property

* This was a familiar stage-device of the story-tellers of Dihli. The captive Shah Jahan was said to have formed a similar plot against Aurangzeb in Agra fort. Details of the alleged murder of Nadir Shah varied in the popular mouth. The following rumour reached Aurangabad, as we find in a Mahratti news-letter [Raj. vi. No. 134]:—"Nadir Shah breaking his oath faithlessly imprisoned the Emperor and his nobles, though the Pathans who had joined him urged him not to do it. At the time of Nadir's entrance into Dihli there was a rising of the Pathans round him. Qasim Khan Pathan and his brother, who were waving peacock feather fans over Nadir and his Wazir on their *howdas*, slew both of them with their daggers at the gate."

and women. This statement goes against the probabilities of the case, because the time was only one day after Nadir's arrival, when the amount of the ransom and the manner of levying it were still being discussed, and Nadir was not the man to allow a premature fleeing of the citizens or relax the discipline of his army in a foreign town. All other writers represent the Indian mob as the aggressors. The higher classes and all good men held aloof ; but they took no active step to pacify or control the hooligans, because the old Government agency for maintaining order had been dissolved, the gentry were too much divided by caste creed race and profession to combine and organize a voluntary police at a moment's notice, and their centralized autocratic Government had not developed their powers of initiative and self-help by giving them any opportunity of corporate action and municipal self-government.

Hanway heard what seems to me to have been the most probable account of the origin of the riot, namely that Tahmasp Khan sent several Persian mounted military police (*nasaqchi*) to the granaries of the Paharganj ward ordering them to be opened and the price of corn fixed ; that the corn-dealers not being satisfied with the rate, a mob assembled ; Sayyid Niaz Khan and several other persons of distinction put themselves at their head and slew the Persian horsemen, and then the report was spread that Nadir had been murdered, which increased the tumult. [ii. 375.]

According to Ali Hazin, seven thousand Persians were slain that night. But Abdul Karim gives the more probable figure of 3,000.*

When early in the night the first reports of the attacks on his soldiers were brought to Nadir, he refused to credit them and censured the complainants by saying that the wretches in

* Ali Hazin says that some of the Indian nobles who had begged from Nadir Qizilbash guards for their mansions gave them up to the mob to be slain and even killed them with their own hands. But Abdul Karim tells the more probable tale that these guards were preserved and their presence saved those houses from the vengeance of Nadir's soldiery in the next day's massacre and even the poor householders in their neighbourhood escaped sack by appealing to them.

his army had brought this false charge against the citizens in the hope of getting from him an order to plunder and slay them and thus satisfy their wicked greed. But the reports persisted and gradually became more alarming. He now sent out a sergeant to find out the true facts. The man, on leaving the fort-gate, was killed by the mob. A second agent suffered the same fate. Then the Persian king ordered a thousand musketeers to enter the streets and disperse the mob. But by this time the disturbance had spread over too large an area for these few men to succeed in quelling it.

On learning this, Nadir ordered that his soldiers should remain collected in their respective posts for the rest of the night, without spreading out or sallying forth to punish the Indians. They were not even to fight unless their posts were attacked. The gates of the wards of the city were watched by strong Persian pickets, and the rioting bands were isolated in their respective quarters and prevented from combining or marching elsewhere. [*Jahankusha* 357, Harcharan, *Bayan* 46-47, Ali Hazin 298-299, Anandram 44.]

SEC. 120.—NADIR'S MASSACRE AT DIHLI.

At sunrise on Sunday 11th March, the tumult broke out afresh. Nadir dressed himself in armour, mounted his horse and girt around by spearmen carrying daggers also, rode to the Golden Mosque of Roshan-ud-daulah in the middle of Chandni Chawk, opposite the Police Station and close to the Jewel Market. There he ascertained from which wards and classes of men the crimes of the night before had proceeded, and then unsheathed his sword as a signal for the general massacre of the people of those wards.

His soldiers had so long held their hands back from retaliation solely in obedience to his command. They now hastened with drawn swords to wreak vengeance. Within the doomed areas, the houses were looted, all the men killed without regard for age and all the women dragged into slavery.*

* Hanway (ii. 376)—Many refugees from the neighbouring country, joined by jewellers, money-changers, and rich shopkeepers, headed by the Court physician, took arms in desperation, assembled in a body, and fought

The destroyers set fire to many houses and several of their victims, both dead and wounded, Hindus and Muhammadans, were indiscriminately burnt together. [*Jahankusha* 357-358.]

The slaughter began about 9 o'clock in the morning and raged unchecked till about 2 P.M. Then Muhammad Shah in utter humility sent his highest nobles, the Nizam and the Wazir, to beg the victor to abate his anger and pardon his erring subjects. [*Jahan* 359.] Nadir listened to the prayer, because he took no pleasure in wanton bloodshed, and had only ordered the massacre as a measure of self-defence in imaginary fear of a universal rising of the Indian population. [Harcharan.]

The *kotwal* was commanded to go through the city with the heralds of the Persian army, proclaiming to the men to cease their work of slaughter. They immediately obeyed.

Anandram (who was present in the Wakilpura suburb throughout Nadir's stay in Dihli) says that the houses in the Chandni Chawk, the Fruit-market Square, the Dariba Bazar and the region round the Jama Masjid were sacked. Harcharandas, too, speaks of only 2 or 3 *mahallas* near the Fort and the grain dealers' mahalla (Paharganj) which was at a distance from it, suffering havoc. Abdul Karim defines the portion of the city subjected to massacre and plunder, as extending from the fort-gate westwards to the old Id-gah, northwards to the wood market, southwards to outside the Dihli gate in the city-wall. In addition to this area, "in Paharganj where the rising had started, many men were arrested on the suspicion of having caused the tumult and they were brought and beheaded on the bank of the Jamuna." [*Bayan*.]

The number of persons slain was found, on a subsequent investigation by the *kotwal*, to be 8,000 according to my MS. of Abdul Karim's memoirs, but the copy of the same work used by Sir H. Elliot's translator, Lt. Prichard, reads 20,000. The Persian State Secretary has 30,000; and the Mahratti newsletters (based on distant hearsay) give the number of the

bravely for some time; but being so little accustomed to the use of arms, only died sword in hand.

victims as 50,000 in one place and 3 or 4 lakhs in another. Harcharan-das has one lakh ; Hanway adds ten thousand to this last figure, and says that 10,000 more committed suicide by throwing themselves into wells. [ii. 376.] All these are popular exaggerations due to distant bazar rumours. Considering the small area affected and the short duration of the havoc. 20,000 is the most probable number of those put to the sword.

We are told by more than one authority that many respectable Indian householders slew their own wives and daughters to save them from dishonour by the Qizilbash soldiery and then rushed on the enemy's swords or cut their own throats. Many women drowned themselves in the wells of their houses to escape a shame worse than death. But many more were outraged and dragged away as captives, though according to the Persian State Secretary Nadir afterwards ordered them to be restored to their families. [Hanway, *Jahan* 359 ; Rajwade vi. Nos. 133 and 167.]

During the night of the rising two Indian nobles named Sayyid Niaz Khan (the son-in-law of the Wazir) and Shah Nawaz Khan, with Rai Bhan, had attacked the elephant stables of Nadir, killed his superintendent of *mahuts* and taken away the elephants. They had afterwards shut themselves up in a fort outside the city and resisted capture. Azim-ullah Khan and Fulad Khan were now sent by the Emperor to arrest them. They were produced before Nadir with 470 of their armed followers and were put to death by his order. [*Jahan* 359.] Abdul Karim, however, holds them innocent of participation in the night's riot, but says that they had merely shot down a number of Qizilbash assailants in the defence of their property and family honour during the massacre. All other authorities represent these two nobles as aggressors. Hanway heard a different version of this incident. According to him [ii. 377], before the massacre of Dihli a party of the Persian forces had been sent to seize the cannon at the palace of an Indian lord. These had been treacherously set upon and murdered by a body of Tartar Mongols [of Mughalpora]. Nadir sent a large detachment who fell upon these people and slaughtered nearly 6000 of them. The Persians brought away the ordnance

together with 300 persons of the chief rank among them, who were beheaded and their bodies thrown away on the sand bank (*reti*) of the Jamuna.

For some days after the massacre the streets of the doomed quarters of Dihli became impassable from the stench of the corpses filling the houses, wells and roadside, none venturing to approach them in fear. At last the *kotwal* took Nadir's permission and had the bodies collected on the roads and other open spaces and burnt them. [Anandram 50, Ali Hazin 300.]

After the massacre Nadir ordered the granaries to be sealed up and guards set over them. He also set several parties of cavalry to invest the city and prevent ingress and egress. The city was in a state of siege ; the roads were entirely closed. A famine broke out among the survivors of the massacre. Those who tried to leave Dihli and go to the neighbouring villages in quest of food, were intercepted by the cavalry patrols, deprived of their noses and ears, and driven back into the city. After some days a lamenting deputation waited on the Persian king and he at last permitted them to go to Faridabad to buy provisions. [Hanway, ii. 377-378 ; Rajwade, vi. No. 133.]

But even the villages were no safer. The Persians marauded for 30 or 40 miles round the capital, plundering the villages, laying the fields waste and killing the inhabitants who resisted. After the battle of Karnal a body of Persians had been sent to raid Thanesar, which they plundered, slaying many. During the Shah's advance to Dihli early in March. Panipat, Sonapat and other towns lying on the way were sacked. [Hanway, ii. 384, 372-373.]

SEC. 121.—EXACTION OF RANSOM FROM DIHLI.

Nadir spent two months in Dihli, secure in the occupation of the capital and engaged in the collection of the huge indemnity. On 26th March his younger son Mirza Nasr-ullah was married to an imperial Princess, a daughter of Dawar Bakhsh,* the grandson of Murad and great grandson of Shah

* Dawar Bakhsh's mother was a daughter of Aurangzeb.

Jahan. For one week before the ceremony, rejoicings on a grand scale continued day and night. The bank of the Jamuna opposite the Diwan-i-khas was illuminated with lamps every night, while combats of elephants, oxen, tigers and deer were held in the day.

The conqueror allowed himself some relaxation after his arduous campaigns. Dances and songs were performed before him. One Indian dancing-girl named Nur Bai so highly fascinated him by her musical powers and ode in honour of him that he ordered her to be paid Rs. 4000 and taken to Persia in his train. It was with the greatest difficulty that she could save herself from this last mark of his favour. [*Bayan* 56.]

The total indemnity secured by Nadir Shah at Dihli is estimated by his Secretary at nearly 15 *krors* of Rupees in cash, besides a vast amount in jewels, clothing furniture and other things from the imperial store-houses. The above figure includes whatever was taken from the nobles far and near and the imperial treasuries. [*Jahan* 361.] The grand total from all sources is raised to 70 *krors* by Frazer, according to the following estimate, which is clearly an exaggeration, as the State Secretary's figures are of the highest authority :

Gold and silver plate and cash ...	...	30	krors
Jewels ...	...	25	„
The Peacock Throne and nine other thrones, also several weapons and utensils all garnished with precious stones ...	...	9	„
Rich manufactures ...	...	2	„
Cannon, stores, furniture ...	...	4	„
		—	
Total ...	...	70	krors
		—	

In addition to these, 300 elephants, 10,000 horses and the same number of camels were taken away. [*Hanway*, 383, 389.] Anandram, who was attached to the Indian Wazir, however, gives—sixty lakhs of Rupees and some thousand gold coins, nearly one *kror* of Rupees' worth of gold-ware, nearly 50 *kror* worth of jewels, most of them unrivalled in the world ; the above included the Peacock Throne. [*Anandram* 51.]

The Emperor had to surrender all his crown-jewels, including the famous diamond Koh-i-nur and the Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan which had cost 2 kror of Rupees. In the public treasuries were found three kror of Rupees, but in the inner vaults, which had been shut during many reigns, a much larger amount was discovered. [Hanway, 383.] Abdul Karim says that the personal property of the Begams of Dihli was not robbed. This statement cannot be accepted, though it is a fact that no torture was applied to these ladies or their servants for their jewels.

While the Emperor and the nobles were being squeezed of their wealth, the general public did not escape. A contribution of one-half of their property was fixed on all the well-to-do citizens who had escaped the massacre and sack, and a total of two kror* was ordered to be raised from this source. [Shakir and Anandram.] Anandram, who was assessed five lakhs and had a Persian military guard placed at his door to enforce payment, describes the method of extortion thus :—

"Accountants were appointed to levy the indemnity from the inhabitants, under the guidance of Tahmasp Khan Jalair. But in order to save the citizens from utter ruin, nobles of both the Governments were directed to supervise the assessment of the ransom in the law-court in the presence of the public. Footmen (*piadas*) of the *kotwal* and *nasaqchis* (military police of Persia) were sent to take a census of the houses and prepare lists of the property in each and enforce the appearance of the citizens, so that the sum to be contributed by each individual might be in accordance with his means. Helpless people, high and low, rich and poor, were compelled day after day to attend at the law-court where they were kept from dawn to sunset and often till one *prahar* of night.....Without ascertaining the truth, the calumnies of Mir Waris and Khwaja Rahmat-ullah were believed.....The lists were prepared. The contribution of the capital totalled two kror of Rupees. The Shah appointed

* Hanway, 383, says "About the middle of April four kror was extorted from the merchants and common people." But Anandram is a better authority.

the Nizam, the Wazir, Azim-ullah Khan, Sarbuland Khan and Murtaza Khan to collect the money. The entire city was divided into five sections, and lists of the different mahallas with the names of their inhabitants and the amount to be levied from each were given to these five nobles." [Anandram, 53.]

After every citizen had been assessed his exact contribution, pressure was put upon them to pay the amount. Delay or objection only led to insult and torture. The floors of the houses were dug up in search of buried treasure. [Rajwade vi. 133.] Anandram writes in his autobiography: "In the two mahallas where the collection was entrusted to the Nizam and the Wazir, the people were treated humanely, as the Wazir paid a great part of the money from his own chests. But in the other three mahallas, especially in that assigned to Sarbuland Khan (i.e., Anandram's own!) the sufferings of the people knew no bounds.....Whole families were ruined. Many took poison and others stabbed themselves to death." [Anandram 54.]

It is said that the Wazir Qamar-ud-din Khan was exposed in the sun and thus made to pay one krur of Rupees plus jewels and elephants. His diwan Majlis Rai was assessed a large sum and delivered to Sarbuland Khan to be tortured. His ear was cut off in open darbar, and retiring home in the depth of disgrace he committed suicide on 8th April. The Court agent of the governor of Bengal was beaten, and he took poison with his entire family. As Hanway says, "No barbarities were left unpractised. The tax imposed was strictly exacted. What numbers destroyed themselves with their own hands....." [Hanway, ii. 382. Frazer 199, *T-i-Mdi*, Tilok Das.]

All this time Nadir lived at Dihli as king. Coins were issued and the public prayer read in his name as sovereign, and the title of *Shahan Shah* ("king of kings") which the Mughal Emperors had borne was taken away from them and applied to him only. The governors of the provinces of India had to proclaim him as their suzerain and in some instances mint his coins in the provincial mints. Muhammad Shah lived in Dihli like a prisoner of state and his nobles in the same helpless and degraded condition.

The entire population of Persia shared their king's prosperity. The revenue of that kingdom was remitted for three years. The chiefs of the army were lavishly rewarded; the common soldiers received 18 months' pay together, one-third of which was their due arrears, one-third an advance, and the remaining one-third a bounty. [*Bayan* 53.] The camp-followers received Rs. 60 per head as salary and Rs. 100 as bounty. [*Jahan*. 361.]

At Dihli Nadir Shah talked of making a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chishti at Ajmer. This journey was really intended for the spoliation of the Rajput States, because Ajmer is in the heart of Rajputana. At the report of his intended movement, Sawai Jai Singh in alarm sent his family and those of his nobles to the mountain-fastness of Udaipur and remained alone at his capital ready to flee away at the first notice. Baji Rao the Peshwa, then at Burhanpur, began to form plans for holding the line of the Chambal to prevent a Persian invasion of the Dakhin. [*Rajwade* vi. 133 : *Brahmendra* S. C. 42.]

SEC. 122.—NADIR'S DEPARTURE FROM DIHLI.

Nearly two months having been thus passed at Dihli and the contribution collected, Nadir Shah held a grand Court on Tuesday, 1st May, to which he summoned the Emperor and his nobility. These nobles, about a hundred in number, were presented with robes of honour, jewelled swords and daggers, horses and other gifts. With his own hands he placed the crown of Hindustan on the head of Muhammad Shah and tied a jewelled sword round his waist.

The Emperor bowed low in gratitude and said, "As the generosity of the Shahan Shah has made me a second time master of a crown and a throne and exalted me among the crowned heads of the world; I beg to offer as my tribute the provinces of my Empire west of the river Indus, from Kashmir to Sindh, and in addition the subah of Tattha and the ports subordinate to it." Thus, the trans-Indus provinces and Afghanistan were finally lost to the heirs of Babar. A considerable territory east of the Indus had also been seized by

Nadir by right of victory over the local subahdars before the battle of Karnal, and his right to their revenue was not disputed, though they continued to be governed by Muhammad Shah's officers. The governor of Lahor now signed an agreement to send Nadir 20 lakhs of Rupees a year on this account, to remove the reason for any Persian garrison being left east of the Indus.

At this *darbar* of 1st May, Nadir Shah urged all the nobles and officers of India to obey and please their Emperor. He also gave them and their master much valuable advice on the art of government, and decreed that henceforth *farmans* should again issue on Muhammad Shah's behalf, and the *khutba* and coins should bear his name and title. *Khutba* and coinage in Nadir's name, after having been current in India for two months, were now discontinued. [*Jahan*. 362.] On this day the Persian conqueror sent off four *farmans* of his own to Nasir Jang, Nasir-ud-daulah, Rajah Sahu and Baji Rao, urging them to respect the settlement he had made and to obey Muhammad Shah in future. [*Jahankusha* 361-362, Rajwade vi. 167, Ali Hazin 301, *Bayan* 57, Anandram 80-83.]

Then, laden with the plundered wealth of India and the accumulated treasures of eight generations of Emperors, he set out on his return home. From India he carried away 130 accountants familiar with the finances of the Mughal Empire, 300 masons, 200 blacksmiths, 200 carpenters and 100 stone-cutters, to build a city like Dihli in Persia. Some goldsmiths and boat-builders were also forced to accompany him. These artisans were supplied with horses and other necessary articles and promised a large pay and permission to return to India after three years. But a considerable number of them contrived to escape before he reached Lahor. [*Hanway*, ii. 389.]

On 5th May 1739 he left Dihli after a stay of 57 days. Making a short halt in the Shalimar garden outside the city, he marched by way of Narela to Sonapat, where he overtook his army. The peasants rose in his rear and plundered stragglers and the hindmost part of his baggage train. It is said that he lost 1,000 transport animals (camels, horses and mules)

before reaching Thanesar. In anger he ordered massacres here and at some other towns on the way. [Hanway, 391.]

From Sarhind he swerved aside to the right and proceeded along the foot of the Himalayas, crossing the upper courses of the five rivers of the Panjab which were bridged for him. This he did in order to avoid the blistering heat of summer. On 25th May he reached the Chinab at Akhnur, 42 miles north-east of Wazirabad.* By that time the river had been swollen by heavy rainfall in the hills. When only half the Persian army had crossed over, the bridge of boats broke from the strength of the current and 2,000 Persians were drowned. A long halt had to be made, while a search was made far and near for boats. The other half of the army was ferried over slowly in boats and rafts at Kaluwal. After thus losing 40 days, Nadir himself crossed the river last on 3rd July and resumed his march.

By this time the heat had become intolerable even along the foot of the hills. Zakariya Khan, the subahdar of Lahor and Multan, had accompanied Nadir up to this point. He was now dismissed to his seat of government with many gifts and a recommendation for promotion addressed to his master. Nadir Shah had been pleased with his devotion and ability, and asked him to name any favour that he liked. The Khan very nobly begged for the release of the Indian captives taken away from Dihli by the Persian army. These were now set free by Nadir's order. [M. U. ii. 106.] Then, by way of Hasan Abdal and the Khaibar Pass the Persians returned to Kabul. [*Jahankusha* 363-365, Anandram 83-98.]

His return march through the Panjab was molested by the Sikhs and Jats who rose in his rear and plundered a portion of his baggage. The immense booty that he carried away from India did not remain long in the royal treasury of Persia. Eight years after this invasion Nadir Shah was assassinated, and in

* I here follow Anandram. Mirza Mahdi's words are, "He encamped on the bank of the river Chinab known as Wazirabad." This may mean that the Chinab was known as the river of Wazirabad and not that the Persians crossed at the town of Wazirabad.

the troubled times that ensued his hoarded treasures were plundered and dispersed.*

SEC. 123.—STATE OF INDIA AFTER NADIR'S DEPARTURE.

Nadir Shah's occupation of Dihli and massacre of its people carried men's memories 340 years back to a similar calamity at the hands of Timur. But there was a great difference between the results of these two foreign invasions. Timur left the State of Dihli as he had found it, impoverished no doubt, but without any dismemberment. Nadir Shah, on the other hand, annexed the trans-Indus provinces and the whole of Afghanistan, and thus planted a strong foreign power constantly impinging on our western frontier. Timur's destructive work and the threat of further invasion from his country ended with his life. But the Abdali and his dynasty continued Nadir's work in India as the heir to his Empire. With the Khaibar Pass and the Peshawar district in foreign hands, the Panjab became a starting point for fresh expeditions against Dihli.

Not only were Afghanistan and the modern N. W. Frontier Province ceded as the result of Nadir's invasion, but the Panjab too was soon afterwards lost. Throughout the second half of the 18th century, Ahmad Shah Abdali and his descendants who ruled over Kabul and Lahor, constantly threatened the peace of Dihli and even the eastern provinces of the Mughal Empire. Their least movements, their slightest public utterances were reported to Dihli and Lakhnau and sent a thrill of fear through these Indian Courts and caused anxiety and precautionary diversion of forces to their English protectors, Hastings and Wellesley. The hardy and trained warriors of Central Asia and

* The Peacock Throne consisted of a gold-plated frame capable of being taken to pieces, richly jewelled panels fitting into its eight sides and detachable pillars steps and roof. It used to be put together and placed in the darbar hall only at the anniversary of the royal coronation, but at other times it was stowed away in loose parts. When these parts were looted they were naturally dispersed to different quarters. The genuine Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan no longer exists anywhere in the world; but a modern and cheap imitation of it, made by the later kings of Persia, is still preserved at Teheran.

Afghanistan could have captured Dihli by a few days' dash from Lahor.

The Panjab, as the defensive barrier of India proper on the west, passed out of the hands of the ruler of Dihli even before the Abdali annexed it. Before the coming of Nadir, this province had attained to much peace and prosperity as the result of Farrukh-siyar's successful extinction of the Sikh guru Banda and his followers, and later on the vigorous campaigns of Zakariya Khan against predatory local chiefs and rebels. He had also added to the wealth and beauty of the cities, as Anandram enthusiastically describes. But Nadir's invasion undid all this. The country was first sacked by the Persian soldiers under orders and then by the lawless natives. Everywhere robbery and murder took place; gangs of robbers closed the roads to trade and peaceful traffic; every one fought every one else. Utter desolation and disorder seized the province. The Sikhs began to assert themselves in ever-increasing strength, until, half-a-century later, they gained possession of the entire province. From the end of Muhammad Shah's reign they became an ever-present thorn in the side of the Empire. In the second half of the 18th century they used to make almost annual raids eastwards to the environs of Dihli, plundering, burning, massacring and destroying all traces of cultivation and habitation with ferocious cruelty. Sarhind, Saharanpur, Meerut, Shahdera and even Hardwar suffered from their ravages. Peace, prosperity and industry disappeared from the region north and west of the Mughal capital.

After Nadir's return, the Mahrattas established themselves in the southern and western provinces of the Empire in absolute security. The Dihli sovereign had no force, no general left to offer them the least resistance. Emboldened by the helplessness of the central Government, Mahratta bands began to penetrate repeatedly to Orissa, south-eastern Bihar and Bengal. The local governor was helpless against their hordes and the Emperor could think of no other means of meeting this danger than by begging the Puna Mahrattas to drive the Nagpur Mahrattas out of Bengal.

We are told by the Indian historians that after the depar-

ture of Nadir, the Emperor called his ministers together and devoted himself to re-establishing the administration and restoring the finances. But we know from history that he did not succeed, and that during the ten years that he reigned after Nadir's invasion, the Government grew weaker and weaker and matters drifted as before.

Indeed, there was no reason why there should be a restoration of the imperial power and prestige, while the character of the Emperor and his nobles continued to be as bad as before. The Nizam was the only able and honest adviser left ; but he was now an old man of 82 or 83, and in anticipation of his approaching death rebellion had broken out among his sons. His domestic troubles and anxieties drew him to the Dakhin and kept him busy there till his death. Thus the Emperor could not profit by the Nizam's wisdom and experience, even if he were inclined to follow his counsels—which was not the case.

The governors of Oudh and the Dakhin had no help but to declare their independence—in practice, if not in name,—as the subahdar of Bengal had already done. The struggle for the wazirship at the capital—*i.e.*, for the post of keeper of the puppet Emperor,—continued more bitterly than before ; the factions among the nobility quarrelled and intrigued as hard as ever, and finally after the death of Muhammad Shah (1748) they came to blows in the streets and pitched battles on the plains outside Dihli, and the great anarchy, which is only another name for the history of the Mughal Empire in its last days, began, destined to be ended only by the foreign conquest of the imperial capital half a century later.

ERRATA

VOL. I

- P. 11, l. 14 for *sikkah* read *sikka*
 „ 51 „ 3 „ do. „ do.
 „ 159 „ 2 „ brothers „ brothers'
 „ 240 „ 15 read (1124 y. 1 m. 21 d.—1125 y. 0m. 16 d.)
 „ 240 „ 17 for *jar* read *zar*
 „ 243 „ 3 „ Surbuland read Sarbuland
 „ 279 „ 34 „ Qudrat- read If Qudrat-

VOL. II

- P. 25 heading for Bushanpur read Burhanpur
 „ 104 l. 2 for quite read quit
 „ 139 „ 9 „ do to Roshan-ud-daulah, and read do. Roshan-ud-daulah said
 „ 143 „ 26 „ horsemen : read horsemen.
 „ 160 „ 18 „ years his read years of his
 „ 178 „ 21 „ fight read flight
 „ 229 „ 7 „ 1713 „ 1731
 „ 269 „ 31 „ little „ little [while]
 „ 281 „ 6 „ actively „ activity

ABBREVIATIONS

- Ali Hazin—Belfour's *Memoirs of Shaikh Ali Hazin* (O. T. F.)
 Anandram—*Tazkira* (Aligarh Col. MS.)
 Bayan—*Bayan-i-waqai* by Abdul Karim Kashmiri. [In ch. 11-13 the Lahor Public Library MS. is cited, elsewhere the Br. Mus. copy.]
 Burhan—*Burhan-ul-futuh*.
 Chronicle—*Dihli Chronicle*, a Persian MS. described by J. Sarkar in *Proceedings of Indian Hist. Records Commission 1921*.
 Hanway—*Travels*, 3rd. ed.
 Harcharan-das—*Chahar Gulzar-i-Shujai* (J. Sarkar's MS.)
 Imad—*Imad-us-Sadat* by Ghulam Ali (litho.)
 Jahan or Jahankusha—*Tarikh-i-Jahankusha-i-Nadiri* by Mirza Mahdi (litho. Bombay).
 Khizr Khan—*Siwanih-i-Khizri*.
 Mirat—*Mirat-i-Ahmadi* by Md. Ali Khan.
 Nadir Shah—*Frazer's Nadir Shah*.
 Raj.—*Marathachi Itihasachen Sadhanen* ed. by V. K. Rajwade and others.
 Shakir—*Tazkira* of Shakir Khan (J. Sarkar's MS.)
 Tilok Das—Hindi poem on Nadir Shah and Md. Shah in *J.A.S.B.*, 1897.

INDEX

(Compiled by Bijay-nath Sarkar, B.A., C.E.)

- Abdul-ghaffur Shah—joins plot against Husain Ali, ii. 57, his history, 267-269, shameless conduct of his son and daughter, 269, his disgrace and death 273-275.
- Abdullah—Sayyid Hasan Ali, Qutb-ul-mulk. At Jajau i. 31, 34, created Abdullah Khan i. 204, Azim-ush-shan's deputy at Allahabad 205, joins Farrukh-siyar 209, created Wazir 213 and 258, at Khajwa 217, at battle of Agra 229-234, doings at Dihli 247-248, created Qutb-ul-mulk 255, quarrel with Farrukh-siyar 294-301, counteracts Emperor's plots 327-337 and 347, wins over Ajit Singh 348-351 and other nobles 351-355, invites Husain Ali from Dakhin 353, seizes Dihli palace 381, tries to drag Farrukh-siyar out of harem 386, enthrones Rafi-ud-darjat 389, blinds Farrukh-siyar 390, his conduct criticized 395, quarrels with Husain Ali ii. 14, hears of Alim Ali's death ii. 51, moves towards Dihli ii. 52 and 66, complains to Md. Shah about Husain Ali's murder ii. 72, enthrones Ibrahim ii. 77, defeated at Hasanpur ii. 91-92, death ii. 96, character i. 416-417, ii. 97-100.
- Abdus-samad—early career i. 189, commands Jahandar's vanguard at battle of Lahor i. 168, appointed governor of Lahor, campaign against Banda i. 308-315, his son Zakariya Kh. ii. 325.
- Abhai Singh—son of Maharajah Ajit Singh, received by Farrukh-siyar i. 290, opposes Mughals ii. 109, submits ii. 114, succeeds Ajit Singh ii. 115; appointed governor of Gujarat ii. 203, fights Sarbuland ii. 213.
- Afghan—definition i. 273, settlements in N. India, *id.* (See *Rohilkhand*.)
- Agra—Battle of (1713) i. 229-234, fort garrison crown Neku-siyar 409, siege by Sayyids 423-427.
- Ahmad Khan—i. 46.
- Ahsan Khan—(Mir Mallang), chief adviser of Kam Bakhsh i. 50, reduces Karnul and Arkat 52, suspected and tortured to death, 55-56.
- Ajmer—centre of Mughal authority in Rajputana, i. 42, Nadir's proposed pilgrimage to, ii. 374.
- Ajit Singh—Maharajah of Jodhpur, early history i. 44, fights Bahadur Shah 45-48, revolts again 285-290, his daughter married to Farrukh-siyar 304, joins Sayyid brothers 349, 347, nicknamed *damad-kush* 408, created subahdar of Ajmer ii. 4, revolts ii. 108-114, murdered, why? ii. 117, character *id.*
- Akbarabad—see *Agra*
- Akbar-nagar=Rajmahal, i. 201.
- Alamgir—see *Aurangzeb*.

- Alim Ali—nephew of Sayyid brothers, opposes Nizam ii. 43, killed at Balapur ii. 49.
- Ali Md. Kh.—Rohela, origin ii. 118—120 ; 240.
- Ali Murad—see *Kokaltash Khan*.
- Ali Tabar—Azam Shah's son, commands Centre at Jajau i. 24, wounded 32.
- Amar Singh—II. Maharana of Mewar, ii 43, relations with Bahadur Shah 45—49.
- Amin-ud-din—serves Azim-ush-shan i. 133, Farrukh-siyar's supporter 369, embassy to Sayyid Husain Ali, 372, advice to Emperor 373-374.
- Amir Khan—Md. Shah's favourite ii. 265 ; opposes Baji Rao's attack on Dihli ii. 291.
- Anwar-ud-din—dismissed faujdar of Kora, joins Nizam, ii. 152.
- Asad Khan—Alamgir's Wazir, career i. 9, submits to Bahadur Shah 38, appointed Wakil (but not Wazir) and subahdar of Dihli 39, under Jahandar Shah 186, courts Farrukh-siyar's favour 238-246, visits Farrukh-siyar 248-251, dies 257, character 257-258.
- Asad-ullah—an uncle of the Sayyids, i. 300.
- Asaf Jah—see *Nizam-ul-mulk*.
- Aurangzeb—Alamgir, death i. 1, character 1—3, will 5, burial 7, dislikes Barha Sayyids ii. 97.
- Azam Shah—early life i. 4, ascends the throne 8, marches towards Agra 11-15, at Gwalior 15, reply to Bahadur Shah 22, battle of Jajau 24-32, killed 33, character 35, children 35, suspected of being a Shia 13n.
- Azim-ush-shan—second son of Bahadur Shah, recalled from Patna i. 4, at Agra 15-17, commands at Jajau 22-29, proclaims himself Emperor 134, his hesitating tactics 163-165, his entrenchments 164, attacked 169-175, drowned in the Ravi 177.
- Azz-ud-din—eldest son of Jahandar Shah, taken captive and released i. 181, sent against Farrukh-siyar 191, defeated at Khajwa 214-216, taken prisoner 246, blinded 280.
- Bagh Dahr-Ara—near Agra i. 41, different from *Bagh Dahra* 21n.
- Bahadur Dil Kh.—Lachin Beg, nicknamed *tasmah-kash*, leader of Mughal troops i. 331, joins Husain Ali 332.
- Bahadur Shah—Md. Muazzam, Shah Alam I. early life i. 3-4, march from Jamrud to Agra 18, celebrates accession at Lahor 20, letter to Azam 21, victory at Jajau 33, invades Rajputana 45-49, advances against Kam Bakhsh 58-61, battle near Haidarabad 64, in Rajputana again 71-72, Sikh campaign 105-118, at Lahor 129-132, Shia *khutba* abandoned 130-131, illness and death 133-134, burial 135, character 137-140, coinage 140, descendants 141-147.
- Bahora—rising of, at Ahmadabad ii. 201.
- Baji Rao—second Peshwa, his plans of conquest ii. 165, defeats Md. Khan Bangash in Bundelkhand 238-240, his gains from Chhattaral 241, invades Malwa 242, defeats senapati Dhabariya Gaekwad and Puar at Bhilapur (near Baroda) 251-252, fights Nizam 252, gets Malwa by

agreement with Jai Singh 256, gets further concessions 285, attacks and defeats Rajah of Bhadawar 286, his army invades Duaba but is repulsed 287, sacks environs of Dihli 288-293, is defeated by Qamar-uddin at Badshahpur 295-297, retires to Dakhin 298; attempt on Berar fails 299, defeats Nizam at Bhupal 303-305, Nizam makes treaty of Duraha Sarai ceding Malwa 305, his policy during Nadir's invasion 336, 374.

Balaji Vishwanath—first Peshwa, ii. 163.

Banda—Sikh guru, name and early career i. 93, kills Wazir Kh. and sacks Sarhind 94-98, sends out forces 98-104, assumes royalty at Lohgarh 110, attacked by Bahadur Shah, escapes 116, recovers Lohgarh 121, expelled from Sadhaura 310, besieged in Lohgarh 310, invested in Gurdaspur 315, carried a prisoner to Dihli 316, beheaded 319.

Baqi Kh.—holds Agra fort against Azim-ush-shan i. 16, submits 21

Barha—home of Sayyids i. 202n.

Bhadawar—Rajah of, ii. 286.

Bhawani Ram—son of Girdhar Bahadur, defends Malwa ag. Mahrattas ii. 245, unassisted, fails 246-247.

Bhimsen—historian, at Jajau i. 25n.

Bhupal—battles near, ii. 303-305.

Bidar Bakht—eldest son of Azam Shah, suspected by his father i. 14, halts at Dholpur 18, meets Azam 23, fights at Jajau 24-29, killed 32.

Bilochpur—or Hasanpur, battle ii. 82-91.

Birbal, Rajah—see *Mitr Sen*.

Bundelkhand—the land ii. 216, people 217-218.

Burhan-ul-mulk—see *Saadat Kh*.

Chabela Ram—Nagar, joins Farrukh-siyar i. 215, attacks Jani Kh. at Agra 231, defeats and killed Kokaltash Kh. 233, governor of Agra 262, rises against Sayyids, but dies ii. 6-8.

Champat Rai—Bundela, his descent ii. 219, attacked by Mughals 222, joins Aurangzeb 224, causes disturbance 225, flees pursued by imperialists 226, killed 227.

Chhattarsal—fourth son of Champat Bundela, a fugitive at father's death ii. 227, joins Jai Singh 228, offers to join Shivaji 229, serves under Mughal Emperors 229-230, rises, kills Diler Kh. 231, attacked by Md. Kh. submits 232-237, calls in Mahrattas 237, invests Md. Kh. at Jaitpur 239, makes peace 241, death 241.

Chin Qilich Kh.—see *Nizam-ul-mulk*.

Churaman Jat—plunders both camps at Jajau i. 322, submits to Bahadur Shah 322-323, plunders opposing camps at Agra 323, foils Chabela Ram 323, makes terms with Farrukh-siyar 323, invested by Jai Singh at Thun 324, submits 326-327, helps Sayyid Abdullah to seize Farrukh-siyar 362, joins Md. Shah ii. 68, plunders imperial camp 81 and 93, submits 120, dies 122.

- Dalpat—Bundela, under Zulfiqar i. 10, joins Bidar Bakht 15, killed at Jajau 30, cremated 34.
- Danishmand Kh.—i. 60n, 65.
- Daud Kh.—Zulfiqar's deputy in Dakhin i. 238, opposes Husain Ali, is killed 302-3, 329.
- Daya Bahadur—son of Chabela Ram, appointed governor of Malwa ii. 247, opposed by Nandalal Mandaloi 247-8, killed by Mahrattas at Tirla 248.
- Dihli—riot ag. Persian soldiers ii. 365. Nadir orders massacre 367-368.
- Dilawar Ali—Sayyid, Bakhshi of Husain Ali's army, watches Jai Singh ii. 3, against Jats 5, goes to Bundi 5, pursues Nizam to Burhanpur 26, fights, is killed 33.
- Dost Md. Kh.—Rohela (afterwards ruler of Bhupal), joins Dilawar Ali ii. 28, flees from battle of Pandhar 33, struggle with Nizam 130.
- Durgadas—Rathor, saves infant Ajit Singh i. 44, intercedes with Bahadur Shah 48, takes Jodhpur 67.
- Dutch—embassy to Emperor at Lahor, i. 147-157.
- Farrukh-siyar—son of Azim-ush-shan, early life i. 198, proclaims himself Emperor at Patna 199, wins adherents 206-211, defeats Azz-ud-din at Khajwa 216, crosses Jamuna 227, battle of Agra 230-235, acts after battle 244-245, abolishes *jizya* 246, puts Zulfiqar and Jahandar Shah to death 253-254, new appointments 258-259, allows many murders under Mir Jumla's influence 275-280, plots against Sayyid brothers 282-285, 293, 295, 298, submits to Sayyids 300, marries Ajit Singh's daughter 305, illness 306, hunts 328, 332, 343, reimposes *jizya* 334, plots against Sayyids 342-345, 347, 355, tries to propitiate Abdullah 362, and Husain Ali 369-373, abject surrender to Sayyids 375-377, stormy interview with Abdullah 381-382, dragged out of harem, blinded and imprisoned 390, sufferings in prison 391, death 392, character 396, coins and family 398-403.
- Fath Jang—see *Chin Qilich Kh.* i. 272.
- Firuz Jang—(1) father of Nizam, (2) son of Nizam.
- Ghazi-ud-din—(1) Firuz Jang, father of Nizam, blind subahdar of Dakhin, early career i. 263, invited to Court by Bahadur Shah 37, career 269, death and character 270.
- (2) Ahmad Beg, Ghalib Jang, chief partisan of Farrukh-siyar, his history i. 266, chief of artillery 350, fights against Sayyids 385-386, supports Abdullah in his last fight ii. 89.
- (3) Firuz Jang, eldest son of Nizam, ii. 300, 141, son-in-law of Qamar-ud-din 277, commands against Baji Rao 295.
- Ghiyas-ud-din Kh.—see *Md. Ghiyas Kh.* ii. 297.
- Girdhar Bahadur—Chabela Ram's nephew, escapes to Allahabad ii. 7, invested there 11-15, governor of Malwa 153, 242, struggle with Mahrattas and death 243.
- Govind Singh—Sikh guru, his innovations in religion i. 80-81, struggle ag. Aurangzeb 84-88, joins Bahadur Shah 89, death 90-91.

- Gurus—religious heads of Sikhs, early gurus i. 73-79; successors of tenth guru 391, Banda 93-121, 307-317.
- Hafiz Khidmatgar—Khwaja Ambar eunuch, favourite of Md. Shah and accomplice of Koki ii. 106, his career and death 266.
- Haidar Quli—sent ag. Girdhar Bahadur ii. 9, finds favour with Husain Ali 54-55, takes Abdullah captive 91, governor of Gujarat 128-130, campaign against Ajit Singh 113-114.
- Hakim Muhsin—Wazir of Kam Bakhsh, entitled *Taqarrub Kh.* (see) i. 50.
- Hamid Kh.—Nizam's uncle, deputy governor of Ahmadabad ii. 168, joins Mahrattas and kills Shujaat Kh. 171-172, kills Ibrahim Quli 175, flees from Rustam Ali's attack 178, assumes independence 183, forced to retire to Dakhin 189.
- Hasan Ali Kh.—(1) son of Allah-wirdi Kh., faujdar of Agra in Alamgir's reign, i. 321. (2) Sayyid=Abdullah Qutb-ul-mulk (see).
- Hasan Kh.—Sayyid, deserts to Farrukh-siyar, i. 219.
- Hasanpur—or Bilochpur, battle ii. 85-91.
- Hidayat-kesh—converted Hindu, arrests Prince Md. Karim i. 190, murdered 277. See *Sadullah Kh.*
- Hindustani—its definition i. 274-275.
- Husain Ali—Sayyid, descent and early career i. 203-205, supports Farrukh-siyar 206, at Khajwa 217, at the Jamuna 227, wounded at Agra 230, made First Bakhshi 282, war against Ajit Singh 287-290, estranged from Farrukh-siyar 292-302, in Dakhin 302, defeats Daud Kh. 303, marches to Dihli 357-362, encamps near Dihli 374, seizes palace and Dihli city 377-379, repulses Emperor's partisans 385, his conduct criticized 395, quarrels with Abdullah 407, disrespectfully treats Rafi-ud-darjat 417, takes Agra fort 422-426, disagrees with Abdullah ii. 14, on hearing of Dilawar Kh.'s death 34, letter to Nizam and reply 45, hears of Alim Ali's death 51; marches with Emperor towards Dakhin 53, murdered 59-60, character and conduct 100.
- Husain Kh.—(1) Barha Sayyid, faujdar of Mewat, fell in battle near Sambhar i. 69. (2) Barha Sayyid, mediates between Farrukh-siyar and Sayyid brothers i. 299. (3) slain at Jajau, i. 31.
- Ikhlās Kh.—i. 334, 360, 372.
- Imad-ul-mulk—see *Mubariz Kh.*
- Inayatullah—(1) a Kashmiri, entitled Shaista Kh., maternal uncle of Farrukh-siyar i. 144, 304.
- (2) a Kashmiri, secretary of Aurangzeb in his old age, and diwan of Khalsa, goes to Mecca on execution of his son Sadullah (Hidayatullah, Khan-saman), i. 259, 333, returns and is appointed diwan 334, governor of Kashmir 334, temporary Wazir under Md. Shah ii. 105, father-in-law of Mubariz Kh. i. 261, ii. 138.
- Irvine, Wm.—life and works i. xiii-xxii.
- Ishaq Kh.—or Mutaman-ud-daulah ii. 354.

Islam Kh.—Mashhadi, acts as mediator between Emperor and Sayyids i. 298.
Itimad-ud-daulah—see (1) Md. Amin Kh. (2) Qamar-ud-din Kh.

Itiqad Kh.—see *Md. Murad*, i. 275 and 304.

Iwaz Kh.—at Pandhar ii. 33, at Balapur 47.

Jahandar Shah—Muizz-ud-din, Emperor, son of Bahadur Shah, fights Azim-ush-shan i. 161-177, overthrews Jahan Shah 181, also Rafi-ush-shan 185, crowned 186, his evil life at Dihli 192-197, prepares to oppose Farrukh-siyar 219-229, marches to Samugarh 222-224, retires to Agra 228, battle of Agra 234, flees to Dihli 235-237, imprisoned by Zulfiqar 239, character and family 240-243, death 254.

Jahan Shah—Khujista-Akhtar, son of Bahadur Shah, fights Azim i. 161, attacks Jahandar 180, killed 182.

Jai Singh II—Rajah of Amber, joins Bidar Bakht i. 15, deserts at Jajau 30-31, superseded on the throne by Bijai Singh 47, governor of Malwa 262, sent ag. Churaman Jat 324, invests Thun 326, invades Mughal territory ii. 3, second campaign against Jats, takes Thun 124, appointed subahdar of Malwa 247, treacherous collusion with Maharrattas 248-249, reappointed to Malwa 255, makes peace with Maharrattas 256

Jaitpur—siege, ii. 239.

Jajau—battle of i. 25-33.

Jani Kh.—at battle of Agra i. 292, killed 232.

Jats—their land and character i. 321, wars with Mughals 321 *et seq.*, led by Churaman 322, rising ag. Md. Shah ii. 121.

Jaziya—ii. 103, see *Jizya*.

Jhujhar Singh—Bundela chief of Orchha, wrests Chauragah from Gonds ii. 220, pursued and killed by Mughals 221.

Jizya—abolished i. 246, its history and incidence 338-339, reimposed 334, withdrawn 404, abolished finally ii. 103.

Kachhwaha—tribe of Amber i. 43.

Kam Bakhsh—see *Md. Kam Bakhsh*.

Khan Dauran—see *Samsam-ud-daulah*.

Khan Jahan—(1) Sayyid, uncle of Sayyid brothers, i. 300.

(2) son of Kokaltash Kh., evades joining Farrukh-siyar i. 200-201, governor of Allahabad 262.

Khujista-Akhtar—see *Jahan Shah*.

Khwaja Asim—see *Samsam-ud-daulah*.

Khwaja Inayatullah—see *Inayatullah*.

Kokaltash Kh.—early history i. 197, fights ag. Jahan Shah i. 168, 184, disagrees with Wazir 197, fights Husain Ali 230-231, killed 233.

Koki Jiu—see *Rahim-un-nissa*.

Lachin Beg—see *Behadur Dil Kh.*

Labor—battles near i. 176-185.

Lal Kunwar—Jahandar Shah's concubine i. 180, her evil influence 193-196.

- induces Emperor to flee from battle 235, joins Jahandar in prison 239, sent into retirement 254.
- Lutfullah Kh.—(1) Sadiq, advises Azz-ud-din to flee i. 218, punished for duplicity 301-302. (2) governor of Dihli during Nadir's invasion, ii. 362.
- Mahabat Kh.—eldest son of Munim Kh., taken captive i. 187, locked up in a cell 221, released by Farrukh-siyar 247.
- Mahrattas—are massacred in Dihli i. 383, people and country ii. 155, their wars with Aurangzeb 160-163, first incursions north of Narmada 164, join Hamid Kh. and overrun Gujarat 170-185, again in Gujarat 190-192, enter Bundelkhand and get one-third of it from Chhattarsal 238-241; gain a footing in Malwa 242-245, alliance with Nandalal 248, fight Md. Khan Bangash in Malwa 252-253; fight between Peshwa and senapati 252, get possession of Malwa 256 (confirmed 305), yearly invasions and encroachments on N. India 275-285, enter Duaba 287, sack environs of Dihli 288-298, treaty of Sarai Duraha 305, Mahratta envoy's flight from Karnal 360.
- Malhar Rao, Holkar—fights Samsam-ud-daulah ii. 283
- Mansur Jang—see Samsam-ud-daulah.
- Mewar—country of Sisodias i. 42.
- Mir Hasan Kh. Koka—Khan Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash Zafar Jang, defeated in attack on Baji Rao near Dihli ii. 292-294.
- Mir Jumla—Ibadullah or Ubaid-ullah, Shariyat-ullah Kh., early history i. 267, works in Farrukh-siyar's interest 227, heads the party ag. Sayyids 248, appointed to Farrukh-siyar's personal staff with high titles 260, created nominal subahdar of Bengal 262, causes many executions under Farrukh-siyar 276, set to oppose Sayyid brothers 293, backs out 297, sent away to Lahor 301, returns to Dihli 330, takes refuge in Md. Amin's house 331, disgraced and sent to Lahor 332, recalled by Farrukh-siyar, but seeks refuge with Abdullah Kh. 352, pardoned 356.
- Mir Mallang—see Ahsan Kh.
- Mitr Sen—Rajah Birbal i. 412, antecedents 410, enthrones Neku-siyar 412, surrender and suicide 427.
- Mubariz Kh.—Khwaja Md., Shahamat Kh., Imad-ul-mulk, i. 261, early career ii. 138, appointed subahdar of Dakhin ag. Nizam 139, reduces Phulchari fort 140, fights Nizam at Shakar-Khera 148, buried 149.
- Mubariz-ul-mulk—see Sarbuland Kh.
- Mughals—Turani and Irani, defined i. 272.
- Md. Amin Kh.—Chin, early history i. 263, deserts Azam 12-13, in disfavour with Munim Kh. Wazir 40, operations ag. Sikhs 120-121, won over by Farrukh-siyar 227, deserts Jahandar Shah at Agra 233, app. second Bakhshi 258, covets wazir-ship 297, reduced in rank for unruly followers 307, 333, sent to Malwa 340, returns to Dihli, is befriended by Abdullah 366-367, his part in Farrukh-siyar's deposition 387 and after 404, his double dealings with Sayyids ii. 37, effects Husain Ali's

murder 59, made Wazir 67, attacks and overthrows Abdullah 92, conduct as Wazir and death 104-105.

Md. Azim—see Azim-ush-shan.

Md. Ghiyas Kh.—Nizam's most trusted officer ii. 20-21, at Pandhar 29, at Balapur 47, at Shakar-Khera 143.

Md. Ibrahim—son of Jahandar Shah, enthroned by Abdullah ii. 76, capture and interview with Md. Shah 94, death 94.

Md. Kam Bakhsh—youngest son of Aurangzeb, early life i. 2 and 5, movements 10, assumes independence 11, issues coins 51, misled by Taqarrub Kh., kills his best friends 53-56, rejects Bahadur Shah's overtures 58, deserted 62, taken prisoner, dies 64, family 66, imprisonment under Alamgir 252.

Md. Karim—eldest son of Azim-ush-shan, his history i. 144-145, hides himself, taken and executed 190.

Md. Khan Bangash—fights Girdhar Bahadur ii. 16, won over to Emperor's side 70, sent ag. Ajit Singh 113, ag. Chhattarsal 231, second expedition ag. Chhattarsal 232-239, makes peace and retires from Bundelkhand 241, posted to Malwa 249, meets Nizam as friend 251, desperate struggle with Mahrattas in Malwa 252-255, puts down rising in Fathpur 277, opposes Mahrattas near Agra 282, marches to aid of Qamar-ud-din 297.

Md. Muazzam—see Bahadur Shah I.

Md. Murad—Kashmiri, Itiqad Kh. i. 275, gains Farrukh-siyar's favour and is made 2nd Mir Tuzak 340, his career 340-342, created Itiqad Kh. and rapidly promoted 344-345, ejected from palace 381, imprisoned 406, death 406, enlisted by Sayyid Abdullah ii. 79.

Muhammad Shah—Prince Roshan Akhtar, succeeds Rafi-ud-daulah as Emperor ii. 1, marches to Agra 5, under the tutelage of Sayyids 17, 45, advances towards Dakhin in Husain Ali's charge 53, his conduct after Husain Ali's murder 60-61, 73-74, overthrows Abdullah 92-94, abolishes *jizya* 103, appoints Nizam as Wazir 105, alienates him, how? 107, marries Farrukh-siyar's daughter 124, acts as Solomon 126, attempts ag. Nizam fail 141, 153, appoints Abhai Singh to Gujarat 205, his favourites 263-275, violates diplomatic usage towards Persia 320-322, imbecile conduct and defeat at Karnal 347, dines in Nadir's camp 355, made prisoner by Nadir 358, enters Dihli 363, welcomes Nadir in palace and gives up vast ransom 364, cedes territory to Persia 374, restored to throne 375.

Muhkma—son of Chura Jat, taken prisoner but set free ii. 65-66, attacks and kills Nilkant Nagar 121, attacked by Jai Singh 124, his end 124.

Muhkam Singh—Khatri, Rajah, principal officer of Husain Ali, taken over by Md. Shah ii. 67, deserts to Abdullah at Hasanpur 87, accompanies Sarbuland to Gujarat 185.

Muhtashim Kh.—deputed to guard the fords of Chambal i. 15, flees 18.

- Mukhtar Kh.—subahdar of Agra i. 13, arrested by Azim-ush-shan 16, joins Bahadur Shah 20.
- Munim Kh.—deputy-governor of Lahor, exerts himself for Bahadur Shah i. 19, at Jajau 36, made Wazir 39, commands ag. Kam Bakhsh 62, disagreement with Zulfiqar Kh. 114, death 117, life and character 125-127.
- Muizz-ud-din—eldest son of Bahadur Shah, see Jahandar Shah.
- Murshid Quli Kh.—diwan of Bengal, refuses to support Farrukh-siyar i. 199, app. deputy governor of Bengal 262.
- Muzaffar Kh.—brother of Samsam-ud-daulah, quarrels at Court and is sent to Ajmer ii. 134, marches ag. Mahrattas 279, killed at Karnal 349.
- Nadir Shah—his early life ii. 317-318, becomes king of Persia 319, takes Qandahar 319, diplomatic rupture with Court of Dihli 320-322, takes Kabul 327, and Lahor 332, defeats imperial army at Karnal 341-348, composition of his army 338 and 350, negotiates peace with Emperor 353-356, imprisons Md. Shah and his nobles 359, marches to Dihli 363, visits Emperor 364, orders a massacre at Dihli 367, exacts heavy ransom 371-373, his life at Dihli 373-374, his son Nasr-ullah married to Mughal princess 371, restores Md. Shah 374, retreats from India 375-376, effect of his invasion 377-378.
- Najm-ud-din Ali—Sayyid, captured ii. 91.
- Namwar Jang—see Sarbuland Kh.
- Nanak—founder of Sikhism i. 73-74.
- Nandalal Mandaloi—chaudhuri of Indor, ally of Mahrattas in Malwa ii. 245, treason to Emperor 248-249.
- Nasir Jang—Ahmad Kh., second son of Nizam, fails to stop Baji Rao ii. 302.
- Nasir Kh.—governor of Kabul, ii. 323, left unsupported from Court 270 and 324, defeated by Nadir Shah 330.
- Neku-siyar—Prince, his early history i. 409, raised to the throne in Agra fort 410-412, besieged, surrenders 424-426, death 427.
- Nizam-ul-mulk—Mir Qamar-ud-din, Chin Qilich Kh. Bahadur, Fath Jang, Asaf Jah, early history i. 269-271, created Kh. Dauran by Bahadur Shah and transf. to Oudh 41, insulted by Zuhara 194, won over by Farrukh-siyar 227, deserts Jahandar Shah at Agra 233, submits to Farrukh-siyar 244, created Nizam-ul-mulk and governor of Dakhin 271, superseded by Husain Ali 302, returns to Dihli, goes to Muradabad as faujdar 328, intrigues ag. Sayyid brothers 328, recalled from Muradabad, removed from office 351-352, app. governor of Patna 371, tries to save Farrukh-siyar 385, removes to Malwa 405, prepares for war ii. 18, conquers Asir 23, occupies Burhanpur 25, defeats Dilawar Ali at Pandhar 33, letter from Emperor and Nizam's reply 45, overthrows Alim Ali at Balapur 49, marches into Karnatak and Maisur 106, made Wazir, comes to Dihli 106, his difficulties at Court 107, vanquishes Haidar Quli in Gujarat 129, resigns in disgust at Emperor's imbecility and Court corruption 131-137, defeats Mubariz

Kh. at Shakar-Khera 148, defends his conduct to Emperor 153, encourages Mahratta invasion of N. India 242, compact with Md. Kh. Bangash 251, fight and terms with Baji Rao 252, called to Dihli 299-301, defeated by Baji Rao at Bhupal 303-305, opposed by Hindustani party under Samsam-ud-daulah 325 and 336, counsels Saadat Kh. to postpone battle 343, inaction in battle of Karnal 347, negotiates with Nadir Shah 353, made prisoner by Nadir 357, raises contribution from Dihli citizens for Nadir 373, retires to Dakhin for good 379.

Nur Bai—dancing girl, liked by Nadir ii. 371.

Nur-ud-din—Sayyid, killed at Jajau i. 31.

Padshah Begam—see Zinat-un-nissa, daughter of Aurangzeb.

Qamar-ud-din Kh.—son of Md. Amin Kh., escorts Banda to Dihli i. 316, created Itimad-ud-daulah ii. 105, app. Wazir 138, quells riot in Jama Masjid 260-262, futile campaign ag. Mahrattas 277, 281-283, defeats Baji Rao at Badshahpur 297, in Karnal camp 340, his helplessness after Nadir had arrested Nizam 358, taken to Persian camp 359, at Dihli during exaction of ransom 373.

Qudrat-ullah—Shaikh, his influence over Azim-ush-shan i. 278, goes to Farrukh-siyar but is murdered 278-281.

Qutb-ul-mulk—see Abdullah Kh.

Rafi-ud-darjat—Emperor, enthroned i. 389, a puppet of the Sayyids 416, his health fails, deposed dies 418, chronology and wives 418-420.

Rafi-ud-daulah—Emperor, enthroned i. 420, taken by Abdullah to Agra 428, dies 431, chronology 432, burial ii. 1.

Rafi-ul-qadr—son of Bahadur Shah, created Rafi-ush-shan i. 36, joins Jahandar ag. Azim-ush-shan 161, attacks Jahandar 184, killed 185.

Rahim-un-nissa—Koki Jiu, her influence over Md. Shah ii. 106, her descent and history 263-265.

Raiman—see Shadman.

Rajputana—chief States i. 41.

Ram Singh—Hada Prince, killed at Jajau i. 23, cremated 34.

Rashid Kh.—i. 199.

Ratan Chand—agent of Sayyid Abdullah i. 291, 318, farms out revenue collection 335, disagrees with Inayatullah 334-335, warns Husain Ali against Farrukh-siyar 372, secures repeal of *jizya* 405, prevents breach between Sayyid brothers 407, influence over Abdullah ii. 9, negotiates peace with Girdhar Bahadur 15, roughly handled after Husain Ali's murder 65, executed 85.

Rathors—of Marwar i. 42.

Rohelas—fight Mughal Govt. ii. 119-120.

Rohilkhand—country ii. 117.

Roshan Akhtar—see Muhammad Shah.

Roshan-ud-daulah—Zafar Kh., Khwaja Muzaffar, brings news of Ajit Singh's

- submission i. 290, quarrels in Court ii. 134, influence over Md. Shah his character 266, his disgrace and death 270-271, 323.
- Rustam Dil Kh.—(1) subahdar of Haidarabad, submits to Kam Bakhsh i. 52, seized and executed under suspicion 53, buried 54.
- (2) grandson of Allah-wardi Kh. Shah Jahani, i. 120, war ag. Sikhs 112, 119, quarrels with Md. Amin Kh. 120, created Ghaznafar Kh. 121, joins Jahan Shah and attacks Jahandar 181, flees on Jahan Shah's death 181, captured and killed 187.
- Rustam Ali Kh.—brother of Shujaat Kh., fights Hamid Kh. at Aras ii. 176-180, disastrous march 181, killed 182.
- Rustam-i-Hind—see Shadman.
- Saadat Kh.—Sayyid Md. Amin, Burhan-ul-mulk, early life ii. 55, plots ag. Husain Ali 57, fails ag. Jats 121, quarrels at Court, is transf. to Oudh 134-135, co-operates with Samsam-ud-daulah ag. Mahrattas 281, defeats Malhar Holka. in Duaba 287, helps Samsam and Qamar-ud-din ag. Mahrattas 288, 298, fights Nadir at Karnal 343-347, made prisoner 348, conversation with Nadir 352-353, his jealousy of Nizam. induces Nadir to go to Dihli 356, commits suicide 363-364.
- Sabha Chand—Zulfiqar's deputy i. 197, his fatal advice 236, his tongue cut out 277.
- Sadullah Kh.—son of Inayatullah Kh., also Wazarat Kh. and Hidayat-kesh. i. 259, executed 276-277.
- Sahiba-niswan—Farrukh-siyar's mother i. 144, 342, wins over Husain Ali 206, pacifies Abdullah 300, at her son's marriage 304, a Kashmiri 342.
- Saif Kh.—Kam Bakhsh's instructor in archery, tortured to death i. 54.
- Samsam-ud-daulah—Khawja Asim, Kh. Dauran, Mansur Jang, early history i. 265, joins Farrukh-siyar at Patna 211, set up ag. Sayyids 293, fails 297, rebuked by Abdullah 300, app. Husain Ali's deputy at Court 302, reduced in rank for unruly retainers 306, 333, ousted by Md. Murad from Emperor's favour, joins Sayyids 354-355, ordered ag. Mahrattas, fails ii. 279-280, more successful in next campaign 281-284, aids Wazir 298, fights Nadir Shah at Karnal, mortally wounded 344-347, dies 355, character ii. 313, i. 265.
- Sarbuland Kh.—Namwar Jang, Mubariz-ul-mulk (i. 346), joins Jahandar Shah i. 191, early history 199-200, governor of Oudh 262, of Patna 332, recalled to Dihli, given titles (Dilawar Jang) 346, 363, sent to Agra 347, returns to Dihli 363, governor of Kabul 405, of Gujarat ii. 153, 169, his deputy Shujaat Kh. overthrown by Nizam's deputy Hamid Kh. 171-183, he occupies Ahmadabad and expels Hamid Kh. 185-189, his rule over Gujarat and struggle with Mahrattas 190-200, replaced in Gujarat by Abhai Singh 197-201, driven out of Gujarat 206-213, last years and character 214-215, cruelly exacts ransom for Nadir at Dihli 373.
- Sayyids of Barha—their history i. 201.

- Shadman—a Qalmaq woman, cr. Raiman and Rustam-i-Hind, saves Jahandar Shah from assassin i. 170-171, murdered 281.
- Shadman Shah—prophecies Farrukh-siyar's success i. 278, takes Qudrat-ullah to Court 279.
- Shaista Kh.—see Khwaja Inayatullah Kashmiri.
- Shujaat Kh.—deputy governor of Gujarat ii. 152, antecedents 167, attacks Hamid Kh. 170, killed 172.
- Sidi Qasim Habshi—kotwal of Dihli, murdered i. 277.
- Sidisht [Sudhisht] Narayan—zamindar of Bhojpur, joins Farrukh-siyar i. 211.
- Sikhs—their origin and history i. 73-79, their doctrines and influence 79-84, their gurus 92, their bravery in captivity 317-318, their spiritual headship after Govind Singh 319-320.
- Sisodias—of Mewar i. 42.
- Tahmasp Khan Jalair—Persian minister ii. 362.
- Taqarrub Kh.—Hakim Muhsin, quarrels with Ahsan Kh. i. 51, plots ag. latter 53, fights for Kam Bakhsh 62, wheedles Asad Kh. and Zulfiqar into visiting Farrukh-siyar 249-250, made *Khan-saman* 255.
- Tirpoliya Fort—prison i. 280, Banda in 317, Jahandar Shah in 254, Farrukh-siyar in 370.
- Ubaid-ullah—see Mir Jumla.
- Wala Jah—second son of Azam Shah, at Jajau i. 24, wounded 32, dies 33.
- Warid—i. 97, 220.
- Wazarat Kh.—see Sadullah Kh. (i. 128, 186, 244, 259, 276).
- Zahir-ud-daulah—Azim-ullah Kh., cousin of Qamar-ud-din, commands Van ag. Baji Rao ii. 295-297.
- Zakariya Kh.—son of Abdus-samad Kh. i. 316, fights ag. Banda 308-316, governor of Lahor, neglected by Emperor 324-326, surrenders Lahor to Nadir 352, takes leave of Nadir 376, Panjab under his rule 378.
- Zinat-un-nissa—second daughter of Aurangzeb, sides with Azam i. 2, left at Gwalियar 23, cr. Padshah Begam by Bahadur Shah 39, slighted by Jahandar Shah 195, her share in the execution of Zulfiqar and Sadullah 276-277.
- Zulfiqar Kh.—son of Asad Kh., early career i. 9-10, flees from Jajau 30, joins Bahadur Shah at Agra 37, cr. Samsam-ud-daulah 39, at Court as 1st Bakhshi 39, commands a wing ag. Kam Bakhsh 62, disagrees with Munim Kh. 114, refuses to be Wazir 128, joins Jahandar Shah and secures his success ag. brothers 160-183, app. Wazir 186, unpopularity 197, accompanies Jahandar to Agra 221, commands at battle of Agra 229-234, leaves the field 235, at Dihli decides on delivering up Jahandar Shah 239, visits Farrukh-siyar 250, murdered 253, burial 256, character 257.

